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HOW HE HAD OPENED THE DOOR OF FAITH UNTO THE GENTILES."
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Church Missionary Intelligencer.

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

ANOTHER Christmas has come round, and in the chapters of Isaiah, which with such admirable selection are brought before us at this season of the year, we are reminded of the advent of Him whom the Father has appointed heir of all things; and justly, for by Him also He made the world, to whom in covenant promise, a universal supremacy, is ensured—"Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." In the language of prophecy, this advent is inaugurated by a royal proclamation; not an outpouring of fiery indignation upon rebels and aliens, but a dispensation of mercy, an abounding liberality and gracious consideration of the need of sinners—the providing of a Gospel feast for the spiritual destitution of the human race—"In this mountain shall the Lord of Hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees, of wines on the lees well refined." It is thus the King speaks, and in thus introducing his Gospel, is pleased at the same time to predict the glorious results of which it shall be productive, when the nations shall arise from the death and stupor of their sin; and as when Lazarus came forth from his sepulchre the command was given, "Loose him, and let him go," so the Lord shall destroy the face of the covering cast over all people, and the vail that is spread over nations; when "He will swallow up death in victory, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces, and the rebuke of his people shall He take away from all the earth, for the Lord hath spoken it."

At such a moment, when we are reminded of Divine mercy, and the reconciling process by which is conceded to all who in faith submit themselves to Him whose rule is thus proclaimed the condonation of all past offences, the tidings reach us of the extension of British sovereignty over Hindústán, and the Royal Proclamation by which Queen Victoria announces herself Queen, not only of England, but of India. We rejoice to find that there is so much in the royal document which is consonant with those great truths which occupy our mind at the present moment, that it contains a promulgation of pardon to those who have been in rebellion against

the Queen's authority. Gracefully and becomingly Her Majesty avows herself a Christian from conviction of the truth of Christianity, and of the consolations which it yields, and her first act towards her Indian subjects is such as might be expected from a Christian Queen: it is the publication of an amnesty, a condonation of past offences.

"Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

"To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance, and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in a too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

"To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown, and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits." Yes, Mercy

"Blesseth him that gives and him that takes
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest; it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown:
His sceptre shows the force of temporal power,
The attribute to awe and majesty,
Wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings.
But mercy is above the sceptre'd sway:
It is enthroned in the heart of kings;
It is an attribute of God Himself,
And earthly pow'r doth then show likest God's
When mercy seasons justice."

Moreover, the royal document is full of a great purpose—India's regeneration—the uplifting of this vast dependency, in all its multitudinous tribes and languages, from its present low state to one of social happiness and national prosperity.

"When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful in-

dustry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward."

May these royal, nay, better, Christian aspirations be all fulfilled! A great duty has been discharged. Under the strong conviction that the good of these subjugated millions required it, Victoria has put forth her hand, and assumed, in dependence on a strength above her own, the sceptre of Hindústán. India, with its vast responsibilities, its dense masses of population, their abject heathenism, and yet their possibility of rapid improvement under right influences, has been brought under the direct rule of the British sceptre; and while all Her Majesty's subjects within these territories are required to bear true allegiance to the Queen, her heirs and successors, the recognition of reciprocal duties has been made, and this conviction, avowed with all solemnity—"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." Most appropriate is this expression of reliance on the Lord for the supply of all requisite qualifications; for such is the peculiar and comprehensive character of these obligations, that neither by the highest or lowest functionary can they ever be fulfilled without the aid of Him who declares "Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom: I am understanding: I have strength. By me kings reign and princes decree judgment. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth." Under the direction of such wisdom, the Ruler, who is entitled Defender of the Faith, and who is pledged to its maintenance in England, will never be indifferent to its progress and prosperity in India; and so long as this greatest of all obligations be faithfully discharged, the Sovereign of Great Britain will still continue to be the Sovereign of India.

These solemn declarations have, ere this, been translated into the languages of India, and the Royal Proclamation has been publicly read in all capitals of provinces. Let those many-tongued proclamations be collected, not one being omitted, and bound in one volume; let them be laid before Her Majesty, that not only that royal lady herself, of whose ready obedience to the law of Him from whom she holds her crown, we are well persuaded, but that all her ministers and functionaries, may be

reminded of the multiplied character of those duties with which the councils of England are now charged, and their need of far more than human wisdom rightly to fulfil them.

Of the manner in which the Proclamation has been received by the native population, we have as yet, at the moment we are writing, (December 10th, 1858) no information, except from our western Presidency. On November 1st it was publicly read at Bombay.

"All the troops in the garrison, the whole population, European and native, were convened to meet in the town-hall, and on the green before it, to hear the solemn declaration of Indian rights and duties read. At five o'clock in the afternoon the Governor and public functionaries assembled in the Durbar-room. By the side of the brilliant uniforms of the Staff, mingled the snow-white dresses of the Parsis and the Mussulmans, the gay turbans and scarfs of the Hindús, and the dark habiliments of the clergy, among whom appeared not only the European ministers of the Protestant and Roman-Catholic faiths, but the dusky forms of native converts, with shaven heads and black scalp locks. A procession having been formed, with less attention to the etiquette of each one's rank than would have been possible in the days of Ossory and Charles II., Lord Elphinstone and the Secretaries of Government advanced to a platform erected on the steps of the Town-hall, and proceeded to the business of the occasion. The scene presented from the spot where Mr. Young, the Chief Secretary to Government, stood, holding in his hand the Royal Proclamation, was not without its peculiar characteristics. To the right and left of the principal actors in the scene stood the 'beauty and fashion' of Bombay; on the steps below the platform was a choice assemblage of native gentlemen; and on the green, or crowding onwards from the side streets abutting upon it, waved to and fro a turbaned crowd, the variegated hues of whose dresses, full of that harmony peculiar to the East, gave a marked character to the scene. The houses, in themselves sufficiently mean, were decorated with flags and preparations for the coming illumination. The roofs were filled with spectators, whose scanty clothing allowed their long thin limbs to be seen in relief upon the deep evening sky. The circular road round the green was kept by the regiments of the garrison. A flagstaff stood at the foot of the town-hall steps, another erect on the point of the cathedral, awaiting the unfolding of the standard of England, which was to wave for the first time over the city of Bombay. In the midst of the deepest silence,

Mr. Young read the Proclamation in English, which was afterwards delivered in Mahratti by the chief interpreter, Mr. Wassewdeo. The troops saluted, the bands played 'God save the Queen,' and the Royal standards rose simultaneously to the summit of the flag-staffs, that hoisted on the cathedral expanding at once to the breeze, and showing the lions of England."

Thus, in the good providence of God, British supremacy has raised itself above the ebullition of fiery passions and the reiterated assaults of that deadly enmity which so perseveringly sought its overthrow. A fearful hurricane of human wrath, more desolating than the earthquake, more awful in its results than the fiery progress of the lava stream, has swept over the fairest provinces of India. It has raged like the cyclone which recently burst upon the Chinese port of Swatow, with a violence so terrific, that not only was the ocean lifted from its bed, but the bed itself is supposed to have been so upturned, that the anchors lost their hold, and the ill-fated shipping was dashed in utter helplessness upon the shore: one brig—a British one—when the storm had expended itself, was found uninjured! With such a sudden crash the great rebellion of 1857 burst upon the North-west provinces of India, their population of thirty millions being at the time in possession of personal safety and liberty, with abundance of the necessities of life,* when "not a whisper of treason, rebellion, or disaffection was heard." At so still a moment broke the thunder-cloud. Mirat felt the stroke; Delhi became a slaughter-house; Agra was full of alarm—"Every Englishman was handling his sword or his revolver. The road was covered with carriages, people hastening right and left to the rendezvous at Candahari Bagh. The city folk running as for their lives, and screaming that the mutineers from Alligurrh were crossing the bridge. The badmashes twisting their moustachios, and putting on their worst looks." Amidst the excitement, one at least was calm. "Outside the college all was alarm, hurry, and confusion. Within, calmly sat the good Missionary,† hundreds of young natives at his feet, hanging on the lips which taught them the simple lessons of the Bible. And so it was throughout the revolt. Native functionaries, highly salaried, largely trusted, deserted and joined our enemies; but the students at the Government, and still more, the Missionary schools, kept steadily to their classes; and, when others doubted or fled, they trusted

implicitly to their teachers, and openly espoused the Christian cause." Never did the true faith of Christ more strikingly manifest its superiority over the wretched systems, misnamed religion, which are dominant in India. While they changed men into fiends, and prompted them, under a mad excitement, to the most atrocious deeds, in every heart where Christian truth was influential, there was calmness, collectedness, because there was trust in Him who can stay the proud waves, and say, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further." Need, indeed, there was of all the support which faith in Christ could give, for the storm, retaining all the violence of its first outbreak, spread itself over a vast extent of country. Station after station was wrecked; Calcutta itself fearfully endangered. It was a time of peril, never surely to be forgotten. Cut off from all help, so far as man was concerned, our countrymen, dispersed in groups over the face of the disturbed provinces, stood at bay, and looking upward for resolution to meet the crisis, fought back to back for their lives, with various results. Some, finding resistance hopeless, trusted themselves to the good faith of such men as Nana Sahib, and the Bibighur at Cawnpur became the slaughter-house of helpless women and children. But that dread catastrophe sounded as a warning throughout the land, and rather than surrender, men, as at Agra and Lucknow, endured every extremity. With the exception of such isolated points, which still continued to overtop the flood, the vast country between Delhi and Allahabad was for a time entirely in the hands of the insurgents; nay, more, the Lower Provinces were held with difficulty, and it seemed not improbable that Northern India might for a time be lost to England. It was when the crisis was at its height, that the Relief Brigade of Sir Henry Havelock went forth to restore our lost prestige; a little band, indeed, to which should be committed so arduous an undertaking: 1400 British bayonets and eight guns, with a small native force, went forth to cut its way through the dense masses which were arrayed against it. Who has ever seen, when the storm is at its height, and the waves running mountains high, the life-boat going forth to the rescue of the crew that still clings to the dismantled and water-logged vessel? With what intense anxiety those on shore watch its progress! Now it is lost to sight, and it seems as though the wild ocean, angry at this interference, had swallowed it in its depth: but it reappears, and sustains successfully the apparently unequal conflict. So did the public mind watch with anxiety the progress of Havelock's army,

* "Raikes' Revolt," p. 7.

† Our Missionary, the Rev. T. V. French.

as one bloody wave after another burst upon it. Futtehpur, Aong, Pandú Nuddea, Cawnpur—conflicts to be remembered—were fought in rapid succession: and now for the relief of Lucknow a pathway remained to be forced through warlike Oude, bristling with insurrection. What reminiscences are here! the first gallant effort of July; Unao with its two battles and two victories in one day; the cholera; the retreat; and the second advance on August 4th, renewed victories, each purchased at a costly price; the process of diminution made still more rapid and heavy by the renewed action of cholera; and again the Ganges re-crossed, but not before the Christian hero had turned on the pursuing enemy, and at Búrseake Chowkí, with 1000 men, charged and dispersed 20,000 of the enemy. What a delay was that from the 11th of August to the 15th of September! How truly the beleagured ones at Lucknow were experiencing the truth of the proverb—“Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.” On the 16th of August a note had been received from the relief force: it was dated eleven days previously—“We march to-morrow morning for Lucknow, having been reinforced. We hope to reach you in a few days at furthest.” Alas! ten days had elapsed, and no sign that they were near. The attempt had been made—all were persuaded of that; but—unsuccessfully. The besiegers, as if aware that their time was short, redoubled their efforts: new and dangerous batteries were erected, mines laid, valuable men falling rapidly, the buildings becoming more and more dilapidated. But the imperilled ones were not forgotten. What a moment was that, when on the morning of September 23rd, the straitened garrison at Lucknow, so marvellously preserved amidst its shattered defences, heard the first reports of Havelock’s advancing guns! Day by day they became louder and louder. They were making progress, but every step had to be won. At length, on the morning of September 25th, unequivocal indications that they were at hand became visible. “Numbers of the city people were observed flying over the bridges across the river, carrying bundles of property on their heads. An hour later the flight became more general, and many Sepoys, matchlockmen, and irregular cavalry troopers, crossed the river in full flight, many by the bridge, but more throwing themselves into the river and swimming across it. At two o’clock the smoke of the guns was seen in the suburbs, and the rattle of musketry could be heard: two hours afterwards, “the officers at the look-out could clearly distinguish European troops and officers in movement;” and

a few minutes afterwards “a column of Highlanders and Sikhs, turning into the main street leading to the Residency, charged at a rapid pace, loading, shouting, and firing, as they passed along.”

“Once fairly *seen*, all our doubts and fears regarding them; were ended and then the garrison’s pent-up feelings of anxiety and suspense burst forth in a succession of deafening cheers. From every pit, trench, and battery—from behind the mud-bags piled on shattered houses—from every post still held by a few gallant spirits—rose cheer on cheer, even from the hospital! Many of the wounded crawled forth to join in that glad shout of welcome to those who had so bravely come to our assistance. It was a moment never to be forgotten.”

“The Bailey Guard gate, then riddled with balls, and broken, was barricaded, and a bank of earth having been thrown up on the inside, it could not be opened for some minutes, until the earth was cleared away. Generals Outram and Havelock, and their staff, and many of the soldiers, entered by the embrasure. Ere long, however, the gates were thrown open, and the stream of soldiers entered, heated, worn, and dusty; yet they looked robust and healthy, contrasted with the forms and faces within. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm. The Highlanders stopped every one they met, and with repeated questions and exclamations of “Are you one of them?”—“God bless you!”—“We thought to have found only your bones.”—bore them back towards Dr. Fayer’s house, into which the General had entered. Here a scene of thrilling interest presented itself. The ladies of the garrison, with their children, had assembled in the most intense anxiety and excitement, under the porch outside, when the Highlanders approached. Rushing forward, the rough and bearded warriors shook the ladies by the hand, amidst loud and repeated gratulations. They took the children up in their arms, and, fondly caressing them, passed them from one to another to be caressed in turn; and then, when the first burst of enthusiasm and excitement was over, they mournfully turned to speak among themselves of the heavy loss which they had suffered, and to inquire the names of the numerous comrades who had fallen on the way.”*

Such has been the past. And now, overpowered, broken, and dispersed in every other quarter, the rebellion, as virulent in its reverses as when, in its momentary triumph, it claimed India for its own, is driven into the Baiswarra district of Southern Oude, one of

* Gubbins’s “Oude.”

limited extent, yet, for its size, the most martial country in the world; so much so, as to have yielded not less than 40,000 Sepoys to the old Bengal army. "Round this hotbed of insurrection and strife, Lord Clyde has drawn the most formidable force of Europeans ever yet seen in India. Sixteen battalions of British infantry, backed by artillery of extraordinary power, and supported here and there by excellent native levies, form the army closing in upon the enemy in his last retreat."

Thus amidst the shock and strain of treacherous rebellion and utterly pitiless war, British supremacy has been wondrously preserved. It felt the stroke and vibrated, but it collapsed not; and now, confessedly triumphant over the antagonism to which it had been subjected, it inaugurates a new epoch, by the proclamation of Victoria's sovereignty over the millions of India!

What causes here for national gratitude and devout thankfulness to God! God's hand was outstretched for our defence. Heavy calamities have indeed been permitted to come upon us, full of severe reproof, and stern in the warnings they conveyed, but yet we have not been given over unto death.

Surely, at such a time the Lord God ought to be acknowledged as the source from whence our deliverances have come—acknowledged in connexion with the alone religion in which He has revealed Himself, the religion of Christ; and that after a mode so peculiar and special as to attract the attention of the heathen. It is with such thoughts that we read the Proclamation, and watched solicitously to see whether any such acknowledgments would be found, or whether, after the fashion of the old evasive policy, all reference to religion would be suppressed, out of deference to the prejudices of heathen and Mohammedans. We are truly thankful to find that Her Majesty has not been guilty of such disloyalty to Him whose minister she is. We do not care to weigh with critical accuracy the expressions which have been used; but this we do say, that not only is there an express recognition of God as the source of blessing and of power, but Her Majesty has done more—she has avowed her conviction of the truths of Christianity, and, in her Royal Proclamation, the first instrument in which she has spoken directly to her Eastern Subjects, *she has placed herself before India as a Christian Queen*. Let it be observed that this is a high official act, embodied in a state document of primary importance. It is this which we have prayed for in all our Memorials, that there should be some such candid avowal, some such formal recognition of Christianity, the more

especially as we considered that hitherto there has been an evasion of such a duty on the part of the authorities, to the disparagement of Christianity before the heathen, and our own disgrace and injury. The Queen, then, in her Royal Proclamation, has fearlessly discharged this duty, although, in doing so, she has exposed herself to the sneers of the infidel press at home, and has avowed Christianity to be the religion of her heart and choice. Stronger language might, no doubt, have been used, more explicitly declaratory of the alone truthfulness of Christianity, and thus inferentially of the falsehood of every other system of religion; but Her Majesty has refrained from strong assertions, which might have been interpreted as intimidation, and aroused hostility, and has thought it wise to restrain herself to a frank avowal of her own personal conviction and experience. And for this assuredly the best acknowledgments of all that is Christian in this land, may be well tendered to her.

There is, however, one expression in the Royal Proclamation which has caused very considerable disquietude amongst all those who are zealous for the glory of God, the honour of England, and the salvation of the heathen, and whose hearts' desire it is that the glorious Gospel should have free course in India for all time to come. The Queen is pleased to say, "We do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure." On the first perusal of this sentence we were startled. It seemed as if all the old policy of the past was evoked, and the civil and military functionaries had received permission to be Christians on one condition only—that their Christianity should be of such a nature as to be shut up in the man's own breast and never emit one ray of light on the dark heathen around. But these words are only a part of a sentence, incomplete in themselves, and requiring to be viewed in their context, in order that their true meaning may be ascertained—"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none be molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law: and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that

they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure." The interference spoken of is such as would be inconsistent with the declaration of Her Majesty, that she has no desire to impose her convictions upon her native subjects, which would molest or disquiet them if they continued unconvinced, or deprive them of that impartial protection of the law to which all are entitled. In that sense interference is forbidden. It is the interference of partiality, the interference that favours or coerces: it is the undue exercise of authority either for or against the truth, or its introduction, under any form, into matters of religion.

Such interference none have deprecated more earnestly than the friends of Christian Missions. There must be no constraint, no undue influence. Christianity must win its own way, and commend itself by its own inherent excellence to the acceptance of the people. Government, as represented by its functionaries, bears the sword: it can bestow rewards or inflict punishment; but this power must never be used, either in the way of rewards or punishments, to induce on the part of the natives a profession of Christianity. In order to be valuable, the progress made must be genuine and heartfelt; and therefore it is that Her Majesty forbids the introduction of this element of "authority" into the efforts which may be put forth for the conversion of the natives. Moreover, there existed a specific reason why such a declaration on the part of Her Majesty should have been introduced, because of the delusion which very extensively prevailed amongst the natives of the Northern Presidency, and which, in a considerable measure, lighted up the recent outbreak, viz. that a compulsory interference with their religion had been contemplated and attempted to be carried out by Government.

We will not permit ourselves to entertain any doubt as to the sense in which Her Majesty, when she sanctioned these words, intended they should be understood. Assuredly it never could have been her purpose to interfere with her faithful servants in the exercise of a right which belongs to every Christian, and which she has herself, in her royal communication with her Indian subjects, so properly made use of—the right of avowing their belief in the truth of Christianity. The true sense of the passage is that in which Her Majesty used it, and we can never believe that she intended it to be prohibitory of the godly action of a Christian man, or that she designed to impose a requisition on those

in authority under her, which consists not with the allegiance and service they owe their divine Lord.

It never could have been Her Majesty's intention to prohibit the exercise of that power of persuasion which, in a greater or less degree, connects with Christian individualism, and has nothing whatever to do with office, and which, belonging to the individual irrespectively of office, he is free to exercise, whether he be in office or out of office. The influence and authority which he derives from the Crown the magistrate is bound to use as the superior authority directs, or, if he cannot conscientiously comply, he is free to resign his office; but the power of persuasion and of influencing others, which belongs to him as a private Christian, he derives from Christ, and he is not only *free* to use it, but *he is bound* to use it, whether in office or out of office.

In truth, the passage, if otherwise interpreted, would place Her Majesty in a most inconsistent position; for instantly on expressing her own convictions of the truth of Christianity, she forthwith prohibits all who may be in authority under her from any procedure, however discreet or persuasive, which might have the effect of commending it to the acceptance of the natives. She acknowledges the value of Christianity only to restrict, in a most serious manner, its free action, and places all those in authority under her in the position of a non-conductor, which arrests, instead of communicating, the electric spark to others. We cannot but conclude, therefore, that the interference which Her Majesty intended to eliminate, is the interference which is by force or fraud; and we are disposed to think that this is the only interpretation that would be put upon the paragraph, if submitted to the collective wisdom of the judicial bench of England.

At the same time we cannot be surprised at the feeling of uneasiness which has prevailed; and simply because this is not the first time that the word "interference" has been made use of in official documents relating to India. It will be found in a despatch of evil omen and unhappy notoriety, the "Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, sent in the months of April or May 1847, or thereabouts, directing the issue of orders to all public officers, forbidding the support or countenance, on their part, of Missionary efforts." That despatch is thus worded—"Our Governor-General in Council: You are aware that we have uniformly maintained the principle of abstaining from all interference with the religion of the natives of India. It is obviously essential to the due

observance of that principle, that it should be acted upon by our servants, civil and military. The Government is known throughout India by its officers, with whom it is identified in the eyes of the native inhabitants, and our servants should therefore be aware, that, while invested with public authority, their acts cannot be regarded as those of private individuals. We are, however, led, by circumstances of recent occurrence, to conclude that a different view of this subject is taken in India; and we therefore deem it necessary to call your immediate and particular attention to this absolute necessity of maintaining this most important principle in its fullest extent."

In this despatch there is no ambiguity whatever as to the meaning in which the word "interference" is used. It is expressly intended to "forbid all the civil and military officers of the Crown from using, even in their private capacity, any direct or indirect means to save the natives from perdition." Such was its object, and so it was understood in India. The Hon. F. Millett, in his Minute, observes, "The despatch now under consideration is couched in terms so comprehensive, that it might apparently be taken to convey a prohibition to the civil and military servants of the Company from taking any part whatever in Missionary proceedings. It must, however, be generally known, that for years past many of the Company's servants have been members of Committees of Bible Societies and Missionary Societies in all the Presidencies." So stringent and unreasonable did the despatch appear to be, if understood in this unqualified sense, that Mr. Millett ventured to entertain the hope that the prohibition was not meant to extend to indirect interference of such a nature as acting on Committees of Bible or Missionary Societies. The Governor-General (Lord Hardinge), then at Simla, was referred to; and in his mind there existed not the least doubt, that by "this comprehensive prohibition the civil and military servants of the Company were enjoined to take no part whatever in Missionary proceedings." But he was of opinion that the publication of the Court's order in the Gazette was not advisable, and that it should be confided only to officers of the most experienced judgment at the head of the two Governments of Bengal and the Upper Provinces, who, on the occurrence of cases which appeared to require its application, might refer to the Supreme Government for advice.

But the despatch of 1847 presents a striking contrast to the Royal Proclamation of 1858, for in the former document there is no reference to Christianity: all mention of it is sup-

pressed. In the latter document, Christianity is expressly recognised; and the Queen, in claiming the allegiance of her subjects, avows her allegiance to Him who is King of kings and Lord of lords. In the one, the duty enjoined is non-interference in the most unlimited and unmodified sense; in the other, its meaning is defined, and the expression placed under wholesome restrictions. It is true, the word "interference" occurs in both documents; but so unlike are they to each other, that the meaning which it bears in the one just serves to indicate the sense which it does not bear in the other.

Let the whole subject be fairly and dispassionately considered; and, in calm reflection, can it be concluded that a prohibition, which, in the days of neutrality and evasive policy, was withheld from publicity, and was acted upon in secret, because the men who uttered it did not dare to expose it to the eyes of England, has been renewed and enforced by Her Majesty in her very first act of sovereignty, her Royal Proclamation — and that at a moment, when, in consequence of the extreme suffering, which the British public, in sympathy with their betrayed and murdered countrymen, has endured, a great change has taken place on the national conviction as to the principles in which India is to be governed? The thing is incredible.

Let it be considered for an instant in what a position of embarrassment such an expression of the royal will would place Her Majesty's servants in India. It is an undeniable fact, that the men of admitted superiority in the Council and the field, during the late emergencies, are the men of avowed Christianity. They are the men who never hesitated, after Her Majesty's own example, to avow their convictions of the truth of Christianity, and the personal support and comfort which they derived from it; nor did they hesitate, in the exercise of their individual right, by every judicious means, to encourage its evangelists, and commend the Gospel to the earnest consideration of the natives. In what a position would not such men be placed if this word "interference" proved to be, after all, a miserable equivocal, designed to be understood in the milder sense now, and thus escape detection; and by and by, whenever an opportunity presented itself, and some statesmen imbued with the reactionary policy of Lord Ellenborough's letter, and Sir G. Clerk's memorandum, presided at the Council Board of India, to be used coercively. We know well how such men would act if placed in such a strait: as Daniel acted — "when he knew that the decree was signed, he went into

his house: and his windows being open in his chamber towards Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a-day, and prayed and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime." But surely Her Majesty never intended to place men who are not the less, but immeasurably more, her faithful servants, because they are confessedly the servants of Christ, in a position of such painful embarrassment, as to constrain them, either to violate their consciences, or else forfeit the well-merited rewards of noble services. And such of them as are now with us, recruiting their physical and mental energies, after the exhaustion inseparable from intense anxiety and exertion—men who deserve to be highly valued and honoured, the Spartans of our day, who stood fast in the defile of India's Thermopylae, and, although contending against overpowering numbers, yielded not—shall they, indeed, be sent back to India, with the chains of non-interference, in its malign sense, on their hearts and hands? No! Her Majesty never purposed this. Rather does she confide in their discretion, as well she may, and bids them act freely, and without restriction, so long as they act Christianly.

In fact, the two spheres of duty are perfectly distinct. It may be very well to say, "For a European gentleman in India there is, strictly speaking, no private life." Now there is a sense in which this is true—that in which the noble Lord used these words, and that because there are "quick eyes to watch his conduct," &c.; but there is a sense in which it is not, as we conceive, strictly correct to say so, at least, if the European gentleman be in reality that which he professes to be, a Christian. There is a private life—a life which he has to God, an inner circle, in which he comes under influences and considerations infinitely superior to all mere worldly motives, and which places him under obligations and duties which must be fulfilled, at whatever cost, for "we must obey God rather than man;" and the rights of this private life Daniel vindicated when he refused obedience to the king's decree—a decree which the king had no right to issue, and which the Hebrew statesman was unable to obey. It would be a cruel procedure, if a monarch were to impose on any one of his subjects, under a denunciation of the severest penalties, an act which was physically impossible, as Pharaoh oppressed the Israelites; but it would be still more so, to enjoin that which is morally impossible, and which cannot be done without the compromise of that service which a man owes to God. In such circumstances, resistance becomes a duty.

We repeat, then, the two spheres of duty and allegiance are perfectly distinct, and ought never to antagonize. Nor will they if they be properly defined, for then the lesser duty will be found to be included in the greater, and the divine allegiance supplies the motives and the strength by which the lesser duty may be rendered.*

We cannot, then, entertain any doubt as to the good faith in which these words were uttered by Her Majesty. Still it is no doubt possible that they might be wrested to bear another meaning. We can just conceive the possibility of a statesman of strong reactionary policy presiding at the Council Board of India, or invested with the high office of Governor-General, who should think himself justified in placing upon them an interpretation consistent with his own prejudices. There are men to be found, who, notwithstanding the accumulated evidence to the contrary, are yet under the delusion, that the late disturbances in India are attributable to Missionary proceedings. In Lord Ellenborough's letter of April 28th, 1858, that sentiment is unequivocally expressed. The extension of the grants-in-aid system to Missionary schools, is, in his opinion, the unsound point in the policy of the Government.—"This measure, guarded as it appears to be by restricting the aid of Government to the secular education of natives in Missionary schools, seems to be of a very perilous character." And again—"I have from the very first been under the impression—and all that I have heard from the commencement of the mutinies has only tended to confirm it—that this almost unanimous mutiny of the Bengal army, accompanied as it has been by very extensive indications of a hostile feeling among the people, could never have occurred without the existence of some all-pervading apprehension that the Government entertained designs against their religion. No cause, inferior, could have produced so great a revolution on the native mind. There may have been acts of recent legislation, and certain hardships attending our revenue administration, which may have had a painful effect in alienating classes of our subjects; and there may, perhaps, have been a change in the demeanour of persons in civil employment towards the people, and of officers towards the troops; but however much to be regretted, these causes of alienation from our Government must have been confined to par-

* *Vide* "Notes on the Revolt," &c., p. 141, &c., by Mr. Charles Raikes, Judge of the Sudder Court at Agra, &c.

ticular classes, and particular localities. Our system of education prevailed the land. It was known in every village. We were teaching new things in a new way; and often, as the teacher, stood the Missionary, who was only in India to convert the people." And yet, the letter of the Court which permitted the extension of grants-in-aid to Missionary schools, dates so recently as 1854. The extent to which such establishments could have come under the new regulation must have been very limited and partial; notwithstanding, we are to persuade ourselves to believe, that, in this short period of three years, all the mischief had been done, and that a few grants-in-aid to a few Missionary schools produced a great revolution in the native mind, and filled India with an all-pervading apprehension that the Government entertained designs against native religions! Every one knows that the seeds of revolt had been sown long before, and yet the anachronism is overlooked in the strong desire to make Missionary effort the scapegoat in this matter. Where such prejudices exist, it is of course within the limits of probability, that, under favourable circumstances, an effort might be made to paralyze the action of Christianity. Statesmen might think it expedient that it should be silenced and put aside, upon the same principle which Caiaphas urged, when he said,—“It is expedient for us that one man die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.” But we know the disastrous results of the policy of the Jewish ecclesiastic. That which was intended to save, destroyed the nation. And if, on grounds of political expediency, we are ever tempted to pursue a like course, and presume to sacrifice Christianity, as the Jews did its Divine Author, the same consequences must fall upon us.

Let us suppose that such a juncture had arrived, when, having armed himself with these words of the Royal Proclamation, an inflexible official craved for judgment against those, who, according to his interpretation of them, had rendered themselves offenders, and stood forward, a very Shylock, resolved to exact the penalty to the uttermost—

I crave the law
The penalty—a forfeit of my bond—

who, inexorable in his demand for that which he deemed justice, should forget that justice, in its most righteous administration, can consist with the exercise of mercy.

But England must arbitrate: and would she permit the letter to overbear the spirit of righteous law in which justice and mercy are always attempered? Nay, more, if the letter,

like Shylock's bond, sustained not the procedure—

“Tarry a little: there is something else.
This bond doth give thee here no jot of blood.
Thy words expressly are a pound of flesh.
Then take thy bond; take then thy pound of flesh,
But in the cutting it, if thou dost shed
One drop of Christian blood, thy lands and goods
Are, by the laws of Venice, confiscate
Unto the state of Venice.”

So will England determine. For all interference that carries with it force or fraud, let the penalty be rightly exacted. But he who would prosecute, shall have need to whet his knife and make it sharp; for if he trenches but a hair's breadth on individual right and freedom, he must yield the forfeiture.

“Shed thee no blood, nor cut thou less, nor more,
But just a pound of flesh: if thou tak'st more
Or less than a just pound, be it but so much
As makes it light or heavy in the substance
Or the division of the twentieth part
Of one poor scruple,—nay, if the scale do turn
But in the estimation of a hair,—
Thou diest, and all thy goods are confiscate.”

No! No English statesman, whatever may be his prejudices and distrust of Christian action, will never adventure himself on such an ordeal. England would not endure it: India would not endure it. We quote from the “Times” * correspondent — “I question whether politicians at home yet understand how intense is this feeling among large classes of Europeans in India. A very large majority, particularly of officials, who will bear any thing from England, carry out any line of policy, or obey any order, will not bear the slightest hint of what they deem an ‘anti-Christian policy.’ A direct order, for instance, to abstain from contributing to Missionary funds, would produce a direct refusal to obey, and, if necessary, resignation from scores of the best officers in Her Majesty's service.” Such a policy we trust will not be again attempted. We can only say he will be a bold statesman who will adventure upon it.

Let British authority leave individual conscience free. It has already, without interfering with this, abundance of responsibility. Even in this matter of religion it has a duty to discharge—not to interfere, but to moderate. This is well put in the following passages from a recent work on the late revolt.

“Let the Hindú and the Mohammedan see

* “Times,” Dec. 16.

clearly, that whilst we boldly profess our own, we desire not to constrain their mode of belief; that though we are not indifferent to all religion, we treat all men alike. If we hold India as conquerors, we rule it as moderators. Our vocation is to keep the public peace, not to govern the public mind. If a Hindú thinks proper to paint his nose with vermilion, to tie his hair in knots, to squander his money on nautch girls, or pagodas, let him do so. But when he wants to sacrifice his infant children to the river gods, to sing filthy songs on the highway, or to stop up his grandfather's mouth with mud, and then launch him, still living, into the sacred stream,* our laws should interfere. In like manner, if the Mohammedan solaces his spirit by beating his breast, and calling on his prophet or martyrs in public procession, we should allow the procession to pass on; but when he rushes about, sword in hand, frantic with drugs and fanaticism, we should take away his arms, and put him to cool in the nearest police station. Even so, if, under the garb of religion, a minister of Christianity were to offend decency, public or private, the law would strip his gown from the offender.

"This is the proper display of the grandeur of Christianity. Let the Mohammedan, with the Korán on his breast, and the sword in his hand, slay or circumcise; let the Hindú coolly excommunicate mankind. It is the privilege of the Christian ruler neither to repel nor to force the human family; to maintain at the same moment public decency and private opinion."†

Meanwhile British Christians have a more positive duty to perform: they have now to

put forth the most earnest efforts to save the natives of India, both Hindús and Mahomedans, from destruction.

The Gospel of Christ is the great need of India, her most urgent requirement. Her Majesty has expressed her earnest desire and prayer, that India may become prosperous, contented, and grateful. Such it can never be so long as it continues heathen. We have not now to learn that legislation, however wise, and administrative action, however able, are incompetent to deal with the social evils of that country, and that a more powerful remedy is needed. Now, then, is the time for British Christians to prove that they are keenly alive to India's need, and their own duty, by a large increase of Missionary effort. More men for India! This is the great requirement of the present moment—men of the right stamp, taught in the school of Christ, discreet, yet resolute, able, and yet humble. More men for India! Who is there to respond? The Royal Proclamation, translated into many languages, has gone forth throughout its kingdoms, and shall not the Great Proclamation be published—the message of God's mercy in Christ to perishing sinners—shall not this go forth, many-tongued, to every province and city of that great dependency, to make glad men's hearts, by telling them of that Heavenly Sovereign, who is able, not only to pardon their sins, but renew their nature; who can dry up the spring of evil in the heart, nay, change it into a well-spring of life? Yes! let this be made known throughout India, as it has never been before, and the new era of opportunity be inaugurated by such comprehensive and self-denying efforts, as shall prove to an observant world, that, in the great object which they propose to themselves—the evangelization of India by the unaided power and majesty of Gospel truth—British Christians are in earnest.

* These so-called "ghát-murders" go on daily close to Calcutta, and should be put down, whether the Bengali like it or not.

† *Vide* Raikes's "Notes on the Revolt," p. 141.

THE LANGUAGES OF BRITISH INDIA.

It is the province of the *Intelligencer*, not only to present to its readers from month to month a record of the progress of Missionary enterprise, chiefly, of course, in connexion with the extensive and diversified operations of the *Church Missionary Society*, but also to furnish such information on collateral topics as may aid the acquisition of a more intelligent comprehension of the whole question. With this desire we now lay before our friends an illustrated sketch of the languages of British India and its immediate dependencies, and we do so with the hope also and prayer that such a view may tend towards defining and

deepening the interest in the vast multitude of our fellow-subjects—nearly one-seventh of the human race—dwelling within the limits of idolatrous Hindústán.

And such an inquiry is not superfluous. Interesting as the subject is, yet amongst persons otherwise well informed, there is too commonly almost a total want of knowledge respecting it; and it would be impossible, also, to direct an inquirer to any single work containing within a moderate compass the main data on the question in its very important bearing on Indian Missions. People ask a Missionary lately returned from India, "Did you

Gibraltar

Washington

Sierra Leone

Dominican

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preach in the Hindústání?" and when told in reply that that language was not generally understood in his part of the country, the fact first dawns upon many that there is more than one language there; and if it be further explained to them that the very claim of Hindústání to be an Indian language at all—as being merely an artificial dialect—has been called in question by Oriental scholars, their astonishment is proportionally increased. And yet it would be difficult, we say, to direct a student to any one source of more accurate information. Cardinal Wiseman's Lectures* present, indeed, the state of ethnological knowledge a third of a century ago, but many facts have been accumulated and generalized since then. An inordinate Sanskrit-worship, not always, we fear, pursued in a reverential spirit towards the Old Testament, has deformed the researches of many more recent philologists. Lassen's laborious works† and Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays will long continue to be the great storehouses for students. We hope that Mr. Bagster will soon give us a new edition of his very meritorious summary, *The Bible of every Land*, now out of print. Perhaps the best *résumé* of the subject of Indian Languages is to be found in the Penny Cyclopædia.‡ Our present remarks claim no merit beyond that of a brief popular compilation; and though pains have been taken to escape inaccuracies, it is very probable, from scantiness of materials and other causes, that they have not been altogether avoided.

We must not despise abstract sciences. They are often much more practical than we think for. When Hunter was making his researches into comparative anatomy and arranging his museum, it was probably little supposed that his studies had so direct a bearing on the healing art, or that the operation for aneurism would grow, at it did, out of a comparison of the structure of one of the inferior animals with that of the human form, thereby supplying the connecting link which led to the discovery. When Faraday was pursuing the delicate experiments which showed that forces hitherto supposed to be distinct—we mean the magnetic, the electric, and the galvanic—were identical, and "the latter

merely a form of chemical force,"* it was probably little thought how practical were those inquiries, in their direct bearing, for example, on the electric telegraph, still probably only in its infancy. And so it is, we may feel assured, with respect to the youngest of the sciences, Comparative Philology—the study, that is, not of one or more particular languages, but of the mutual interdependence and classification of them all. This study may appear, indeed, to be remote from practical results. We are persuaded that it is not so. Its successful prosecution lies at the root of many great questions involving the foundations of our faith; it is the real key, too, to the understanding of a nation's history, and a valuable auxiliary to systematic Missionary work.

Ethnologists are now tolerably agreed that there are five great subdivisions of the human race, conterminous, speaking roughly, with the five great geographical divisions of the world†—The *Aryan* (otherwise called Indo-European, Indo-Germanic, Iranian, Japhetic, Sarmatic, Caucasian, &c.,) principally to be identified with Europe, though having its roots in Asia, and having overflowed, directly or through its branches, into every other part of the world—the *Mongolian* (otherwise called Turanian, Ugro-Tatarian, Scythian, &c.), occupying Asia, but stretching also over Northern Europe, through Finland and Lapland—the *Negro* of Africa and New Guinea—the *Malay*, of Madagascar, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific—and the *American* of the western world, whose near affinity to the Malay, or to the Mongolian, is a matter of hypothesis. The great question of the unity of the human species—about which no believer, not only in the Old Testament, but in Christianity, can have a doubt—is fully sustained by such researches into the physical history of mankind, as have come from the pen of that upright Christian philosopher, Prichard; but as yet Comparative Philology is too crude and immature for a wise man to allow its evidence to weigh much in such a case. When some philological Hunter or Faraday shall arise to take the question in hand, the hidden affinities will leap to light, and the unity of language be demonstrated. Meanwhile, Missionaries are largely adding to the materials for the resolution of the problem; and philologists will do well to bear in mind

* "Twelve Lectures on the connexion between Science and Revealed Religion, delivered at Rome, Lent, 1835." The ethnographic map, which serves as Frontispiece, exhibits strange blunders as to India. Pali, *e.g.*, appears in the centre of the Dekhan.

† "Indischer Alterthumskunde;" "Institutiones Lingue Præcriticæ;" &c.

Vol. xii. pp. 226—230.

* See "Evening Thoughts," by a Physician, p. 140.

† Keith Johnston's Physical School Atlas gives, in a cheap form and with great beauty of execution, this and most of the other important facts of Physical Geography.

that it is to Christian Missions that they owe almost all their knowledge of Chinese, of the Malay dialects, and of the multitudinous tongues of Africa, and very much, too, of their acquaintance with the languages of British India.

Our immediate subject is with those languages, and we are led to inquire, To which of the great stocks just indicated are we to attribute their parentage? Let us just mark its physical geography, which is indicated by the coloured map accompanying this notice. We have three great mountain-chains in India; the Himalayas, dividing Hindústán from the great table-land of Central Asia, the latter itself elevated to the average height of the chief mountain-chains of Europe; the Western and Eastern Gháts, meeting in a point within a few miles of Cape Comorin, the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula; and the Vindyas nearly bisecting the country horizontally. It will be seen that the Gháts and Vindyas together form three sides of a triangle, which run nearly parallel with the boundaries of India itself. They enclose the important elevated table-land of the Dekhan, of an average height of 2000 feet above the sea level, Tinnevely being only 209 feet. From the Punjab to Calcutta flows the great Ganges, receiving in its course several tributary rivers, each far longer and larger than the Thames or the Severn; and here, as we should naturally expect, the population of India reaches its maximum average to a square mile.

Let us now enumerate in order the various races that live and die in this land of the sun.

I. *The Hill-tribes of India.*—The great Gangetic valley is bounded, as we just noticed, on the south by a range of hills, principally the Vindyas, the home of a rude and little known population, exceeding, however, that of Ireland, who seem to make a natural line of demarcation between the two great races now occupying the south and the north. These two great races severally belong, without question, to the Mongolian and the Aryan stocks, and the Mongolian race were the earlier of the two; but who were the *first* inhabitants of Hindústán, and whether the nations of Mongolian origin dispossessed a race earlier still, is still a matter of theory, and the data for the demonstration of the problem are only to be supplied by a knowledge of the grammars and vocabularies of the many Hill-tribes, who are altogether destitute of a literature, nay, whose dialects are as yet but very partially and imperfectly, for the most

part, even reduced to writing. The question is, we say, whether these Hill-tribes represent the earliest occupants, forced by succeeding waves of immigration into mountain-fastnesses, or whether they are isolated fragments of the same great race which still occupies the plateau of the Dekhan, and fringes nearly two-thirds of the sea-board of the Indian peninsula. It would be profitless to enumerate all these clans of rude and half-clad mountaineers, of whom it is calculated that there are upwards of fifty. The Nomads of the Nilgherries and of the Western Gháts; the Arrians (Araans), or Malé-arasar — “hill-kings”—of Travancore; the Todar, Kotar, Badagar, &c.; and further north, the Kodaga, Palé, Kuruba, &c., of the Coorg district, speak rough and guttural *patois* of the tongues (Tamil, Malayalam,* Canarese) elaborated in the lower lands by the more civilized inhabitants; so too with the Gonds and Khonds of Gondwana, and the people of the Rajmahal Hills. But the Kōl, or Coles, estimated at from 3,000,000 to 8,000,000, forming the base of the peninsular triangle, and running almost parallel with the Tropic of Cancer, have not been affiliated to any of the tongues, either northward or southward of them. Hardly any thing has been yet done for the analysis of their chief languages, the Mundári, the Uraon, the Santhal, and the Hariya. But the marvellous success, which has been recently granted by the God of Missions to the labours of the Rev. Emil Schatz, and his colleagues, among the Kōls of Chota Nagpur,† together with the increased attention directed to the Hill-tribes by the events of the mutiny, will probably, ere long, enlarge our information respecting them. At present we are inclined, with Mr. Norris, to assign them to the Malayan or Australian stock.

II. *The South-Indian or Dravidian Family.*—No doubt, however, hangs over the question as to the stock to which the population of the Dekhan and its vicinity is to be assigned, and whom we find in pre-historic times already in possession of the peninsula. The first race of whose location we are *certain* is undoubtedly a branch of the Mongolian. They may possibly have entered India through the Valley of the Indus. At least, the Brahui, a vernacular still spoken near its embouchure, is

* The ordinary spelling of this word must not be confounded, as it often is, with Malay, with which it has no connexion, as the name is derived from *malé* ‘a hill’—the language of the hilly country, as contrasted with that of the plains of the eastern side of India.

† *Vide* the next article of the present Number.

closely connected with the South-Indian family. Their aboriginal religion, still retaining a predominant hold on the popular mind in the south, is demonolatry, its ceremonies bearing a curious affinity to the Shamanites of Russian Asia, a race ethnologically connected with them, though locally so distinct. Prichard, many years ago, intimated their independence of the Sanskrit and distinctness from the Aryan race; but it has been reserved for Dr. Caldwell to demonstrate this proposition in detail to English circles, in his very able and important work on the subject.* Throughout South India we find a population of 33,000,000 speaking four cultivated languages—the Tamil, the Telugu, the Canarese, and the Malayalim, besides many subordinate dialects, all belonging undoubtedly to one family; and with a rich and highly cultivated literature and a non-Sanskritic alphabet in the case of the Tamil, decidedly anterior to Brahminism. It was the fashion, with a certain school of Indian philologists, to assign these languages to a Sanskrit stock, and even in the very valuable Statistical Papers (India), published in 1853,† they are stated to be “closely dependent upon it.” “It is a question now,” says Mr. Norris, turning the tables on some former Grammarians, “whether all the languages of India are not of one origin, with the only difference that the so-called Sanskrit dialects have received a much more copious infusion of Sanskrit words than the southern tongues.”‡

It must not, however, be supposed that these languages are nothing more than mere dialects: they are separate, fully-developed tongues. The old Missionary Schultze says, “The relation of the Varuga [Telugu] to the Malabar [Tamil] language appears to be much the same as if a German should learn Danish. . . . We are not to suppose that a Varuga

can immediately understand Malabar, or *vice versa*: experience shows the contrary.”* Dr. Caldwell says that they are as distinct as Spanish from Portuguese; and one of the popular tales of the country turns upon the mutual unintelligibility of a Tamil man and a Telugu. Of this family the Telugu is the most widely spoken and most melodious, but the Tamil must be regarded as the representative. While the former admits Sanskrit freely, the latter is nearly independent of it, and has a copious vocabulary of its own.†

The most important works in its indigenous literature are the Nannul, a grammar of the High, or Shen-Tamil; the Kural, a collection of poetical aphorisms, remarkable, not merely for its intrinsic beauty, but as the work of a Pariar, though disfigured in some sections by the repulsive grossness which beslims all Hindu compositions; and a Poem attributed to the Sage Agastya, containing a curious stanza, memorable, though of doubtful authenticity, for being regarded by the natives as a kind of prophecy of Christianity.‡

This would appear to be the place to notice the Singhalese, which was included by Lassen under the South-Indian tongues. There seems, however, considerable reason to question this classification, and to assign this language to the family next to be considered.§

* “Notices of Madras,” &c., p. 41.

† At least 58,000 words. An example occurs in the “Notices of Madras,” &c., p. 121. “The Tamil language is rich in words. Thus we have only one word for rice; but the Tamuls say, Nellu, rice threshed, but not dressed—Pair, rice as it stands in the fields—Arisi, rice that is dressed (or as it is sold in Europe)—Soru, cooked rice—Caddi-soru, packed rice, i.e. cooked rice on which sour milk has been poured, and which is packed in a bag for a journey—Parhein-soru, cooked rice, the remains of a previous day, and eaten for breakfast—Canschi, the water in which rice has been cooked. This they use as a drink.” We have left the spelling unchanged.

‡ We subjoin this remarkable passage—

“Worship thou the Light of the Universe, who is one:

Who made the world in a moment, and placed good men in it;

Who afterwards Himself dawned upon the earth as a Guru;

Who, without wife or family, as a hermit performed austerities;

Who, appointing loving sages (siddhas) to succeed him,

Departed again into heaven:—worship Him.”

Caldwell, p. 83.

§ The Singhalese language is well worth further philological study. In almost all points of grammatical structure, especially in the order of

* “A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian, or South-Indian Family of Languages.” Harrison: London, 1866. We regret to find neither index, nor even table of contents—wants which we trust the author will supply in a future edition, as they materially impair the practical value of his work as a book of reference. We regret, too, that he should have adopted a new system of phonetic notation (not explained till p. 92), instead of employing one already in use; though perhaps this is only a tacit testimony to the inadequacy of all at present in vogue in India. These, however, are but slight drawbacks to a work of so much merit.

† Parliamentary Papers, No. 369. 1853, April 20, p. 41.

‡ Editor's note in Mr. Edwin Norris's Edition of Prichard's “Natural History of Man.” 1855. vol. i. p. 248. See also Caldwell, pp. 226, 501.

We have given priority to the South-Indian languages, as they are entitled to it chronologically; but by far the largest and most important element in India, whether regarded religiously, linguistically, or numerically, is that which has been infused by the Aryan race; religiously, for it is the vehicle of Brahminism; linguistically, for it is the parent of the ten northern vernaculars, and has furnished most of the scientific and religious nomenclature of the south; numerically, for it is the channel of thought for 147 millions of the people of Hindústán.

III. *The North-Indian or Aryan Family.*—

Our readers are aware that the name Aryan is generally adopted for the cognomen of the great Indo-European division of mankind stretching from Iceland to Calcutta, as indi-

words in a sentence, and in the use of relative participles instead of a relative pronoun, it manifests a striking affinity to the Dravidian subdivision of the Mongolian stock, while the vocabulary is predominantly Aryan, often presenting closer analogies than are found elsewhere to the tongues of Western Europe. Not merely have the vocables been influenced by the Pali, but the Elu, or High Singhalese, the classical form of the existing vernacular, is manifestly allied to Sanskrit, if not as a sister tongue, at least as a very ancient Prakrit. The popular numerals seem to leave no doubt as to this fact. The physical features of the race, a population shown by each succeeding census to be decidedly on the increase, point also to their Aryan origin, whilst their Pali metrical history, the Mahawanso, and the Sidath Sangarawa, a native Elu or Singhalese grammar translated into English, with an elaborate Preface, by a native Proctor, (De Alwis), bear also in the same direction. Dr. Caldwell's omission of Singhalese from his Comparative Analysis of the South-Indian idioms is significant of his opinion. The encouraging, but silent progress of the Gospel amongst this people, of the extent of which few are aware, would be most important if it terminated only in the evangelization of an insular population tenfold that of New Zealand; but when we remember that South Ceylon, specially Kandy, is the sacred centre of Buddhism, the deposit of the Dalada relic—the reputed tooth of Buddha, exhibited from time to time with great pomp (as illustrated in the Engraving at the head of this Number), and the object of religious embassies from Siam, and even Thibet—the bearing of its evangelization, on the progress of the Gospel in the far East, can hardly be over-rated. Should Buddhism fall in Ceylon, the catastrophe must be felt through Asia beyond the Ganges. It is the plain duty and obvious province of a Missionary Society to pursue vigorously all educational and other measures which may tend to so glorious a result. The interesting linguistic problem, which we have only space to indicate, may be well left to the inquiries of philologists.

cating the point from which it is believed they diverged—the Aria, or Ariana, of the Greek geographers, coincident with part of modern Persia and Afghanistan. There was the home of the race, there the cradle of the two sister-tongues, the Sanskrit and the Zend, or perhaps of a tongue older still, now lost, from which they and others were derived; if we adopt at least the hypothesis of W. von Humboldt, and suppose—as Sir W. Jones had previously done†—a Pre-Sanskrit. It is through the Zend (the language of the Parsi Zendavesta, no longer spoken, but the parent of modern Persian and Afghan, or Pushtu) that are traceable the closest affinities to the German and other tongues of Europe, the Zend being said to be itself far more similar to the very ancient Sanskrit of the Rig-Veda than to Sanskrit in its later developments.

The ancient seat of the Hindús proper—the holy land of the Brahmins—lay between the Himalaya and the Vindhya mountains, was called Aryavarta, and was the locality of their early national existence five and twenty centuries before the Christian era, and the centre from which they spread themselves over the valley of the Ganges and downwards into peninsular India. It may be doubted whether Sanskrit was ever, strictly speaking, a vernacular, being probably the polished language of books; while at one period three Prakrits, or less refined spoken idioms—the Apabranja, the Magadha, and the Sauraseni—stretched from the Indus to the Sunderbunds; and a fourth, the Maharastrí, over the district now occupied by the Mahrathí. Magadha has been identified with Pali, the sacred language of Buddhism. It was adopted probably by Gautama Buddha, who arose as a reformer of Hindúism about 600 B. C., and appears to have employed the existing vernacular as the best medium for the propagation of his system. These Prakrits have long ceased to be spoken. The modern languages of India directly derived from the Sanskrit are ten in number, the Hindí, with its eighteen dialects included, being far the most important—the mother-tongue of 67,000,000, and probably the immediate parent of several of the neighbouring verna-

† His words are—"The old sacred language of India [Sanskrit] is more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of the verbs and the forms of pronouns, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologist could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists."

culars. Here, too, we must guard the reader against the supposition that these vernaculars are mere dialects. They are distinct languages, each demanding a separate study, its own version of the Scriptures, and its special staff of Missionaries; each as far removed from the rest as Tamil from Telugu, or Welsh from Irish.

The other Sanskrit tongues are the Bengali, with its most prolific modern literature, the vernacular of the Christians of Kishnagar; the Oriya, of Orissa, the locality of the temple of Juggernaut; the Assamese; the Nipali, a pure Hindî tongue spoken by the Gûrkas; the Kashmiri; the Sikh, or Punjabi, with a literature originating in the peculiar tenets of their sage Nanuk, the latest of Hindû reformers; the Sindhi, with its two dialects, Multani and Kutchi, to which, perhaps, may be properly added Marwari, the dominant idiom of Rajpûtna, if it does not deserve the rank of a distinct language; the Gujarathi; and the Mahrathi of Sivaji and his terrible cavalry, the only member of the Sanskritic family that has effected a lodgment in the Dekhan. The Afghani and Belûchi belong to the Persian branch.

IV. *The Mohammedan element*—A fourth most important ingredient enters into the speech of Hindûstân, an element which brought with it a third religion, as well as created a new language. There have been two great streams of Mohammedan immigration into India; the one, the lesser in magnitude and the later in date, direct by sea from Arabia into the Dekhan, chiefly engaged in reinforcing the Nizam (Hyderabad) and Mysore; the other and far more important, by land, from the north-west, bearing with it the great Mogul dynasty, to which the other Mussulman potentates owned fealty. The Moguls were Usbek-Turks, from the north of Cabul, who, finding that they could not impose their own vernacular on their new subjects, adopted Persian as the Court-language, from the fusion of which with Hindî arose the artificial language, Hindûstâni, otherwise called Urdû [Oordoo], or the idiom of the camp. Hindûstâni is thus the most modern language in the world with a regularly-formed grammar and vocabulary, for history tells us that it was definitively fixed by the Emperor Akbar about A.D. 1555. It is a remarkable illustration of the energy with which Islam was once instinct, when it stretched its Arabic alphabet from Constantinople to Singapore.*

* The Arabic serves to write six great languages in an unbroken line—the Turkish, Arabian, Persian, Afghan, Hindustani, Malay.

It can nowhere be said to be the people's language, except in the North-West Provinces, where it is found side by side with the Hindî, and in the Mussulman quarters of the great cities. It is the *lingua franca* of India, and is learnt by the towns'-people for intercourse with the Sahibs. Go into the country districts, and you are unintelligible if you read a Hindûstâni book to the peasantry, nay, even to the Brahmins of the Ganges, because of the great infusion of foreign words. Hindûstâni will, however, always continue an important tongue, for we cannot estimate the Mohammedan population at less than 25,000,000, exceeding two-thirds of the whole in the north-west, and rapidly diminishing towards the east and south.*

The reader who has followed us thus far will now be prepared to examine the following Table, in which the facts above stated are arranged more systematically, together with much additional matter. The area and population-estimates are reduced from the last Parliamentary return.† The numbers of Missionaries and native Christians are taken from Mullens' Revised Statistics, corrected, as far as possible, up to the present time, the imperfect data precluding, however, their being regarded as more than an approximation. It must be borne in mind that the dates of first commencement of Missionary work in each tongue by no means implies that operations have been pursued with vigour or continuity since that period. Though a comparison of the various columns is sufficient to show, on the one hand, that prolonged and faithful labour is ever owned and crowned with success; on the other hand, there is enough variation to make us feel our absolute dependence for that success on the Spirit of God, and a painful disproportion between the labourers and the harvest-field that should shame and humble the Church of Christ for her lukewarmness in her great mission.

We have endeavoured, also, to present these results at a single glance in the two maps accompanying these remarks, the coloured map showing generally the geographical extension of each language, the plain map enabling the reader to identify any chief town or locality with the vernacular there. Complete accuracy is of course unattainable, as no boundary but the sea, and not always even that, defines sharply and definitely the limits of a spoken tongue.

* Among the Punjabis 5,068,675 out of 10,012,403 are Mussulmans; only 615,022 of 13,020,964 Telugus.

† Parliamentary Papers. 1857. No. 215. Session 2. July 29.

1859.
LANGUAGES OF BRITISH INDIA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,
WITH THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENSION, POPULATION, &c.

Name of Language.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Alphabets.	Indigenous Literature.	Date of Commencement of Missionary Operations.	Number of Missions.	Proportion of Missionaries to Native Population.	Native Christians.	Christian Literature.	REMARKS.
1. Singhaliese	12,278	1,170,369	(1) Singhaliese. [(2) Pali.] [(3) Nagari on Stone Inscriptions.]	Copious. History. Poetry. Proverbs. Grammar, Ethics, &c. &c., chiefly Pali.	A.D. 1812	44 (C.M.S. 10)	One Missionary to 26,000	13,041	The Bible, Book of Common Prayer; various translations; publications of the Singhaliese Tract Society.	Data for affiliation of Singhaliese not yet complete. Total native population of Ceylon (1856), 1,708,913, of which the Tamils, included under (2), amount to 538,579. Total superficial area in square miles, 21,700.
2. Tamil	67,409	11,837,428	Tamil	Copious and highly cultivated.	1706	141 (C.M.S. 33)	84,000	77,820	Bible, Pr.-B. hymns, translations, and original works.	First Indian language employed in Protestant Missions. Bible translated A.D. 1727.
3. Telugu (or Telinga)	99,905	13,020,961	Telugu.	Limited in original works. Large translations from Sanskrit.	1805	22 (C.M.S. 6)	592,000	540	Bible, portion of Pr.-B. tracts, translations, &c.	
4. Malayálim	11,580	2,561,953	Malayálim.	None.	1816	32 (C.M.S. 16)	80,000	12,220	Bible, Pr.-B. tracts, translations, &c.	Ancient Syriac, language of the Scriptures and Liturgies of the ancient Syrian Church at Travancore, numbering 70,000 souls.
5. Canarese (or Karnátaka)	54,173	6,259,420	Canarese; a modification of Telugu.	A few original works. Translations from Sanskrit.	1810	26	240,000	2285	Bible, Pr.-B. tracts, translations, &c.	Tuluva, a cultivated South-Indian tongue, included under Canarese population - estimate: spoken probably by 150,000.
6. Gond..... Kol, Bhil, Santhal, &c.	121,873	8,801,839	Uncivilized Hill-Tribes; languages totally uncultivated. Koles, upwards of four millions, possibly Thibetan, or even Malay.		1845	6	1,470,000 (Koles)	3300	...	Hindi hitherto chief medium of communication in the Bengal Presidency.
7. Hindi (Hindui or Hinduwee)	399,381	67,121,682	(1) Sanskrit (or Devanagari), almost pure. (2) Modification of Arabic. (3) Kythi. Corrupted from Sanskrit.	Chiefly translations of Vedas and Puranas, &c. Popular tales.	1814	45 (C.M.S. 9)	1,480,000	2031	Bible, Pr.-B. hymns, educational works, original and translated, &c.	Isolated members of the South-Indian family of languages, as the Uraon, Rajmahal, &c.
8. Bengali	89,452	26,100,950		Modern. Very copious. Pamphlets, Newspapers, &c.	1789	88 (C.M.S. 26)	286,000	13,321	Ditto.	There are forty Bengali printing-presses in Calcutta.
9. Oriya	65,750	5,053,925	Ditto.	None.	1822	11	460,000	900	Bible, translations, tracts, &c.	

(or Dialect)	Aryan Stock.				None.	Non-Aryan	Ditto.	Missionary Society.
12. Kashmiri.....	60,000	3,000,000	Kashmiri; a Sanskritical Al- phabet.	None.	Ditto.	Court language, Persian. Popu- lation chiefly Mohammedan.
13. Panjabi..... (or Sikh)	59,452	10,062,403	Gurmukhi.	Dashina - Padisha- Grantha, and Na- naksha-Grantha.	1834 (C.M.S. 8)	530,000	83	Bible, tracts, &c.	Ditto.		
14. Sindhi..... with Dialects	90,857	3,345,448	(1)(2)Two Alphabets derived from the Sanskrit and Ar- abic respectively. (3) Wutchi, Sindhi.	Rich in Poetry.	1850	538,000 (C.M.S. 6)	6	Portion of the Scrip- tures. Ditto (Kutchi).		Marwari, probably more closely connected with Sindhi than Hindi, and almost of sufficient importance to rank as a dis- tinct language.	
15. Gujarathi.....	50,039	4,838,886	Derived from San- skrit.	Popular Tales.	1813	691,000	105	Bible, translations, tracts, &c.		Mahrathi, Court language of the Guicowar (Baroda), and other Native States.	
16. Mahrathi.....	113,532	14,306,362	Ditto.	Poetry, Tales, Gram- mar, &c.	1813	420,000 (C.M.S. 13)	534	Bible, P.B., transla- tions, tracts, &c.		Gujerathi, the vernacular of Parsiis, and language of com- merce.	
17. Pushtu..... (or Afghani)	* 7,588	* 847,695	Modification of Arabic.	Copious in prose and poetry, chiefly history.	1855	424,000 (C.M.S. 2)	10	Portion of the Scrip- tures, tracts, &c.			
18. Hindustani.....	Nowhere localized in India, except in the val- ley of the Upper Ganges and the Mussulman quar- ters of the large towns.		(1) Arabic, with a few additional dia- critical marks. (2) Deva-nagari.	Translations and modern original works.	..	..	..	The Bible, Pr-B, and many other works.		
19. Persian.....	A Government lan- guage employed by the Mogul formerly, and still by several Native Courts.		Arabic slightly mo- dified.	An extensive native literature.	..	..	..	Ditto.		
Total.....	1,396,053	186,164,914	377,000 (CMS 129)	126,326				
20. Burmese.....	* 95,243	* 1,428,331	Burmese, derived from Arabic.	Considerable.	..	..	..	The Bible, and other translations.	Allied to the monosyllabic tongues,	
21. Bhotani.....	19,000	560,000	Little known, probably uncultivated.	Independent State.	..	..	..	....	Ditto.	

* **British Possessions only included.**

The review into which we have thus been led appears to us to bear most encouragingly on the prospects of Christian Missions throughout the world. If the conjecture be well-founded that the Hill-tribes of India are for the most part connected with the race that has peopled New Zealand and Polynesia, like them, too, not fettered by any elaborate system of caste, then in the marvellous triumphs of the Gospel in the Islands of the Pacific we have an augury of the success that might be anticipated along the Vindhya, the Western Gháts, the ranges of Rajmahal, and Nepaul, if only the men and the means were provided for adequately approaching them. The striking success amongst the Kóis—"the greatest work of adult conversion in Northern India,"*—seems a providential indication of a productive harvest-field. If the most prosperous of Indian Missions is to be found among the Tamils of the south, let us remember their striking affinity, religious, ethnographic, and philological, to the hordes of that vast land of darkness, Northern Asia, and why shall not the glorious Gospel of the blessed God be equally potent with the Shamanites, as with the Shanar? Or, once more, let it not be forgotten that the argument which goes to prove the common derivation from the Aryan stock of the nations of Europe, the Mohammedans of Persia, and the teeming masses of the Gangetic valley, indicates to us also that there is no reason why those heathen and Mohammedan masses should not be raised to the very same social and moral elevation, as, by God's mercy, distinguishes ourselves. And what has made us to differ? Not any innate superiority, not any congenital refinement, not any native tendency to good and purity which they lack. Our previous researches indicate this, when they indi-

cate that we are all of us hewn from the same rock. But the evidence goes yet further. The affinity that still lingers in the language, once existed also in the religion, of the races. The identity of Druidism and Brahminism is a familiar fact to ethnological students.† In one case the old heathen creed has developed itself into its legitimate results; in the other it has been superseded by revealed truth from heaven. The Hindú has as great capacity for abstract metaphysics as the German, and for mathematics as the Frenchman. In native grace and courtesy his masters ill compete with him. Why, with these social qualities and intellectual endowments, is he so feeble, trivial, and grovelling? It is for lack of moral power; and as long as he continues to admire a licentious impostor as his highest human model, or to worship obscene idols whom he would loathe if they were men, he cannot rise above the object of his highest aspirations, any more than water can above the level of its source. It is for this reason that we recognise in Christianity the sole medicine for India. Secular education does not touch the real seat of the malady, for it does not profess to deal with the moral sense. Oh that Her Majesty would inaugurate Her reign in India by a death-blow to the treachery, cruelty, falsehood, and impurity which are the curse of Her people and the peril of Her empire! That stroke can never be dealt so long as the Book which She received into Her hand at Her Coronation is excluded from the schools to be henceforth administered in Her Most Gracious Name.

mixed up with many baseless and fanciful etymologies. *E.g.* *Cooly* is derived from Kól (the Hill-tribe so called), when it is identical with the Tamil word for "wages," has long been adopted into our language, and commemorates the fact that our countrymen primarily came into contact with India at the Carnatic.

* Mather's "Christian Missions in India," p. 11.

† See, for instance, many interesting illustrations in the *Calcutta Review*, No. LII. Art. viii., though

THE CHOTA NAGPUR MISSION.

(BY M^r LEOD WYLIE, ESQ.)

AMONG the Missions on which the divine blessing has, in these recent years, been most remarkably poured forth, is that in the extensive districts on the west of Bengal, called "the South-Western Frontier Agency." These districts are divided into six political divisions, the Hazaribagh; the Lohardugga, which includes Chota Nagpur; the Barabhoom; the Singbhoom; the Sumbulpur; and the tributary states of Sirguja. Their total area is 44,000 square miles, and their

population four millions; so that the country considerably exceeds in size and population the kingdom of Portugal. An interesting account of the physical aspect and moral condition of the whole territory was written by Colonel Harrington for "Bengal as a field of Missions." He states, that, "for the most part the appearance of the country is beautiful: picturesque groups of hills, deep groves, clear and rocky streams, all things that are graceful in landscape, in graceful

succession, meet and charm the eye at every turn. The products of the country are manifold. Of metals, gold, copper, and iron; of precious stones, the diamond. And here are the ample coal-fields, from which unlimited supplies will, in time to come, be drawn. The agricultural produce at present consists chiefly of rice, and of seeds containing oil; but the soil is generally fertile, and capable of yielding every kind of cereal crop. Recent experiments have also shown that coffee of the finest kind may be grown on the newly-cleared lands; and the tea plant, though not cultivated to any practical purpose, flourishes." In the districts bordering on Bengal, many of the people are Hindús, but for the most part the population consists of aboriginal tribes—the Urans [Uraons], the Kols, the Mundas, and Santhals.

The religion of these tribes is a rude superstition. The Rev. H. Batsch, in writing of them, says, "They cannot be expected to have a systematic religion, but that which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath shown it unto them. They believe that there is a God, and call him by different names according to their tribes—'Dharme,' 'Banga,' &c.; and when they bring sacrifices to him, they must be white—white goats or white sheep—signifying that they acknowledge him to be a pure spirit, loving and requiring purity in those who approach him. But generally they worship evil spirits, which they suppose to inhabit some particular grove or hedge, or part of a field, or some solitary place. Being always in great fear of them, they frequently, and always in all calamities, bring offerings of fowls, goats, pigs, &c., to them, to pacify their anger, and to obtain relief from present distress."

"Every tribe" he continues, "being in itself a caste, they know of no other divisions. The Urans and Santhals think the most of themselves, and will not eat with any Munda, unless he will first put a fowl into the pot of the rice which is being cooked. The Munda will eat with either of the others, but none will allow his food or cooking vessel to be touched by any European, or Hindú, or Mussulman, and they all punish those of their own tribes who violate these rules.

"Though the character of all these tribes is naturally mild and submissive, and more upright and simple than that of the cunning Hindú and hypocritical Mussulman, they are nevertheless addicted to vices which make them not unlike the savages of the South-Sea Islands. Drinking is very prevalent among them. They keep sober in younger years,

but as soon as their children are grown, they consider themselves entitled to indulge in drinking, women as well as men. Whole villages may be seen filled with intoxicated people at the time of their festivals. The dances, too, are very savage and violent. They dance to singing, accompanied by the sound of the drum, and, when much excited and intoxicated, they draw their swords, and go on whirling and jumping in a frightful manner."

The Mission among these people was established in Nov. 1846, by the Rev. E. Schatz and three other brethren, sent out by the venerable Pastor Gossner, of Berlin. The head-quarters were at Ranchi, in Chota Nagpur. Other brethren followed; so that, in all, nineteen men and eight women have been engaged in the work. Several died early. Difficulties also arose from the varieties of dialects, and from the apparent dulness and insensibility of the people. "Years passed away," wrote Mr. H. Batsch, in January 1857, "before we could cherish any hope of success among them. The good seed seemed to fall upon an entirely unprepared, unfruitful soil, and we were almost in despair, seeing them all going on in their dancing, drinking, playing, and quite indifferent to the word of Christ preached to them. But after four years of apparently unsuccessful labour, at last the time of the visitation of the Lord came. Several Mundas and Urans came to visit the brethren at Ranchi, attended their Sunday and week-day services, and began to ask about the new way; but they came and went again. At last, four Urans took courage to confess their faith in Christ Jesus, and broke their caste. They were all proprietors of land: two of them were possessors of half villages; the other two had lost their possessions by the trick of a zemindar. They received baptism on Trinity Sunday, in the year 1850; but no sooner had they embraced Christianity, than the cross of Christ was laid upon them, and they were put to the trial of their profession. One remained unmoved, and has done so to the present time, standing as a pillar in the congregation. His name is Nouman. The others wavered and bowed under the stroke, and have never since regained their former strength, though still confessing their faith in Christ. The embankment however, was broken, and the flood took its way, widening from year to year, notwithstanding the wrath and opposition set against it; so that we are now unable to state the exact number of those who have joined since, as they increase from day to day, and every Sunday's service is attended

by those who, in the foregoing week, have resolved to join the flock of Christ; certainly they number far above one thousand. None are baptized till after they have undergone the trial of the reality of their profession, and after having received closer instruction. Of such, including children, there are about four hundred.

"The Lord who searcheth the heart, alone knoweth how far conversion and renewing of the heart is going on. He has, however, given us the rule, 'by their fruits ye shall know them,' and we believe that there are many among them who know by experience the Lord Jesus Christ to be the Saviour of sinners. And, speaking generally, when we see them, from the very time they confess themselves the Lord's people, casting off all the follies and bad customs they have inherited from their forefathers, and to which they were formerly accustomed from their childhood, and endeavouring to direct their walk and conversation according to the word of God; when we see them in full earnest to learn to read, so that there are few, especially of the younger part, who, before asking for baptism, are not able to read the Scriptures; we are bound to believe that it is a mighty work of the Spirit of God, and that 'God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty, and base things of the world, and things that are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.' You may see, every Sunday, in the church at Ranchi, many such believers, belonging to neighbouring villages, and many others besides, who come from a distance of twenty miles and more. Many have died triumphant in the Lord, singing Hallelujah to the Lamb with their last breath, and admonishing those they have left not to weep for them, but to rejoice for their going to Jesus, and to remain stedfast in the faith.

"But there have been some, too, who have grieved the congregation, and cast reproach on the name of the Lord Jesus by their conduct. Of these, some have been excluded, and a few have hardened their hearts. Most have returned with greater earnestness, and we trust the Lord has accepted their repentance.

"As they are living in more than fifty villages, at different distances from the Mission station, there are twelve elders now set over them, selected from their midst by themselves, at annual conferences, who have to watch the conduct of the members, to visit

the villages entrusted to them, and to read and to pray with those whom they visit, especially in sickness. Almost every village in which there is such an elder has a little mud house, erected by the members under his care, where they meet for worship and reading the Scriptures, when, on Sundays, prevented from going to Ranchi to church, as well as for their week-day prayer-meetings.

"Many have thought it an easy work to make these unprejudiced and uncivilized tribes become Christians, because they have nothing to renounce; but some letters which I lately received while staying in Calcutta, will show what our position in fact is, and whether it be an easier thing for a Kol to confess Christ, than it is for a Hindú. The word of Christ, 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me,' must stand as a standard everywhere. Writing on the 5th Dec. 1856, one of the Missionary brethren says, 'We are at present in great distress, so that I have not been able to compose my thoughts for writing. The persecutions of the Christians are more fearful and unheard of than ever before. L—, the native assistant to the magistrate, is of one mind with the zemindars, and at their will and service, with advice and help. The magistrate still puts all complaints into his hands, which is nothing better than if put into the hands of the zemindars and the enemies of the Gospel. Dismissing and fining the Christians, and robbing, plundering, beating them, is the order of the day in all the Christian villages. At some times it happens that in one day Christians of three or four villages are coming to us lamenting that their houses, threshing-floors, or fields, were plundered. Meanwhile these shameless plunderers put law-suits in the court, stating that the Christians have plundered their fields, and against as many Christians as they possibly can at once, that no witness may remain to give evidence against their statements. And all this is in the hands of L—. The enemies triumph, and are not able to conceal their joy, even in the court. "*Abhi ham Christianow ko ek naya upadesh sikhlamenga*" — "Now we will teach the Christians a new doctrine."

"Tuesday last the threshing-floor of a Christian at Hiri was plundered, and he so much beaten, that he fell down for dead. Others came running, telling us that he was dead, and calling for help. However, what could we do? We sent them back, ordering them to bring him here at once. We were in great excitement all the night, but cast ourselves into the hands of the Lord,

who ever has done all things well. At last, on Wednesday, in the afternoon, he was brought to us, but in a better state than we had expected. He had a severe stroke over the forehead, two teeth broken, and was so much beaten and trampled upon, that he was unable to stand. To-day he has a strong fever, and we do not know yet whether he received any injury inwardly. Now we hear that the zemindars who have caused this cruelty, and have plundered our brother, came into the cutchery yesterday, saying, "There may come a Christian of our village complaining that we have beaten him: this is a lie. He was drunk, fell or injured himself, and therefore we beg that his complaint against us may not be accepted." Thus it stands here; but God's work no man shall hinder; His labour cannot rest. The church was never so much filled as now, though we are in the midst of the harvest. Many new villages are opening for the Gospel, and in the old villages more and more people join our brethren there. Almost all Urans see and comprehend, though, perhaps, still only outwardly, that it is in reality for their best interest to embrace Christianity.'

"In another letter of the 9th December, it is said—

"In spite of all persecutions, the work is going on prosperously. Some people from a village near Chund were here to-day, saying that the whole village desires to become Christians, and seven or eight families are decided to do so at once. In the same direction a Thikadar, with his whole family, came over a month ago. They have, however, much to suffer, and they, as well as all the villagers, conceal themselves every night outside the village, because the zemindars have sworn to plunder and to burn the village. All the country from Rata to Chund is in great excitement, and in spite of all the threatenings from the part of the enemies, and the fear which lies upon our brethren, and all those who are willing to join them, we trust to see a great opening in that direction.

"The zemindars have laid a strange plan. They intend to bind all those who will come, in the beginning of the new year, to engage for fields, by signature upon stamp paper, not to become Christians, and to submit to all whatever the zemindars will ask from them, and to all labour they may put upon them. We trust in the Lord they will be caught in their own snare. False accusations to bring the Christians into a bad reputation are frequently brought in the cutchery, and plundering and beating besides.

The complaints of the Christians are laid aside and delayed, so that they have to wait for months, and consider themselves at last fortunate enough when they escape without punishment. Nevertheless, our God liveth still. He has helped, and He will help His people.'

"There is one more, of the 12th December.

"The night before last the house of one of our brethren at Chipra was burnt down to the ground. A short time ago he had been plundered, his fields and threshing-floor, for which he has put a complaint into the court of the magistrate. On the same day, in the same village, another brother was bound, and continually cold water was poured upon him: meanwhile others stood by fanning him, to torture him with cold. In another village, Ghuttia, the zemindars caught our Christians, imprisoned them, and threatened to beat them with shoes. But as soon as the rumour spread in the village, all the people gathered before the zemindar's house, and asked him to relieve the brethren, which was done. But now the zemindar put a law-suit into the cutchery against the whole village, stating that they have attacked his house intending to plunder it.'

Mr. H. Batsch, after quoting these letters, proceeds with a detailed description of the Mission at the time of his writing the foregoing passages.

"Ranchi was first taken up, and is considered the parent station. Here the conversion of the Kols began. Six brethren and two sisters are employed in ministering to the congregation, or teaching in the schools, or preaching to the heathen. They have a boarding-school for boys and girls, whose parents are Christians, besides some orphans. There may be at present sixty boys and thirty girls residing in the institution. They receive an elementary and practical education, and return after two or three years to their homes and labour. Boys more promising are retained longer, and form a higher class, from which we hope, by the grace of God, to take in future our teachers and catechists. Besides this school, there is a vernacular school, in the bazaar in the city, for heathen boys under a native teacher.

"Pithuria is an out-station belonging to Ravehi, and those Christians who live in that direction attend divine service there. One married Missionary lives among them.

"Hazaribagh was taken up as a branch station of our Mission in 1853, and at present two married brethren are employed there. There are only a few Uran-Kol villages in the district, but in a distance of about ten

miles commence those jungles which are inhabited by Santhals, amongst whom, on our discovering them, we began our labour in the cold season of 1855; and I hear from the brother who labours with me, that he has been among them, and that they have had great joy in seeing him, and were attentive and interested in hearing of the way of salvation. For three years we kept up two vernacular schools for boys, but, from want of means to carry them on, we were obliged to discontinue them. A short time ago Mrs. Batsch commenced a girls' school, and, after a month of patience-trying endeavours, she had daily seven girls around her, and has hope that the number will increase.

"I cannot conclude without mentioning that man of God, whose prayers and devotedness to the work of Christ have done more for bringing in the Kols than we with all our labours: I mean our dear father Gossner, who, though already in his 84th year, and, since May last (1856), lame on one side, in consequence of a paralytic seizure, still wrestles day and night for the conversion of the heathen, and the outpouring of the Spirit upon the gathered flock, and upon us labouring in this promising field."

Mr. Batsch wrote these notes when in Calcutta, and soon after returned to his work in Hazaribagh, full of hope and faith. Mr. Schatz at the same time attended the Benares Missionary conference, when many for the first time heard of the silent blessing his Mission had enjoyed. A desire was expressed that some account of it should be made public; but when Mr. Schatz was subsequently requested to consent, he said, "I confess I feel rather timorous about it, and I entertain some doubts whether it would be judicious and justifiable. We, indeed, must praise the Lord for what He has done here: it is beyond what we ever hoped to see; yet it is only the beginning of a work, and the fields being only now covered with verdure. Delightful and promising as it is to look at—and though I extol God's mercy, who has done thus much—yet I stand on the border with a heart too anxious to speak much about it, although I would call on every one who hears to pray, that as God has made His blessed work to bud, it may also bring forth the perfect seed, and that these hills may break forth into singing, like the singing in the time of harvest, and unite in one loud melodious strain of praise of the love of God in Christ Jesus. You do pray so I am sure; but pray also, I entreat you, for us, that we may be what we ought to be, the servants of God, and that we may do the

work entrusted to us, not sluggishly, nor in our own strength, but in that power which He himself supplies."

Subsequent events—events of a most striking and remarkable character—have forced into view the Mission thus touchingly cherished and concealed. Mr. Schatz and Mr. Batsch were both back at their posts of duty, and profound did the general public tranquillity then appear, so that even an angelic observer might perhaps have said, that "all the earth sitteth still and is at rest." But there was at that time a secret hidden movement in the dark recesses of many heathen minds, that foreboded a speedy and terrible convulsion. In May the mutiny of the Bengal army broke forth, with desperation and murder at Mirut, and, ere long, the stream of disaffection spread to the stations where this Mission was carrying to benighted thousands the soul-elevating message of the Gospel. There were soon signs abundant that the troops and the neighbouring zemindars only bided their time, and that an eruption of violence, perhaps destruction of the whole Mission, was at hand. At length, at the end of July, it came. The Missionaries had remained among their flocks, warned repeatedly that mutiny was certain, yet resolved to remain while a single officer of Government remained faithful to his service to an earthly master. The troops stationed at Hazaribagh and Ranchi, were the Ramghur battalion, consisting partly of infantry and partly of cavalry. The mutiny first broke out at Hazaribagh, on news reaching that the troops at Dinapur had mutinied. The men at Ranchi at first appeared to be firm, and some of the cavalry undertook to proceed to Hazaribagh at once to quell the disorder, but on the road they fraternized with the mutineers. When this intelligence reached Ranchi, at night on the 31st of July, all the Europeans saw that the moment for the explosion was at hand, and it was resolved to fly at once in the early morning. Some of the ladies had been sent away already, but the officers, with some others, and the Missionary party, were still a numerous body, and it was impossible suddenly, and in the existing state of feeling to procure carriage. The flight, therefore, was full of trial and danger. In the heat, over swollen streams, without an opportunity to save even the most valued papers, the whole party was compelled to hasten off, and, through the protecting care of God, they reached in safety the railway station, where tickets to Calcutta were procured through the kindness of a friendly stranger. But they arrived without a single

article of clothing besides those they wore, and long ere they had arrived in town their houses at their stations were in flames, their houses and church had been plundered, their faithful converts seized, or driven into the jungles, and the Sepoys, after seizing the treasure, had left the whole country to be ravaged by the treasonable zemindars and the numerous prisoners whom they had liberated from the jails. Of these there were fully 1000 at Hazaribagh. It is needless to say that the Missionaries were received by their friends in Calcutta with sympathy and affection, and found that, in the depth of their distress, the Lord whom they had trusted designed still to provide for their necessities. Writing at an early period, Mr. Schatz had said, "Our friend is very kind in taking, not only so much general interest in the Mission, but also in sharing our anxiety for its future prosperity. However, I say anxiety, only because I have no other English word, for it might as well be non-anxiety. We pray that the Lord will not forsake us, and we believe that He, whose bounty and mercy have brought us thus far—and you can testify how bountifully the Lord has dealt with us—will provide also in and for the future, and open a path to us when the hour comes, though we know not when it will be. As to pecuniary difficulties, we have been in them now and then, and more or less; yet they have been but a small part of our trials, and we have always been brought out of them: and were I asked whether we ever lacked any thing, I could say, No, never. The Lord has given us, at all times, all things, not sparingly, but richly to enjoy, as far as we ourselves were concerned; and when we wanted the silver and the gold beyond that, they also have come forth, and have been put into our hands." This was indeed the experience of this Mission. Pastor Gossner sent forth the Missionaries to Chota Nagpur, as to Behar and elsewhere, in faith, without any certainty of having always a full measure of supplies for them, but believing that help would never be withheld while there was patient, faithful, humble labour in the Lord's service. And the brethren shared this confidence, and found that God could and would provide. They were often reduced very low, but then the hearts of one and another, here and there, were opened, and aid was sent spontaneously, very often at very remarkable junctures, and in such a way as to mark the watchful care of the great Head of the Mission. If ever men could "assuredly gather" (Acts xvi. 11.) that the Lord had called them to preach the Gospel in a certain place, these

brethren might draw a cheering inference, for in many seasons of difficulty He manifested His tenderness, and said, "Fear not." It was known that they were not publishing any statements of their labours, and were making their regrets known only to the Lord; and His people found their hearts often led to consider their necessities; and so, very often, "while yet speaking," they were heard, in supplies reaching them from unknown or unexpected quarters. But at this time there was a special and extraordinary emergency, and after so much toil and so many prayers, all seemed wrecked in a moment. *Ibi omnis effusus labor*. They were themselves bereft of every thing; some of them in sickness, and clouds and darkness resting heavily on the scene of their hopes and blessings. They heard from home of the growing infirmities of their venerable and beloved friend, and knew not, if he were taken, whether the Missions he had established would be carried on by others, or into whose management they might fall. It was a time of special trial in many ways, and those who witnessed it will long remember the affecting experience of the memorable months that followed. It was strange to see the humility, contentment, and cheerfulness, with which many perplexities were met, and to watch the lively gratitude to all who had the opportunity of manifesting sympathy; the simple faith which still trusted in the Lord who had chastened them; and the tender affection to the poor converts, which every fresh recollection of their sufferings excited. From time to time there were hopes of a speedy return, but the Government determined that no attempt could be made to re-occupy the territory till some European troops could be spared; and the demand for all the European troops was urgent for the force that was destined to relieve Lucknow. It was only because the occupation by the rebels of the western districts threatened the line of communication with Benares and Allahabad, that, after a time, an expedition was arranged; and even then great delay was occasioned by various causes. As soon as possible, two of the brethren, Messrs. Brandt and Mr. Bohn, followed the troops. They went by way of Hazaribagh, and at length reached Ranchi on the 4th of October.

They write—"What a heart-rending scene was before us! The whole Mission station strewn over with torn books; only a few (Cruden's Concordance and a few more) were found entire. All the bungalows stand, but the doors and windows broken, torn out, and the iron wrenched off and taken away. Out of the bungalows every thing has been

taken. The church has suffered least, though the glass of all the windows has been broken, the organ broken, the chancel emptied, and the bells have been taken from the tower. But, above all, we have to lament over the hardships which have befallen our people: they have been more than we feared. They all, like ourselves, had to fly for their lives, and had to hide themselves for six weeks in the jungles and hills, till Captain Davis arrived, when they got confidence, and returned to their villages. They have lost as much as we: nothing remained in their cottages. All of them look miserable and starved: some have died in the jungles, many are sick, some have not yet returned, and the brethren know not if they still live. The Christian village Prabhusharan has been levelled with the ground. With Narain, the church elder of Kota, and his party, there were more than one hundred children for six weeks in the jungles, and this in the midst of the rainy season. The lives of the church elders were especially sought for, and upon the head of one a price was set, in a proclamation of a zemindar, a munsiff, or native judge, of Government, but he was hid for a month by the widow of another zemindar in her own house, and escaped. The same zemindar and munsiff bound and imprisoned the Christians of another village, to extort money from them, and got it. It appears that in every place the Christians had in like manner to suffer; but none denied Christ. All suffered manfully. This is our greatest comfort, and we praise the Lord for it with our whole heart."

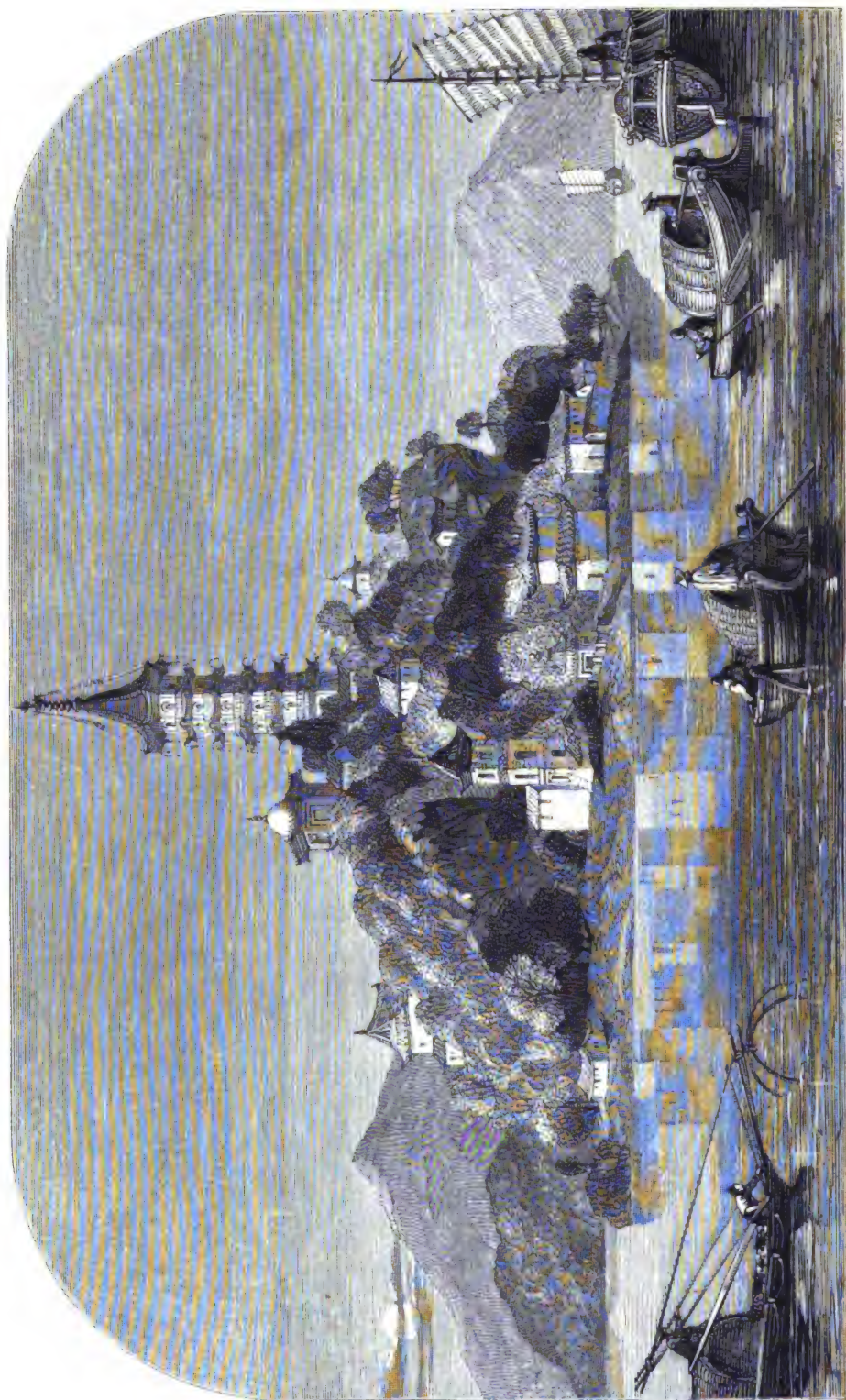
At this time Mr. Schatz had gone to Europe on the urgent solicitation of Pastor Gossner, to endeavour to make some arrangement for the future support of the Mission, and such of the Missionaries as required a change of climate also left India for a season. The wife of one of them died on the voyage. The remainder of the party remained in Calcutta, with the families of those who had gone to Ranchi, and were engaged in sending up needful stores and supplies to restore their dwellings. But early in the present year, 1858, the way was made plain for their return also, and now Ranchi is re-occupied with vigour, though with diminished numbers, and the congregation is re-gathered, the houses and church partially repaired, and again there is the prospect of peace and security.

After much consultation with Mr. Schatz, Pastor Gossner resolved to submit an application to the Church Missionary Society to assume charge of his Mission, both in Behar and Chota Nagpur. At his advanced age, and dependent as his Missionary brethren

appeared to be very much on his personal influence, he feared that the work in which they were engaged might terminate at his death, or would be carried on afterwards with increasing difficulties. In India, the friends who were consulted, considered it inexpedient to relieve Germany of the responsibility of maintaining her own Missions. They said that these Missions had claims on Germany which were not likely to be urged in vain; that the contemplated adoption of them by an English Society might not be cordially approved by the Missionary brethren, who had not been consulted beforehand; and that the peculiar simplicity, and the economy with which the Missions were conducted, might not be maintained, if they were taken up by a great English Society. In Germany, too, there were some who desired to take up Pastor Gossner's work, and possibly it might be auspiciously enlarged at a crisis such as then existed, when the sympathies of the whole Christian church were largely drawn forth towards India, and the solemn duty of promoting her evangelization had become more manifest than ever. At the time of writing this paper, nothing appears to have been finally settled, but there is reason to hope that Germany will not fail to adopt these labours of love; and that the Church Missionary Society will find in Great Britain increasing numbers of our own countrymen to occupy all the stations which the liberality of the friends of Missions enables that Society to support.

When the whole of the remaining Missionary party was assembled at Ranchi, further details were received of the past sad days of trial and persecution. Mr. F. Batsch wrote—"We stand just as at the beginning thirteen years ago. The whole station is a picture of desolation. But to look upon our sore-tried people is yet more distressing. They have lost more than we, as they are robbed of every thing—are without clothes and without provisions. Some dare not yet return to their villages, though we have martial law; and those who have come back stand in fear day and night. Their hill-rice was ripening when they had to flee, and then it was cut down and taken by the zemindars: the rice of the low-fields could not be attended to, and it has perished; so that they are without provisions for this year. Their extreme misery we saw yesterday, especially at our church service."

We are here unavoidably compelled to break off this interesting narrative, and reserve the remainder till next month.



KIN SHAN, OR GOLDEN ISLAND, IN THE YANG-TZE-KEANG. — *Vide* p. 38.

MEMORIAL OF THE REV. THOMAS GAJETAN RAGLAND, B.D.,
SENIOR FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND ITINERATING
MISSIONARY OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY
IN NORTH TINNEVELLY, SOUTH INDIA.

THE accompanying Memoir, drawn up by a well-known pen, has been placed in our hands, and we gladly defer other matter, that we may introduce into the pages of the "Intelligencer," these vivid sketches of a faithful Missionary who has recently entered into his rest—one who counted all things loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord, and of whom with all truth it may be said, that he counted not his life dear to himself, if so he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus to testify the Gospel of the grace of God. It is not often that we have presented to us so beautiful a combination of superior powers and real effectiveness, with such profound humility; but the Christianity of Thomas Gajetan Ragland was deep-seated in the heart, and all-pervading in the influence which it exercised. Christ was to him a reality; a powerful, and yet condescending friend, who, by mercies graciously bestowed, had placed him under paramount obligations, and to whom he was bound by the strong tie of personal attachment. In him, the breach which sin had made between his soul and God had been repaired; and in restored communion, and the inward peace which that imparts, he had proved the efficacy of the Redeemer's vicarious work, and the sustaining power of his intercession; and the one desire of his heart was to live for Him by whom the life of his soul was sustained from day to day. To that friend he looked; with Him he held intercourse; and he caught his likeness: he was meek and lowly, yet earnest and devoted. He had comprehensive views of enlarged services which might be rendered; and these, with a happy felicity, he wrought out in the minute details of a self-denying work, not satisfied merely to plan what was laborious, but willingly surrendering his weakly frame to the pressure of the appointed service, and with a holy resolution carrying it out day by day; and yet, withal, thinking nothing of himself, while thinking much of others, and tender and considerate to the feelings and position of all his brethren. Such a man, although personally removed from us, is with us in recollection, to teach us, by his example, what it is to be a Christian, and to encourage others to be followers of him, as he also was of Christ.

We trust that this brief sketch will not be put forth in vain. His life was expended in

Missionary service among the heathen. The fragrance of this service now comes back to us; and surely we must acknowledge it to be grateful and refreshing. There are many things to pain even among good men: failings of temper; a want of the meekness and gentleness of Christ; an over sensitiveness as regards self; a depreciation of others; and thus hearty union and co-operative labours are marred, and a Mission, from want of love, is robbed of half its strength. But it was not so with Ragland. He was crucified with Christ.

There are flowers which, in their withered state, retain all the fragrance of their bloom. So will it be with these records. They speak of one now gone from us; but the memory of the just is blessed. Nay, we trust there will be found life in these memorials of his death, and that many a heart in our Universities, hitherto lifeless as to the great Missionary work, may be quickened to a sense of responsibility. Are Christians all to cluster at home? Yes, it is said; the claims of home are so urgent; they have such a priority that we must needs attend to them. For what purpose, then, has the Missionary duty been placed so prominently on the inspired record? Why is Christianity invested with a character so essentially communicative? Because here lies the secret of its increase. The root strengthens as the branches extend; and that church has most of its truth and power which is most frank and loving in the dispensation of it to others. Every stroke of service abroad reacts with beneficial influence at home; and each Missionary who goes forth in a spirit of self-surrender, moves a circle of hearts to be more earnest in carrying out at home that work of faith and labour of love which he has gone to prosecute abroad.

Shall not the memorial of this devoted Missionary be reproductive, and, after the example of the great parent seed, the corn of wheat which has just died, yield us many? Lord, give the word, and great shall be the company of preachers! Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord. Awake as in the ancient days, in the generations of old! Let it be as when, at the dawn of the Reformation, the light of newly-recovered Gospel truth cheered the hearts of faithful men at Cambridge—when Bilney, in the perusal of Erasmus' Greek Testament, found peace to his troubled conscience; and Latimer, the University cross-bearer, on hearing Bilney's confession of

Christian experience, became converted to the faith himself. And Oxford, likewise, had its confessors and its martyrs. A company of men, whose hearts the Lord had touched, met together to read the New Testament, and pray to Him of whom the Scriptures witnessed; and when cast by the strong hand of Wolsey's persecution into the damp cellar of Cardinal College, they yielded not, but parted with life rather than part with their precious faith in Jesus. Shall there be in our day no revival of this generous devotedness? Shall a modified Romanism usurp the place of God's truth, and the energies of England's youth be chained down by a narrow exclusiveness? May the winter's gloom, the time of rigid formalism and cold affections, pass soon away, and a spring season of revival usher in a harvest-time of rich maturity! This is what we need—a revival at home; a stirring of hearts from the Lord; times of refreshing from his presence. We shall then want neither for ministers at home nor Missionaries abroad.

"Mr. Ragland was the son of an officer in the army, and was born at Gibraltar, April 26, 1815. His father died before his birth, and his mother two years afterwards. From his childhood he exhibited a lovely disposition, and was a diligent student. The Holy Spirit appeared to influence his heart from his earliest years.

"Upon leaving school, he entered the office of his uncle, a merchant at Liverpool, where he remained till twenty-two years of age. He then sacrificed good mercantile prospects, and through his uncle's liberality went to the University of Cambridge, with a view to the ministry. Six months sufficed him after leaving the counting-house, to prepare for College. He commenced his residence at Corpus Christi College, October 1837. In College examinations he stood each year at the head of the list, and on taking his degree, in 1841, obtained the high place of fourth Wrangler. *From his first entrance at College he read systematically eight hours a day, always commencing with prayer. He found time to take an active part in the Lord's work. He visited weekly the village of Barton, between four and five miles from Cambridge, as a tract distributor; and he taught every Sunday in the Jesus-Lane Sunday-school, not excepting the Sunday in the week of the Senate-house examination. He greatly valued the ministry of the Rev. Professor Scholefield, whose church he attended twice every Sun-

day, and generally on the Wednesday evening. *Prayerful diligence* was his characteristic in all his employments from youth to the day of his death."

"He was elected a fellow of his College soon after his degree, and was ordained upon his fellowship in December 1841, by his former tutor, the late Bishop Bowstead, and acted as Curate of Barnwell, adjoining Cambridge, receiving a stipend from the Church Pastoral-Aid Society. He took pupils after his degree; but finding that they interfered with his parochial employments after his ordination, he gave them up, and, though still residing in College, threw himself wholly into the work of a large and arduous parish. He afterwards became assistant-tutor of his College, and confined his labours to St. Paul's Church, which was a separate district of Barnwell, and of which Mr. Perry, now Bishop of Melbourne, was the incumbent.

"Mr. Ragland never had, during his undergraduate career, the least idea of becoming a Missionary. He even occasionally repressed the ardour of some of his companions on that subject, and urged that there was plenty to do at home, and that it would be time enough after taking their degrees to consider whether God's providence pointed that way. Nor after his own degree did he ever feel moved to the Missionary work by the addresses which he heard from the pulpit or platform from time to time to the young men of Cambridge: such addresses often appeared to him to disparage the work of the Ministry at home. The full employment of a large parochial charge, combined with the quiet seclusion of a College-Fellow's rooms, had the highest charm with him, and he looked for no other change than the enlargement of his domestic comforts in a separate home. He had neither the taste nor the desire to visit foreign lands. He positively disliked travelling. Four years of such a parochial ministry had served to deepen his attachment to the work, and to secure for him the esteem of his congregation, and the cordial friendship of the parochial ministers of Cambridge. Among these were then reckoned Professor Scholefield, Mr. Carus, and Dr. Spence. He had also gained an extended influence over the Undergraduates by that union of high talent, genuine modesty, and warm affection, which was conspicuous in him."

"Mr. Ragland was at this time Treasurer of the University Branch of the Cambridge Church Missionary Association. As such, the Clerical Secretary of the Church Missionary

* Statement of his brother-in-law, the Rev. W. S. Dumergue, Vicar of Fareham, Hants, his fellow-student at the same college.

Society first visited him, in December 1844, to consult with him, and with other University friends of the Society, upon the means which might be adopted to bring the Missionary subject more distinctly before the young men. It was then arranged, that in each term, some Missionary friend of the Society should visit Cambridge, to address small parties of the students, meeting together at the rooms of different friends. Half an hour was allowed on such occasions by Professor Scholefield for an address to his Greek-Testament class on Friday evening. Mr. Carus allowed the same privilege in the case of his large Sunday-evening class. Mr. Ragland agreed to assemble the Undergraduate Missionary Collectors of the different Colleges in his rooms on the Saturday evening. The Saturday-evening meeting was regarded by the Secretary as the most important, inasmuch as those who assembled were already interested in the work: and it was proposed to make it an occasion of special prayer for the Cause, and an opportunity for answering any inquiries which might arise in a free conversation upon the subject.

"The first of these terminal visits was made in the Lent Term of 1845, when the Rev. Robert Bruce Boswell, Chaplain of the East-India Company at Calcutta, kindly attended on behalf of the Society. In May, the Secretary of the Society himself attended. The anniversary of the Cambridge Association was to be held at the same time. Mr. Ragland expressed his regret that the Saturday evening on which the meeting at his rooms was to be held, was the occasion of the annual procession of the University boats upon the river, as it might keep away some who would otherwise have attended. The Secretary, on his way to Mr. Ragland's rooms, passed through the crowd of spectators which thronged the enclosure of King's College, and could not but sigh for the time when the manly ardour of many such young men might be turned towards a holier and more noble 'race set before them.' Within Mr. Ragland's rooms a small company was assembled, pervaded by the quiet and devout spirit of the host. The subject of the address was the simple question, How may we best devote our talents to the glory of God—by Home work, or by Mission work abroad?

"On the Monday following, the Anniversary Meeting of the Cambridge Association was held at the Town-hall, and the eye of the Secretary rested upon the stream of young men who passed out of the hall, at which Mr. Ragland and Mr. Allnutt* held the plates:

* The Rev. Richard L. Allnutt, M.A., of St.

he could not but indulge the hope that some of the younger men might offer themselves to the work; but he little anticipated that men of the experience and position of the two who received the pecuniary contributions should both be meditating, at that time, a better dedication than of gold and silver—even of their own selves. Yet within a few months, both became Missionaries to South India.

"The following is the letter of Mr. Ragland, when he first opened his mind to the Secretary.

"*Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,*

"June 2, 1845.

"MY DEAR MR. VENN—I have been thinking, ever since our meetings a fortnight since, about the great want of men to go out as Missionaries to the heathen; and after deep consideration, and much prayer and consulting of a few decided Christian friends, I write to you, in the hope that you, my dear Sir, will kindly give me your advice and prayers to help me to discover what is my *own duty* in this matter. I think, as far as I know my own heart, that I am willing to go out as a Missionary, if I could only see good reason to believe that such is the will of God. I feel, too, the more I think upon the subject, my desire towards the work is *increased* rather than *diminished*. I am aware of the wrong motives, of some of them at least, which I am in danger of being swayed by, and of these *especially*, the desire of being well spoken by the Church at home. After, however, having endeavoured to extricate my heart from the influence of these wrong motives, I trust that I am not mistaken in thinking myself disposed to go out, if I could only discover what the Lord would have me do. I must plainly confess that I have no burning desire for the conversion of the heathen, and have continually cause to lament that there is in me so little earnest desire about the salvation of souls in the district of the parish where I have hitherto been called to exercise my ministry. My reason for thinking of Missionary work, and for inquiring whether or not I should personally engage in it, is the *want of labourers*. There is abundance of employment, I am fully aware, for faithful labourers *at home*, but this alone can be no sufficient reason for my own stay, as otherwise *all* might be at liberty to remain behind, and the heathen would not have the Gospel sent to them at all. And I cannot but consider that my *peculiar circumstances* are such as to point out to me a life abroad as pro-

Peter's College, and then Curate of a village near Cambridge.

bably that intended for me by God. I will mention to you, my dear Sir, my circumstances, that you may be the better able to assist me in forming my determination.

"I am an orphan, and without any person in the world whose opinion I consider myself bound to submit to. The only ties which bind me are those of affection, and there are only two persons in the world whose feelings I have to consider. One is a dear sister, happily married to a pious young clergyman, and therefore but little to be considered in the forming of my plans; and I feel sure of her complete acquiescence in them, if they be to the *glory of God*. And the other is a distant relative, who has been to me both a mother and a sister. Her I have consulted from the first upon this subject; and though she feels much pained at the prospect of a separation, she thanks God that I entertain the thoughts I do. (Excuse me if I am taking up your time too much by these details.) I have consulted my friends, Mr. Perry and Professor Scholefield, and both encourage me to go forward, and advise me, as I had intended, to open the matter to you. May I therefore beg your kind counsel and your prayers that I may be wisely guided. I will not trouble you by writing more at present. I will only mention my age—thirty years last month—and that my constitution is, I thank God, sound and good, as far as I know.

"Pray for me, my dear Sir, and believe me,

"Very faithfully and respectfully yours,

"(Signed) 'T. G. RAGLAND.'

"The fact that Mr. Ragland felt no *special* zeal for the conversion of the heathen is not singular among Missionary candidates. While some are animated by a strong desire for the work above every other department of the ministry, others are led by calm consideration, and in others a reluctant will has been impelled by a stern sense of duty. The prevailing motive in Mr. Ragland's case was that which he states—*The call is addressed to every faithful servant of Christ. What reason can I give why I should not obey that call?* Mr. Ragland frankly stated what he regarded as disqualifications in his own case. He had not a ready tongue for extempore preaching; he had a weak voice; and he doubted whether he could acquire a facility in speaking a new vernacular language, though he might find no difficulty in acquiring it classically. But these things were very slight drawbacks in one of such an excellent spirit. It is the spirit of the man which makes the true Missionary. Mr. Ragland's offer was cordially accepted by the Committee, 'and the peace

of God within his mind from that moment assured him that his Master in heaven approved of the offer.*

"Among the many testimonies which the Committee received of Mr. Ragland's fitness for the work, one may be selected as eminently characteristic of his future course.

"His great quietness of manner,' writes one of his contemporaries, 'amounting to remarkable meekness, and his methodical regularity in the discharge of his duties, will make him very useful, under God; and, most of all, his freedom from selfishness, and self-will, and self-indulgence of all kinds.'

"Mr. Ragland's ministerial experience, and his early habits of business, seemed to the Committee to point out, as the post best suited to him, that of Secretary to the Corresponding Committee at Madras, a post which had been ably filled by the Rev. John Tucker, like himself, a Fellow of a College, which bore the same name, at Oxford. There was attached to the Madras Secretaryship a Mission Church, at which there are English and native services. It thus forms a point of union between the Christians of different races, as well as a centre of local Missionary zeal. In this situation, Mr. Ragland at once secured the confidence and affection of the eminent Christian men, high in the civil and military services of the Company, who formed the Corresponding Committee; and he was no less beloved and respected by the Missionaries with whom he kept up a correspondence. He visited the different Mission stations of the Society in Tinnevely and Travancore, and from the income of his Fellowship he largely assisted his brethren in their work, by liberal pecuniary contributions to particular objects, such as schools and the building of churches.

"In the Jubilee Year of the Society—1848—Mr. Ragland gave another proof of his disinterested love to the Missionary cause. He had inherited from his father a small investment of 500*l.* value. This was all the property he possessed; but feeling strongly inclined to make it a jubilee contribution, he first offered it to his two relatives in England, and, upon their declining, he gave it to the Society, with a request that the name of the donor should not appear, and that it should not be appropriated to endowments, but be spent forthwith.

"In a letter written to his relatives in England, he thus expresses his motives in making the gift—'I have a willingness to do it. It is certainly not evidently contrary to the will of God, and I think, if done with a willing mind, and out of love, must be, through

* Rev. W. S. Dumergue.

Christ, an acceptable offering.' 'Moreover, I have never given money to the Lord, or made any sacrifice, that I have ever had reason to repent of. His dealings in return have only encouraged me to go on as I have attempted to begin.' 'Pray that the Lord will graciously accept the offering, and will use it to his own glory, and look graciously upon me, that my steps may be upheld in his ways; and that, after having made professions, and given apparent signs of devotedness, I may not after all draw back.'

"Mr. Ragland now occupied, in one of the Presidencies of India, a position of extensive influence and usefulness. He was surrounded by an attached circle of Christian friends, combining all the attractions of devoted piety and consecrated talents. But, in his visits to Tinnevely, he had observed, as he thought, that the Mission needed a new effort towards its extension. The Missionaries were all so fully occupied with large congregations of native converts, that they could give but little time, comparatively, to itinerating among the heathen. He yearned over the untaught heathen in Tinnevely. He thought that two or three Missionaries should be devoted wholly to the work of itinerating among the heathen, included, as yet, in no Missionary district, especially those inhabiting the northern parts of the province. Yet he had some fear lest such a plan might wear the appearance of rivalry with the established practice and system of Tinnevely, and that it might thus be separated in sympathy from the Missionaries in the south, if undertaken by new men. 'As for myself,' he wrote to a friend, 'I would swallow the dust beneath their feet, and humble myself ever so much, or at least make an effort to do it, rather than excite any feelings of this kind, if possible. I really love the Missionaries in the south, and consider their work of very high importance indeed. If they wanted to leave it (to undertake itinerating) except others equal to them were ready to fill their places, I think I should be one of the most earnest in urging them to stay.' As it was, also, a part of Mr. Ragland's plan that the itinerating Missionaries should live in tents all the year round, continually changing their abodes, and devoting themselves from morning to night throughout the year to the simple preaching of the Gospel to the heathen, he feared lest he should seem to impose upon such Missionaries a more than ordinary degree of self-sacrifice. He felt that he could best obviate these apprehensions by presenting himself for the work he had devised, and

by resigning his position in Madras as soon as a successor could be found.

"The sacrifice of worldly comforts at Madras was comparatively easy to Mr. Ragland, because he regarded a purely spiritual work as more desirable than one which was necessarily connected with much secular business; and social comforts were as nothing to him, in comparison with the presence of Christ, and conformity with his example. In one of his letters, written in the midst of his employments at Madras, he thus expatiates upon a favourite text—'Whom have I in heaven but Thee! We have here the believer looking up to heaven, looking abroad on the earth, looking unto himself, and into his own heart, and finding *nothing*—nothing he can delight in, and nothing he can trust in, but ONE, his God and Saviour:—God as He has revealed Himself in the person of his well-beloved Son. And then we have the believer with this blessed object full in view, turning his eyes backward, and retracing his course, and beholding Christ in his heart and in his thoughts—Christ in the world—and Christ even in heaven! Even in the possession of ten thousand times more than heart can conceive, still Christ his portion—his all—and all he desires, for ever.'

"To those who are only partially acquainted with the details of Missionary work, it may seem strange that Mr. Ragland's plans of itineration should be spoken of as bearing an *original* character. It is necessary, therefore, to explain, that the work in Tinnevely had hitherto been carried on by each Missionary residing in a fixed home, and working from a central Station, at which was his church and schools, and native-Christian village, involving a large amount of strictly pastoral ministration amongst native converts: while a large body of native catechists were employed in numerous out-stations. When these Missionary districts presented too burdensome an amount of work for one man, they were subdivided, and the same system was pursued from a new centre. The superintendence and extensive employment of native catechists had always been one of the striking features of the Mission: and no one can doubt that this 'Catechist system,' as it is sometimes called, has been signally owned and blessed of God amidst the Shanars of Tinnevely. But when a Missionary's hands were thus full of station employments, he had very little opportunity of working among the surrounding heathen. 'We want, in addition to the "Pastoral" Missionaries, (wrote Mr. Ragland,) Missionaries who will itinerate,

and wipe their hands, as much as possible, of every thing else but preaching the Gospel from village to village.'

"Again, itineration of another kind had been already extensively practised in all parts of India; namely, occasional Missionary tours over tracts of country where no Missionary had been before, or only at distant intervals. Such 'Missionary touring' is, however, a very different mode of operation from Mr. Ragland's scheme. He proposed that two or three European Missionaries, each having one or two native brethren, should conjointly undertake a large district; the whole party to move about in tents throughout the year, and so to lay out their plans, as to afford opportunities of very frequent meeting together for prayer and consultation, and that every village in the district should be visited by a Christian teacher at least twice a-year, and every village in which any spirit of inquiry existed, should be visited once in ten days.

"This system of thorough and systematic itineration had not been hitherto attempted. The commencement of modern Missions had uniformly been, first a Mission-house, then schools, then a church, and so a Station formed. The most able and intelligent observers of Missionary operations connected with Societies in England, in Germany, and in America, have expressed the interest with which they have watched the development of Mr. Ragland's scheme. In now looking back at the voluminous correspondence which Mr. Ragland devoted to the elaboration of this scheme, it is manifest that only a mind trained to patient investigation, as well as possessing the self-reliance of superior powers, could have carried out the first conception. The following extract of a letter of Mr. Ragland (July 9, 1851) will afford a beautiful specimen of a high and independent intellect modestly seeking wisdom, by counsel with Christian friends, and in profound humility before his Lord and Master.—'The matter most upon my mind, namely, the plan for evangelizing the north of Tinnevely, which involves my leaving Madras for at least two years, I had intended to write to you about by this mail at length; indeed, I have page upon page prepared for you. But, after further consideration, I have decided to wait another month. My reason is—perhaps you will think it rather a simple one—that after being somewhat perplexed as to what I ought to consider a *sufficient indication* of God's will, I have concluded to follow the *precise* course which I took regarding leaving *Eng-*

land for India, and which, if I may judge from my never having had a *single misgiving* since, but, on the contrary, continued cause of thanksgiving that I took the step, was, I may reasonably conclude, the proper one. It was, to proceed quietly, proposing it to one after another of my friends, with an interval of a few days between each, for thought and fresh light; and, no obstacle arising, nor strong reasons being suggested against it, to conclude, that since there was a great want of men, and my qualifications were sufficient, and I was willing, *it was God's will* that I should come out. And in the present case, as it seems to me, the *want is great* (you will form, however, your own judgment when you read what I shall, perhaps, send you in a month), and my qualifications, though in some respects inferior, are in *other* respects better than those of most men, and I am very willing indeed. Consequently, if, after submitting what I have written to you—perhaps enlarged by notes—to the members of our Committee, and to the Bishop also, and to Mr. Thomas, on the Hills, no strong reasons are found against my plan, I shall send it to you; and if objections are not taken against it in Salisbury Square, and a person can be found to take my place for two years, or permanently if he should prefer it, *then* I shall conclude that *it is God's will*.'

"The mention of the name of the Bishop (Dealtry), of Madras, justifies the introduction of a private letter from his Lordship, equally honourable to both parties. Mr. Ragland, in writing to a friend, had said, 'There will be no trouble about licences. Our good Bishop is too much of an Evangelist himself for this.' And the Bishop, after receiving Mr. Ragland's statement of his scheme, wrote as follows—

"*Bangalore, July 31, 1851.*

"MY DEAR FRIEND—In returning to you this deeply interesting paper, I am quite at a loss what to say upon the subject of it. It is so much above my own feelings and motives, that I scarcely dare offer an opinion, without deeming it presumptuous in me; and yet the plan you propose is so much in accordance with the Gospel we profess, and the example of our Saviour Christ, and his most devoted Apostle St. Paul, that I would rejoice exceedingly myself to possess the least approach to such views and feelings. I can only say, then, my dear friend, that I can offer nothing to prevent your following out the plan which has been put into your heart by more than human power, and that you will have my daily prayers that God may

abundantly bless you, and that you may more than realize your most enlarged expectations, if *He* should enable you to carry out your ideas. May *He* uphold you by his power, and give you wisdom, humility, and love in what is before you, and may your body and soul be kept in a healthful state . . .

“‘With earnest prayers that God may guide you in the important step you are about to take, and in begging an interest in your prayers, “‘Believe, &c.

(Signed) “‘T. MADRAS.

“‘The Rev. T. G. RAGLAND.’

“‘Before the Committee could decide upon his proposal (writes Mr. Dumergue), the period had arrived at which it was necessary, in order to retain his fellowship, to come over to England and take his degree of B.D. He determined to resign his fellowship rather than return home. He thought that it was to be regretted that Missionaries so frequently seek leave of absence from various causes besides health. He felt, therefore, that no pecuniary consideration could justify his removal from his Missionary duties. He remained firm in his determination, notwithstanding the wishes of his friends in England, and the advice of the Parent Committee. But the hand of the Lord decided the case. The rupture of a small blood-vessel occasioned his being ordered home by medical authority.

“‘He arrived in England in June 1852, after an absence of nearly seven years. The most sanguine friends of Missions never supposed him likely to be able to return to his post, so enfeebled was his frame. Much less did he seem likely ever to be able to enter, if he should return to India, upon the new field of labour that he had proposed for himself. Nothing, however, could induce him to relinquish his holy self-denying project. Medical warnings and the advice of friends were meekly and cheerfully listened to, but his constant prayer was that God would send him forth again, and let him use the little strength that remained to him in itinerating in India. Never before had he taken such care of his health as he did in the winter of 1852, which he spent with his sister and cousin in the south of Hampshire. His health and his Tamil Bible occupied his whole thoughts; and as spring returned, and summer advanced, he seemed most grateful for the little improvement which his health had received. He tried to persuade his friends he was strong: he attempted to preach, but it was painful to listen to him. No one could think of recommending him to open-air preaching; but his heart was fixed, and he pressed himself on the acceptance of the

Committee, and had an argument to urge with them which could only increase their gratitude for the privilege of being associated with such a man. He insisted upon costing them nothing. He would be at his own charges. Often had he, while Secretary at Madras, proposed and pressed that his salary should be discontinued, because his fellowship was amply sufficient for his simple and economical rate of living; but the Committee preferred that he should receive his salary, and spend his fellowship if he chose upon the Mission. But when his health compelled him to return, he insisted on being no burden to the Society. He paid his own passage home. He would receive no “disabled allowance” while in England; he would pay his outfit and passage to India; and he would, and did, from the autumn of 1853, when he again left England, till October 1858, when he died, pay the whole of his expenses from his fellowship: and he made provision, that after his death, whenever it might happen, his contribution to the joint funds of the three Missionary brethren should be continued for the next three months.’

“Mr. Ragland’s failure of health in Madras, and consequent return to England, were overruled, in the good providence of God, to the plans he had at heart; for he was enabled to discuss them fully with the Parent Committee, and to obtain their sanction. Another Secretary, also, being sent to Madras, Mr. Ragland was set at liberty, immediately upon his return to India, to enter upon the itinerating Mission. Above all, his visit to England, and especially to Cambridge, stirred up the zeal of many, and engaged their warmest sympathy.

“Two young Cambridge men, the Rev. David Fenn, B.A., Trinity College, and Mr. Meadows, B.A., of Corpus Christi College, had been already appointed by the Committee to join Mr. Ragland in his future work, to whose Missionary career no higher testimony can be desired than that they have proved themselves every way worthy associates. They sailed for India the very day on which Mr. Ragland arrived in England, and were therefore resident in India a year before Mr. Ragland’s return, which enabled them to acquire the language, and to begin their work in the town of Madras. The impression produced by their example may be judged of by the following notice of them in a journal of the native minister, the Rev. J. Bilderbeck—

“‘Madras has also been favoured with the occasional labours of the very valuable brethren preparing for itinerant usefulness

in the country. Having acquired the language, so as tolerably to converse with the people, they have often been seen quietly engaging the attention of passengers, here and there, to "the things which belong to their peace." If Cambridge can boast of having conferred honours, she may now clothe herself with double honour, in the reflection that the Lord has sent forth out of her men who are thus nobly consecrating their talents to the cause of God in a heathen land. Oh! come "to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

"After Mr. Ragland's arrival, at the close of 1853, the three Missionaries, and a native catechist, commenced their itineration in North Tinnevely: living for the most part as one company, though their tents were pitched in different villages. The advantage of this association mainly consisted in the opportunity thus afforded for united prayer for God's blessing on the work, and of fraternal sympathy and exhortation to refresh their spirits and 'renew their strength.'

"The Missionaries, at the close of their first year, give this general view of their labours—'We have been able to traverse nearly the whole of the country originally contemplated in our itinerating Mission, comprising 1200 villages, 700 of which have been visited during the twelve months three times, that is to say, on three different occasions, and the remaining villages once. Our tents are almost invariably pitched for a week at a time in a place, from which, as a centre, we pay visits morning and evening to the surrounding villages. Besides these village preachings, we have also had, in most cases, visitors at our tents during the day. In some places persons have come forward in bodies asking for instruction.'

"In the present sketch it is only possible to introduce one short description of the Missionary party, at a later period, and in the midst of their itinerating labours in North Tinnevely: it is given by the Rev. William Knight, Secretary of the Society, in his report of his visit to India.

"The great secret of the happy working of the itinerancy is the prayerfulness that pervades it. Prayer is the atmosphere that surrounds it. In the morning, before setting out to preach, the brethren kneel to ask for thoughts, words, fluency, skill, audiences not blasphemous or indifferent. The first act on returning is to commit what has been done to the hands of the Lord, who can make it effectual. Then comes a mid-day Tamil service for the servants; afterwards the English Bible and prayer. Before evening preaching, the

Lord's presence is again implored; and the day closes with commending the work once again to Him. This is each day's history. Can He fail to bless it who has encouraged and commanded us so to work? Will He not bless what has been done in Him and for Him? He does bless it; refreshes jaded spirits; gives energy, perseverance, hopefulness; and in his own time—the eye of faith sees it—will authenticate and crown the labours of his prayerful servants, and make this barren wilderness smile and blossom like Mengnanapuram or Nullur.'

"Results did not manifest themselves so soon as Mr. Ragland and his friends had anticipated. He had hoped that two years would have been sufficient to prove the success of the experiment. But at the end of five years, a comparatively small number had embraced the offers of salvation. The impression produced upon the masses of the heathen had been very partial, and scarcely amounted to more than respectful attention to their message. The multitudes which rejected their message at first, continued to do so still. Only a few inquirers were gathered into the church by baptism: and the itinerating Missionaries were not able to cast off so entirely as they had anticipated the care of these converts upon a Station Missionary. They were found to cling too closely to their spiritual parents. A stationary Missionary was indeed appointed; but he was early carried away to his eternal reward by an attack of cholera.* Neither have the itinerating Missionaries been able to withstand the appeals of the people to establish schools in important towns.

"Nevertheless, there have been great and blessed results from the North-Tinnevely Mission, which abundantly prove that the device was from the Lord.

"A large district has been so thoroughly pervaded with Christian instruction, that of North Tinnevely it may be truly said, the Gospel has been there '*fully*' preached. And there are indications of an approaching increase of actual conversions, such as the Missionaries have long and patiently waited for.

"Another benefit, which was anticipated by none, bears the evident stamp of a divine boon in answer to much prayer. So far from any rivalry with the Missions in the south, there has sprung up such a close bond of Christian sympathy and love, as not only

* The Rev. Charles Every, who died after a few months' residence at Sivagasi, August 18, 1857.

ministers much comfort to the itinerating Missionaries in the north, but has infused a new life of Missionary zeal into the congregations of the south. The brethren meet in periodical conferences, and compare together their varied experience. At one of these conferences Mr. Ragland and his associates proposed that a few of the Catechists should be transferred for a time from the south to labour in the north: their brethren gave up some of their best agents for the transfer. The itinerating Missionaries again proposed that the native Christians in the south should bear the charges of the itinerating Catechists sent to the north for two or three months' labour at a time. These native congregations have most willingly responded to the appeal, and have kept up a regular supply of thirty to forty itinerating Catechists, making an average from ten to twelve labouring at the same time. These native Catechists, upon their return to their congregations, recount their Missionary labours, and this awakens a new Missionary zeal for their countrymen at hand, as well as at a distance. This result alone, while he waited for others, filled the soul of Ragland with praise and thanksgiving to his Saviour, and was a full recompense for all his toil, in the elaboration of the scheme, and in his five years of itineration.

"In the midst of this noble and blessed career, 'with his loins girded about and his lamp burning,' the summons came to Ragland. The Master knocked, and the servant was ready to open 'immediately.' The relation of the last scene is given by his Missionary Associate, the Rev. David Fenn.

Rev. D. Fenn to Rev. P. S. Royston, dated Sivagasi, October 26, 1858.

"MY DEAR BROTHER—Our North-Tinnevely Mission has again been visited with a very severe stroke. I scarcely know how to tell you of it. But it is the Lord's doing, and the Lord is with us, and *will* be with us in trouble. And although, in reference to what we have lost, one had almost been ready to cry, 'Take any thing else from North Tinnevely, but leave us that;' yet still, now that it is gone, what else can the smitten child say, but, 'Father, thy will be done?' And now, my beloved friend and brother, you will be somewhat prepared to hear that God has, in one instant, without a note of warning, taken to himself the soul of our dear brother Ragland. It was only this morning that he woke in his usual health, two hours earlier than usual, mistaking the light of the moon for the dawn, and sent off a messenger with English letters, and also with one for yourself, which

he wrote yesterday, in answer to your last to us both. He did not go to bed again, for, as he said, he felt very wide awake; so he had his hour of reading the Bible and private prayer then, and at dawn went a little walk. After breakfast, we both set to work writing our weekly budget for Palamcotta, our bread-cooly only having just arrived. Like himself, dear fellow, he said, "Let us first ask God's blessing on what we are going to write." Then he offered prayer for each one of whom, or from whom, we had heard, mentioning the special trials of each, and asking help for ourselves in answering them. We then consulted and wrote. We had despatched the cooly for Palamcotta, a second for Paneiadipatti; and he had just finished writing to Saththianadhen a letter, which, with an accompanying parcel, a third cooly was to take, immediately after prayers, to Strevilliputthur. Then he lay down on the cot a little exhausted, while I began to read from the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for September, which had just arrived, till the servants were ready for prayers. We then both went in. I read the chapter, made a few remarks, and prayed. I thought I noticed, that, in kneeling down to pray, he was a little exhausted, and he seemed to be swallowing something.

"Immediately after prayers he went to the bath-room, and very soon called me. I ran to him. He said, "Dear brother, do not be frightened, but this is blood," pointing to what he had just been expectorating. He then walked with me to the cot, the blood continuing to come into his mouth. He said, "I am in God's hands," or something to that effect: then, as he saw it coming more and more, uttered earnestly a short prayer, or verse of Scripture, I forget exactly what; then threw off his coat, unbuttoned his shirt collar, said, with a sweet smile, "Jesus," and fell down on the cot. And I should think, in two minutes from the time he called me, his spirit was with the Saviour.

"It was only yesterday that he said to me, that, in reference to the departed spirit being with the Saviour consciously, and not in a sleep (a subject on which I know his thoughts have often been exercised), the words, "Who died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with Him," seemed quite conclusive; and then he quoted the words, "Absent from the body, and present with the Lord." The subject of death had been a good deal in his thoughts lately, though not, I think, sudden death. He had a long talk with me in reference to his cough, and especially in reference to weakness, which seemed increasing, although he was taking

rest. He felt certain that his lungs were affected, and thought it very probable that his strength would never be what it was; and he had, after a good deal of thought, pretty well made up his mind to remain here, do what work he could—letter-writing, keeping accounts, consulting and planning—with as little exertion of his voice as possible. It affected me a good deal at the time, for I had thought his liver only, and not his lungs, the part affected. Still I felt what a very great help it would be if he could do only this for three years or so longer.

“‘Dear fellow! I looked, a little while ago, at his face. It looks so calm and peaceful. I am all alone in the room with him, for my sorrowing servants have gone to rest. Outside is the sound of the carpenter’s hammer preparing his last cot. In a little time I expect dear Joseph Cornelius, to whom I wrote soon after. He is at Paneiadipatti. I dare say, in the morning dear Saththianaden will come from Strivillapattur, and I shall have sorrowing hearts and mourning faces around me I doubt not to-morrow, from Kalbodhu and other places. Well, there is one more added to the “ten thousand harps and voices” that “swell the note of praise above.”

“Jesus reigns, and heaven rejoices,
Jesus reigns, the God of love.”

“One more ransomed sinner has joined in the chorus, “Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood.” It was only the day before yesterday that, after I had been reading to him Psalm lxxxix., he said, “I often think, and I believe there is some good ground for the interpretation, that the joyful sound, of which it is said, “Blessed are the people that know it,” is that song, “Praise the Lord, for the Lord is good; for his mercy endureth for ever.” One of his favourite texts was, “Looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto eternal life;” and another, “Let thy merciful kindness, O Lord, be upon us, according as we hope in Thee.”

“I have very much enjoyed these four days with him since I came into the bungalow. I think, both now and during the previous week or ten days, we had felt our hearts drawn out more than usual towards one another; and he more than once spoke of this as a special mercy from God that we could love one another.

“Will you insert whatever notice you think proper in the “Christian Herald?” I think his age was forty-three, and he has entered his Master’s joy this day (October 22), and his last place of abode on earth was Sivagasi. I do not believe there ever was a servant of Christ who more deeply grieved over

sin, and possessed more of the contrite heart to which such rich blessings are promised. And he was blessed.

“O child of God, O-glory’s heir,
How rich a lot is thine;
A hand Almighty to defend,
An ear for every call;
An honoured life, a peaceful end,
And heaven to crown it all!”

“To us whom he leaves behind (for how many months, or days, or hours, we know not), he says, “Watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry, for the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day.”

“Pray for me, dear brother, and for our poor district. Dear Ragland! He has been for the last four months and more full of hope that we shall see some stir among the dry bones, some coming of the breath from the four winds; and now, if it comes, he cannot see it, unless his freed spirit still looks down upon the place of its earthly toils.

“It was such a mercy that this did not take place either before I came in or immediately on my coming in, and before I had time to talk over matters with him. We had gone over every thing that had come up during my late week’s tour among the congregations, and some things in which I had feared he might not agree he had expressed full concurrence. O, how blessed will it be to talk together in glory of all the way by which our God will then have led each of us through life!

“Please show this to dear Meadows, for I have written to him but briefly. Indeed, I should be anxious about him did I not know he was in safe keeping, for his last letter was dated this day fortnight at Trichinopoly, and I know nothing of his movements since, though we have his letters to-day. If he is with you, do all you can to keep him from attempting to return at once to North Tinnevely, which he may possibly think it his duty to do. I am sure he ought not. I have my three dear native brethren; above all, the Lord Jesus is ever near.

“Your loving brother,
“ (Signed) ‘DAVID FENN.’

“To this letter must be added the Minute passed by the Corresponding Committee at Madras upon its receipt, at a meeting held November 9, 1858:

“The Committee cannot allow the receipt of the mournful intelligence of the death

of the Rev. T. G. Ragland to pass, without some expression of their deep sense of the loss which they have sustained in the sudden removal of so eminent a Missionary.

" ' Few of the many servants of God with whom it has been their privilege to be associated have done more, in their opinion, for the cause of Missions in Southern India, than this eminently holy, humble, and devoted man. It pleased Him, "who divideth to every man severally as He will," to endue him with no ordinary share of intellectual and moral gifts, which, under diligent culture, secured him a distinguished place in his College and University. But the far nobler gifts of deep lowliness and spirituality of mind, coupled with pervading love to the Lord Jesus and great singleness of purpose, enabled him to direct all natural and acquired excellencies to one object—the furtherance of the glory of God in preaching to the heathen the Gospel of His dear Son.

" ' Thirteen years of happy intercourse with him in this work have given the Committee abundant evidence of the maturity of his Christian character, the disinterestedness of his labour, and his unwavering sense of Missionary obligation. Both as Secretary to their body, and as a simple itinerant evangelist, he ever displayed an admirable union of deliberation, activity, power, and love. Prayerful diligence and deep self-abasement were marked features of his character.

" ' The Committee cannot but mourn that the Mission has been deprived of so valued an agent: but they feel, at the same time, that they are especially bound to express their hearty thankfulness to the Lord of the harvest, for associating with them a labourer so faithful and beloved. And while rejoicing in spirit with their departed brother, as resting from his labours, and as having entered into the joy of his Lord, they desire to be instant in prayer, that others like-minded may be raised up to join his associates in the work from which he was so suddenly withdrawn, and apparently, and as he himself thought, on the very eve of the day of joyful reaping.

" ' To this field of prayerful, patient toil, the Committee now turn with feelings of especial interest, seeing that three devoted labourers have, within the last fourteen months, laid down their lives in its culture. And while encouraging those who remain with the Divine assurance that in "due time they shall reap, if they faint not," they earnestly appeal to others to join them in their noble enterprise, and, as true fellow-labourers of the kingdom of God, not to leave them to bear alone the burden and heat of the day."

" This narrative is necessarily too brief to throw into full relief the many beautiful points of Mr. Ragland's character, which deeply impressed all his companions, whether in the University or in the Mission-field, or in the private walk of Christian friendship. It is hoped that a more extended Memoir may be compiled, which, if it be a faithful sketch of his inner as well as his external history, will be a profitable study for young Christian men at the Universities, and will prompt many heart-searching thoughts to every servant of God in this age.

" In the present pages but one remark can be added. We have noticed the wonderful preparation which Ragland in his early years was unconsciously undergoing for his future employment—his early habits of business, his intellectual training, his prayerful diligence, his ministerial experience. Here was a young clergyman eminently fitted—may it not be said designedly prepared—for a great Missionary undertaking. Yet he suspected it not. But when the subject is brought before him in his own rooms, though not designedly addressed to himself, the call touches his conscience: he prayerfully, calmly, step by step, deliberates upon the path of duty; leaves all to follow it; and finds his best happiness, arising from his Lord's presence, in that path; and he is privileged to accomplish a good work, which will distinguish his name with brighter honours, in the Christian annals of Cambridge, than its Tripos had awarded.

" In the judgment of Members of the University, the double designation of the title-page—

" ' Senior Fellow of Corpus Christi College,'
and

" ' Itinerating Missionary in South India ' will suggest honourable thoughts of the self-denying *Missionary*: in the judgment of the church of Christ, the honour will be reflected back upon the *University* from which the Missionary went forth on his holy enterprise.

" There may be young men in the Universities, or in the early years of their ministry, to whom the perusal of this history may prove a personal call. We close with a text which appears to have mingled itself with the first thoughts of a Missionary life in Ragland when it was preached on in St Michael's Church, Cambridge, in the winter of 1844—(Phil. ii. 21), 'All seek their own, not the things which are Christ's.' We now go on with the quotation, 'Ye know the proof of him'—whose bright career has been thus imperfectly sketched."

WRESTLING JACOB.

(A FRAGMENT.)

It was the day of Jacob's distress. Esau was coming to meet him, and four hundred men with him, and Jacob was greatly afraid and sore distressed, for he feared lest he should come and smite him, and the mother and the children. He had already cried unto the Lord for deliverance. But at a time like this, it was not enough to pray once: he had need to pray again. Much more remained to be transacted between himself and God. "He rose up, therefore, that night, and took his two wives, and his two women servants, and his eleven sons," and "sent them over the brook," "and Jacob was left alone"—alone as he had once been, when, a stranger to God, and a wayfarer in a strange land, as the sun set, "he took of the stones of that place, and put them for his pillows," and the God who there so graciously revealed himself to the sleeping youth, he now desired to seek, and plead with him for the fulfilment of his promise—"I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again unto this land; for I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of."

Jacob was a gracious man, for otherwise he never could have committed himself, and all that was dear to him, with such a child-like confidence, to his father's care.* But he needed to have the work of grace deepened and strengthened in him, for he was about to be exercised with severe trials. The years which followed his departure from Laban's service, appear to have been the most troubled period of his life. It is true, while with Laban he had his trials. He was tried by the hard and parsimonious character of the old man, the jealousy of the sons, the dissensions, inseparable from polygamy, which prevailed in his own family. But these were as nothing to the afflictions which yet awaited him. He had to lose Rachel, to lose Joseph, to be afflicted in Dinah, to be troubled by the ungodliness of his children, the cruelty of some, the sensuality of others. His bark was about to enter a troubled sea, where the waves would be high and strong; and he needed strength commensurate with these trials, that when they came upon him and wrestled with him, they might not overcome him; that amidst the disquietude to which he should be subjected, he might be able to overcome himself: and that he might thus prevail, it needed that

he should first prevail with God. There is a personal and secret wrestling with Himself to which the Lord summons his people, and no man can be a prevailing Christian before the world, who, in the secrecy of his closet, has not prevailed with God.

Jacob had to wrestle with difficulties. Even in the womb he had been a wrestler—"the children struggled together;" and he needed a blessing, that he might overcome, not by carnal policy, but by godly resolution, and be known, not as Jacob the supplanter, but as "Israel," "a prince of God," for "as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed."

And all God's servants must be wrestlers if they would serve effectively. There are hindrances and difficulties which must be overcome. There is a wrestling in which they must needs engage. There is a mysterious wrestling indicated at the moment of the fall, and interwoven with the germinal promise of Gospel deliverance—"I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." There we find two heads and their respective seeds, wrestling for supremacy, like the children in Rebecca's womb; two heads—the Saviour and the enemy of man. On the cross, as oft before, they wrestled; and there was bruised the human nature of Emmanuel; but there he bruised the adversary's head, and spoiled principalities and powers, triumphing over them in his cross. And that wrestling is still perpetuated in their respective seeds—"In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil"—"marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you." The gracious seed are in many respects wrestlers. Within and without there is a wrestling: within, "the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh:" without, "we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." In obeying the commands of Him who is our King, and more especially in the great work of spreading abroad the knowledge of his truth, we are hindered and embarrassed, and we have to wrestle with these hindrances; and we are like the disciples—"the ship was now in the midst of the sea, tossed with waves, for the wind was contrary." We, too, need a blessing that we may overcome; that our trials, difficulties, temptations, may not prove too

* *Vide Gen. xxxii. 9. 12.*

much for us, but that we may be enabled so to meet and overcome them, that in us the Lord may be glorified. We need that Christ's own strength, the might and power by which He overcame, may be imparted to us, so that we may overcome likewise. God's people, individually and collectively, the church, the Christian, need that "the power of Christ" rest upon them. It is with the great Head of the church that we have to do in this matter. He who overcame can alone enable us to overcome; so that whatever we have to meet, whether an angry Esau, a dying Rachel, a lost Joseph, the trial shall not prove too much for us. He has it to give—the needful power. He has the anointing, and, by his Spirit, can so enable us, that out of weakness we shall be made strong.

But we must wrestle with Him for the blessing. We must not be surprised, when we approach Him in prayer, if He restrains for a time the outgoings of his favour, and seems as though He did not hear—as if he were unwilling to give. He did so with the Syrophenician woman, he disguised himself. First, when she importuned him, He was silent: and then, when He did speak, it was discouragingly. "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to dogs." But it was to draw out her faith into more lively exercise. And so He would have us wrestle with Him for the blessing. He had to wrestle himself for strength to sustain the unwonted load of human sin which was laid upon him; for although the fulness of the godhead dwelt in Him bodily, and unlimited supplies were at his disposal, yet was He pleased to make his humanity entirely dependent on that which the Father communicated to Him, and hence, in the days of his flesh, He "offered up supplications and prayers with strong crying and tears to Him that was able to save Him from death." And so with us: by prayerful wrestling we must prevail to obtain the blessing. We feel we are helpless without it; as feeble as Sampson when his locks were shorn. We put forth earnest prayer. He seems as though He did not hear, and, when we importune, yields not, but resists. He would prove us, and lead us onward to more fervent importunity. He would have us do as Elisha did. He was named to succeed Elijah; but he knew that more than a name was requisite: that to succeed him in his office, he must have bequeathed to him his strength, his unction, his power. Therefore it was that he followed him so closely, and would not be severed from him, that, on the transfer of his master to heaven, there might be a transfer to him of the needful qualifications. He there-

fore would not leave him. Various efforts were made to induce him so to do. They came from Elijah himself. Thrice he said to him, "Tarry here, I pray thee," and thrice faith replied, "As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee;" and he prevailed. Elijah's mantle became his, and the smitten waters parted before him, as they had parted before the stroke of Elijah.

So we pray, but He delays: we entreat, but He seems indisposed to give. The blessing, although urgently needed, is kept back. The service to be rendered is arduous, and we suffice not for it.

The providence of God opens new doors, and vast regions, hitherto shut up, are thrown open to Missionary efforts. The Niger presents a pathway into the very heart of Soudan, and numerous tribes along its course are expectant of the Christian teacher. Let us hear a voice from the banks of that mighty stream, the testimony of a devoted native Missionary, the Rev. J. C. Taylor, who, at the new station of Onitsha, has sustained the pressure connected with the foundation work, although alone, in separation from his family, and in difficulties as to the necessities of life. The letter from whence this extract is taken bears date Church Missionary House, Onitsha, Central Africa, August 26, 1858.

"I can assure you that God has opened a wide and extensive field for spiritual usefulness in Central Africa, which now calls loudly upon the church to double their exertions. I have now the hearts of nearly all the native chiefs, and have their minds towards the work of God. Everywhere there is a decided panting after the bread of life. Repeated calls have been made to me from the right and left in this district for teachers to be placed over them. Some of these calls have been sent to me from fifty to eighty miles inland. I do now appeal to the church for men to come forward and join in this holy cause. The field for Missionary usefulness is such as to justify the choice of this settlement as bearing the impress of the finger of God in directing it. The people are ready to hear the word of God; their idols have been despised; the leaven of divine truth is spreading its savour among them; the children are apt to learn; the young men are willing to learn European handicraft. This portion of Africa will, in time to come, be the rendezvous of spiritually-minded loving Christians. Taking a birds-eye view of the present circumstances, they all conspire to raise our expectation for the speedy redemption of Africa.

I bless God that I am now privileged to admit two men as candidates for baptism, who

have given me decided proofs of changed character. Their idols are now in my possession. Oh, if I had more men to help here, I could place them among the forty thousand souls at Onitsha alone. The work which the Lord has opened before us is wonderful indeed, so much, that my tongue is too small to utter, and my pen insufficient to describe it."

In another letter, dated Freetown, Dec. 17, 1858, he adds—"I am glad to inform you that the state of the Niger Mission is very encouraging. Everywhere there is an air of activity in spiritual things. It appears to me that my heart is too full to relate the goodness of God, by which openings are being effected in Central Africa. I would rather stand personally before the Committee, and speak to them face to face, than with pen, ink, and paper. All along in the interior of that vast multitude of people they wish to hear the word of God, and have some one as a teacher placed over them."

What the Niger is to Africa, the great Yang-tze-keang* is to China, and the long-expected moment has at length arrived, when it can with truth be said, "China is open." Nay, even Japan has abandoned its zealous exclusiveness, and is willing to hold intercourse with men of other nations. India, too, is about to present itself under a new aspect. The great hurricane of insurrection has exhausted itself, and soon will be the season for the sower to cast the seed, with every prospect of a glorious issue and rich forthcoming harvest.

Never, then, in the history of man has such a period presented itself. It is not merely India, Africa, China, Japan that are open; but the world—Papal Europe excepted—is open. If only the messengers were forthcoming, the Gospel message might be proclaimed to "all the world." For their arising the supplication of the church has been offered, and the Lord of the harvest prayed that He would send forth labourers into his harvest. But they come not. The people of God are like Elijah when he went

up to the top of Carmel, and cast himself upon the earth, and put his face between his knees, and prayed for rain; and six times he said to his servant, "Go up now, look toward the sea;" and six times the discouraging reply was given, "There is nothing." How are we to read this? What is the interpretation? He would draw forth the spiritual energies of the church in more earnest intercession. He would have us wrestle with Him for a blessing. He would thus, by exercise, increase the faith of his people, so as to prepare the way for more devotedness of action. He would place us in the position of Jacob. The Lord appeared to strive with him, yet in reality was He strengthening and sustaining him, for how otherwise could he have endured? and He wrestled with him, that he might teach Jacob to be a wrestler. To this holy exercise the Saviour constrains his people for their good; and, as he engages in it, the believer grows stronger in the conflict. He feels, that although he has not obtained the full blessing that he needs, yet that he has laid hold on Him who has the blessing to bestow, and with a holy pertinacity he refuses to let him go. He with whom he strives, seems as though He would fain disentangle Himself. "Let me go, for the day breaketh." There are many temptations, many suggestions to desist from prayer. Enough now: other duties call: but the one inquiry with the Christian is, Has the blessing been obtained? If not, his answer is, "I will not let thee go except thou bless me."

They who thus persist shall have the blessing. The wrestling Christian goes forth from his closet strong in the Lord. The nerves and muscles of the spiritual system have been braced by the training which he has gone through, and such a man meets the difficulties and temptations of life as Sampson met the lion. The Lord would have his people to be wrestlers, and wrestling prayer is the training-school, and from thence He sends them forth into the world to endure and overcome; nor shall we ever be overcoming Christians before the world, unless with holy violence we have prevailed with the Lord, and, in the persuasion of faith, obtained from Him the blessing. That will be the useful church, the useful minister, the useful Christian, which is the wrestling and prevailing one. This is our great defect that there are so few Israels. We are weak and feeble in the closet, and weak and feeble in our bearing before men. There is not that decided, resolute cast of character which belongs to the true Israel. There is a consciousness that we are in something wanting. But we are inert and sluggish to come up to this point. The prayerful

* Our engraving presents a glimpse of the great river of China, the Yang-tze-keang, at one of its points of greatest beauty, where the Golden and Silver Islands appear like gems on the bosom of the waters. It is near the point where it is intersected by the Grand Canal, called by the Chinese Yun Ho, "transport river." In our next Number we shall place before our readers the journal of an interesting tour from Shanghai to Che-keang on the Yang-tze, accomplished by two Missionaries. It is, we believe, the first which has been attempted since the new treaty.

wrestling that prevails is too difficult, and we shrink back from it, and "we have not, because we ask not."

The churches of Britain need a blessing—times of refreshing from the Lord—the blessing of an enlarged heart and willing mind—the devotedness to use the means at their disposal for the improvement of the vast opportunities presented to them. Then would ministers preach with more efficacy, if, in the secrecy of their closets, they wrestled with God in prayer that the word might have power with the consciences of men. Then should hearers be more blessed, if, when they experienced the moving and stirring of divine truth in their consciences, they took it home with them—and sought in earnest prayer that the impressions thus made on them might be permanent on their souls. Then would churches break forth to the right hand and to the left, if they sought the outpouring of the Spirit of God. The promise would be fulfilled, "I will be as the dew unto Israel;" and the threefold result be yielded, "He shall grow as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon. His branches shall spread." We should have the beauty of

holiness and stability of principle. Men, instead of being tossed to and fro with every wind of doctrine, would be as strongly rooted and grounded in the faith as the mountains on their immutable foundations. And we should then witness the widely-extended growth of Missionary effort. There would be no lack of zealous, faithful bishops, devoted ministers, self-denying Missionaries. Only let the Lord's people become the wrestling Jacobs of our day. It is time that they should do so—full time. The great controversy which God has had with us as a people; the rebukes which we have had administered to us in India, intermingled with the most marvellous deliverances; the extreme necessity in a spiritual sense of its millions, as exhibited in the late outburst of human passions—with one isolated exception, an individual, himself one of the preserved ones, and who has therefore given himself by a special dedication to Missionary work in India—have not wrung from the well-instructed and providentially-favoured Christians of this country, so far as the Church Missionary Society is concerned, one single offer of Missionary service.

THE CHOTA NAGPUR MISSION.

(Continued from p. 24.)

To preserve the connection, we shall retrace the leading points contained in that portion of Mr. Wylie's interesting narrative which has been already printed. The geographical position of the district; its physical aspect; the aboriginal tribes—Urans, Kōls, Mundas, and Santhals; their rude religious notions, and consequent immorality; the commencement of a Christian Mission amongst them by Pastor Gossner's German Missionaries; the first station at Ranchi; the discouraging aspect of the earlier work; the first converts, and increasing power of the movement; the outbreak of persecution, and sufferings of the Christians through the hostility of the zemindars, and apathy of the magistrate; the increase of converts and congregations, in despite of persecution; the mutiny, and flight of the European residents with the Missionaries; their return to the station in October 1858; the wreck left by the storm, ruined bungalows and church; and, above all, the great sufferings of the Christians and their constancy. At this point the narrative recommences.

"Yesterday was the day for our first service in the church. We had cleaned it, but all the windows were broken, the organ destroyed,

the organ-loft and gallery, which always were full of lively singers, were now quite empty; but in the midst of this desolation we praised the Lord, and all, in coming out of church, exclaimed, 'Now we begin to live anew!' Some, who had not opportunity to escape, or who would brave the storm, were tortured and bound hands and feet, and lay for days in the rain on the wet ground. All their books were taken and torn. Taunting and scoffing, the wretches said to them, 'Where is your Father now? Where is Jesus? Where is He? Why does He not help you now? Where are the English? All have fled, and you are in our hands.' And with feet, and fists, and iron-bound sticks, they smote them, saying, 'Now sing us something! Sing us one of your sweet hymns, and read us a little out of your books, and we will hear!' Who, alas! can tell all that these poor creatures suffered? It is a mercy that they did not despair and deny the Lord. Day after day more are coming in, and we hope that soon we shall see them all. Every one comes with a face full of joy, and with the salutation, 'Jesus our help and protection.'"

That there was no mistake about these statements was soon made plain, by a formal

list authenticated by the Commissioner, Major Dalton, and sent to the Calcutta Relief Committee, containing the names of 640 native Christians who had been plundered of all they possessed. It is probable that not all these had been baptized; but they were professed believers, and they had suffered as such. Nor were their losses small. In many Missions in India it has been usual, and perhaps necessary, to assist the converts, who, on the loss of caste, have been cast off by their relatives; but in this Mission the whole of the people laboured for their own support, many of them and indeed nearly all in the list—sent to the Relief Committee—had houses, cattle, brass utensils, and clothes. They had “taken joyfully the spoiling of their goods,” and probably expected no earthly aid. It was, however, the privilege, as well as the manifest duty of the Relief Fund, to afford them succour, and in few cases, probably, was it more needed or more gratefully received. In writing of the days of trial, Mr. Batsch said—“It was not from the Sepoys that we, or the native Christians, suffered most. They sought for treasure only. But there were many ill-affected zemindars, of whom the chief was Thakur Bishnath Sah. They bore and they showed a hatred, not only to Christianity, but also to the British name. Nothing but opportunity had ever been wanted for them to rebel openly before, and to commit outrages according to the old, not-forgotten fashion. They hastened the mutiny by inciting and stirring up the Sepoys. All this was well known; and as soon as the mutiny broke out, these zemindars began their work of robbing and plundering the native Christians. The village Prabhusharan (Lord’s shelter), inhabited by Christians only, was levelled to the ground. This was the second time in five years that it had been destroyed, and it had been pillaged five times before. All the people’s store of provisions, their whole property in cattle, their brazen vessels, clothes, &c., were taken away, and they had to hide themselves in the hills and jungles to save their lives. On the head of the church elder, the thakur had offered 2000 rupees. They are now lean, covered with rags, without any provisions.

“The village Heta is just in the same condition, except that the bare houses are left standing. That the losses of the people were not small, one example may show. Navin Pur, the headman of the village, and church elder, lost nineteen brazen vessels, five baskets of clothes, 200 rupees, and eight cows. The harvest of the hill-rice was cut by the thakur’s people, and the later rice perished

for want of attention, as they all had to hide themselves in the jungles. At the time when the Sepoys left Chota Nagpur, this elder, with another Christian, went away to inquire after his teachers, hearing that some gentlemen had come back to Hazaribagh. During this time the zemindars of Chipra caught his mother, wife, and daughters, bound and beat them, and left them bound for twenty-four hours on the road, in the rain, far away from their village. They became severely ill after this treatment, so that all their hair is falling off. On the head of this Navin, the thakur had put a large price: he wished, as he expressed it, to have this man’s skin for a drum, and his daughters for dancing girls, that they might be made to dance before him to its beating. The villages Pali and Talgarie were pillaged by the zemindar, Maniram: the Christians saved nothing but their lives. Up to this time they have been unable to return. The account of one of them will show what they lost. Taura, of Pali, lost all his store of rice and other provisions, his eight oxen, two buffaloes, six cows, two baskets of clothes, some brazen vessels, and forty-four rupees, and his houses were destroyed. He is now at the Mission station, his wife and children seeking shelter anywhere. His money and brazen vessels and clothes had been deposited at the Mission house some time before the outbreak; but before our flight we gave him every thing back: he had, then sixty rupees. This shows, at least, that they were not destitute people. At the village Hackabari, the large Christian flock had to go through very heavy persecutions; and though the magistrate has compelled the zemindar to let them return to their homes, they are still threatened day by day. Here the whole store of rice has been plundered, and nearly all the cattle. The money extorted from one man was 150 rupees; from another 113; from another 40; from Navin 20; from Naga 10; from Matthias 3: from each one all he had. The headman, Ledda, who lost the 150 rupees, and is nearly eighty years of age, has been almost killed. He has been brought in to Ranchi, where he is under the kind care of the civil surgeon. Whether he will recover is still uncertain. Another, Matthias, is in a still worse state. The outrages committed on him were so cruel, that there remains no hope of his recovery. Three Christian women, too, were terribly beaten and ill treated, but they are recovering. At the villages Kurgi and Simra, except their cattle, the Christians have lost every thing, and were very much ill treated, and had to fly to the jungles. One old woman, especially, who

was just recovering from a very serious illness, was tortured and beaten cruelly, to extort money from her; and as it had been in my hands before our flight, I knew she had several rupees, besides other property. At Belangi the houses of the brethren were destroyed, and all their [property. At Marghu only one Christian family resided, but their house was destroyed (for the third time in two years), and they were plundered of every thing they possessed.

"Ilki and Korkatola—Here the spoliation was effected in a peaceful manner, Christogaudh, a wealthy and worthy Christian, is partly owner of Korkatola, and all the inhabitants of the small village are Christians, and dependent on him. The zemindar of Ilki came to him, and said, 'I like not to break our old friendship, for we were friends from our youth. I have not, therefore, brought any Sepoys with me, but have come alone, and I hope you will cheerfully give me all I want.' 'I will, said Christogaud. 'Then all your store of rice is mine.' 'Take it.' 'All your money.' 'Here are 100 rupees in silver and twenty in gold: do you require more?' 'Your buffalo cows with their young.' He got every thing, and was not ashamed to take it. He then went to the houses of the poorer brethren, and extorted money and every thing they had. With one, Nirmal, he found only a little rice and five rupees, but he took it. Nirmal said to the brethren, 'If there had been more I would have given it;' and when exhorted to look up to Christ, and to trust in Him, he in much simplicity answered, 'As long as there is breath in me, I shall cleave to my Jesus, and never forsake Him.'

"At Kissaru the Christians were stripped of every thing, and a price was put on the head of the church elder, Nathanael. At Sidrael only a few families of Christians reside, but as the owner of it, a widow, is on friendly terms with them, some of the brethren of the Ranchi Bethesda station hoped to find a shelter there; but they were not unmolested. The Thakur of Ginji, with Sepoys, came unawares upon them, and stripped them of all their money, and of every thing they possessed. Afterwards he bound the men and boys, as many as he could get, and brought them to Ginji for imprisonment and torture. They had to suffer severely, as they were bid to confess where their box of money was hid, which their padre sahib had given them. In fact, poor creatures, they had nothing, and therefore could neither confess nor give. An old decrepit woman, of about seventy years of age, who lived, supported by us, to whom at our flight we gave a few rupees for food in our absence, was cruelly

beaten. Above all, he sought to catch the catechist Thomas, as he intended to sacrifice his head to Kali. But the zemindary widow of Sidrael hid him in her own house for a month, till the danger was past. At Khijurtoba there was but one Christian family. They lost all they had, and only saved their lives by digging a hole in the ground, and covering it with straw. Here they lay hidden in the time of danger. From Turiambu nothing but the money of the Christians was taken; so likewise at Agra: but at Kota they lost every thing, and two of the young men died in the jungle. At Kathanga they were robbed of every thing, and suffered great losses in cattle, money, and harvest. At Tariga the Christians were poor, but their little all was taken, and they were taken, and bound, and beaten, and their harvest is lost. At Mahia and Eratu the spoliation was considerable."

Mr. F. Batsch proceeds giving details of other villages, till he mentions Kotambi. He then says: "All the Christians here suffered very much, but especially one old man, with his large family. His houses were well filled, and he was in very good circumstances. But as soon as the mutiny broke out, his enemies, the zemindars of Chipra, three brothers, fell upon his property, and took every thing. They had to hide themselves in the jungles, where his wife died. As the danger seemed somewhat abating, they returned to the village, but lived in terror day and night. The old father had no rest, and resolved, with his younger three sons and a servant, to escape to Hazaribagh. They came to near the pass which leads out of Chota Nagpur to Hazaribagh, but were warned not to proceed, as it was guarded by mutineers. They were compelled, therefore, to return. In the midst of the night they arrived at Ranchi, and were stopped by a mutineer sentry, and asked who they were. They answered, 'We are Urans.' The man replied, 'I must see: come here.' They were obliged to obey. The night was quite dark, and the man touched their heads and their necks, and then said, 'How have you flown into the net, you fine birds? You are Christians. Where is your tuft of hair, where are your ear-rings and beads, and all the signs of your being Urans? Are you not Christians? Tell.' They answered, 'Yes, we are.' He said, 'Then follow my advice, and make off as quickly as possible: the time for changing the guard is near, and if the havildar finds you, he will not let you escape with your lives.' They waited not, but ran as fast as they could through the rice-fields to their home." Then, further, after specifying other details, Mr.

Batsch writes: "At Chipra the zemindars (three brothers) raged unrestrained by any human feeling. Some of the Christians here are widows, with little children, but they had pity upon none. The property of all was robbed, their houses levelled to the ground, and they had to fly into the jungles to save their lives; and up to the present moment they have not returned to their own village. There are also other villages which I have not named, in which similar spoliation and persecutions prevailed. In another district, Sonapur, where last year (1856) about twenty or twenty-five villages were opened, and many inquirers had joined us and broken caste, the persecution was as hard and outrageous, or worse. But the heart sickens to dwell on these things. A few examples will show that the sufferings of our poor people were not small, and their loss not little. At Kharra, a man named Kouka lost all his property: he was bound and beaten, first with an iron-bound stick, and afterwards with a shoe, and with every blow the zemindar said, 'Why have you become a Christian?' After this his feet were put in fetters, his hands tied behind him, and, with a rope around him, he was led to Palcote to the Rajah of Chota Nagpur, to be sacrificed at the Durga festival. Arrived there, he again received many blows, and was in the verandah of the Rajah's house, tied by a rope round his hips to the roof. In the night, by some means he got rid of the ropes, but found it difficult to strip off the fetters: the skin and flesh of his knuckles and his feet were the price of his liberty. At Tallanda a man named Parna was plundered, and his house destroyed. He lost his store of rice, ten brazen vessels, five baskets of clothes, sixty rupees, and one hundred horns of cattle. Another man, in another village, was carried off to be sacrificed, but escaped. He came into Ranchi with his fetters, and we knew not how he escaped. These are only some of the calamities which fell upon the church at Chota Nagpur in these sad days. Perhaps more awaited the people, but the gracious hand of the Lord stayed them. A friendly zemindar said that if the English force had not come, but had delayed twenty days more, the slaughtering would have begun. The Lord be praised, who in his judgment had not forgot to be merciful, and that He endowed His weak suffering people with strength from above to endure every trial patiently for His name's sake; and that they now, though still persecuted, and with but little protection, and with little provisions or clothes for the next year, are full of hope, faith, and confidence in the Lord. He will not leave them nor forsake them."

After a few months (in April 1858), when the Mission was again working peacefully, Mr. F. Batsch began to communicate tidings from time to time of its progress. From the series of letters thus commenced, the following extracts are taken—

"April 12 — Day by day I have been seeking for a quiet home, but could not find it, and I know not if I shall be able to finish this letter to-day. It is not only that we are busy re-establishing, and re-arranging, and furnishing our boarding-schools, in repairing the buildings, &c., but Mr. Brandt and I are fully occupied with instructing the candidates for baptism. Yesterday I baptized twenty-eight adults and fifteen children, and we have about 120 persons of all ages under instruction; and I trust that, by the grace of God, we shall be able to admit them into Christ's flock on the next Sabbath, as the Lord shall direct us. There are still many more to come, during the next two months, to receive baptism; so you see that in things spiritual, Christ's work here has lost nothing by the mutiny, and in the midst of our distresses we have joy. To God alone belongs the glory!

"Our converts are not civilized Bengalis, but rude barbarians, just as my ancestors in Germany may have been when God, in his mercy, sent among them the Irish Missionaries to win them to Christ. They were not ashamed of their rude converts, nor was their labour in vain; neither should we be ashamed of our rude barbarian Christians, and our labour among them shall not be in vain. We have, and we feel, our difficulties and trials, and continually and ourselves quite unfit for the task which the Lord in his grace has put upon us. A Mission to the hill tribes requires a self denial, yea, a self contempt, and stooping down, easy to be taught, but not easy to be practised, and of which our brethren labouring among refined classes have no idea.

"I mentioned in one of my letters that a relation of our rajah, a zemindar, had earnestly applied for baptism, but I fear he is not so near entering as he himself thinks. He asked for baptism. I said, 'Yes, but you must openly break caste before the world, and eat with us.' On this he wrote that he had no caste now: his children had eaten with us, and as he, with all the members of his house, had eaten with them, there could no more be talk about caste. But he refused to come to dine with me when I invited him as a brother and a friend. If the Lord have indeed chosen him, he will yet be brought in. Nothing can hinder God's working, and mine eyes also daily watch for him, for during ten years I have sought to win him.

"Your last letter gave us fresh courage.

We were just considering how far we could go in the re-establishing our schools, &c., with the little we had in hand, and we thought we had better wait than begin, and then have to shut them up. But now we trust that we shall be able to begin afresh, and not only restore things to their old position, but also go on steadily advancing. The station is full of life again: about seventy children are already in the boarding-schools; about 120 receiving regular instruction for baptism; and then there are all the Christian settlers, who have been increased in number by Christian soldiers. All are building, so that Bethesda will be a little town of itself.

"April 17—The dealings of our Lord are full of grace and mercy towards us. Though He did chastise us for a time, His blessings will soon heal every wound. Our trust is wholly in Him: He will fulfil all His promises, and will not rest till He has gathered in all his people whom He has purchased by His precious blood. To-morrow, as we humbly hope, forty more will be added to His flock by baptism. They are weak and ignorant, but they want salvation by the blood of Christ: who, then, shall despise them? If He is indeed Jesus, He will be able to bring even these poor people to His eternal kingdom. And in this only is our hope: for this we labour and toil on amidst difficulties, and the Lord shall have the praise. . . . Yesterday our greatest enemy, the chief of the rebels, was launched into eternity. He died as he had lived, without any sign of repentance. Next Monday his companion in wickedness will follow him. There are still many awaiting their trial, and new ones are added again and again to their number; yet the district is not quiet, and the threatenings and evil deeds of the zemindars do not diminish.

"May 12—Last Sunday twenty-three persons were baptized; on the Sunday before eight; and we have still a number under baptismal correction. A painful scene took place last Sunday. On Saturday, late in the afternoon, Lall Bishnath Sah (the inquirer) made his appearance. He came with the desire to receive baptism. I told him plainly that all was very well, but it was necessary he should give up his caste. He said, 'I have no caste: I have already broken it with you many times.' I answered, 'Very well; we will eat, then, together as brethren.' For this he was prepared, and said, 'Bring me any thing, and I will eat it before you.' But I required that he should break it openly, by eating with me and some native brethren. For this also he seemed prepared, and he consented. He remained for our evening prayers, and on Sunday morning early he was again

with us. As I had known him for ten years, and had again, on the night before, examined him, and found all his views and sentiments sound, and his knowledge good, and his heart longing for salvation, at least seemingly, I sent him to Mr. Brandt, that he also might judge whether we ought to baptize him or not. He, too, found nothing against it: the native elders, also, begged us not to delay; and so we resolved not to let him return without baptism. But before the time, he was to breakfast with us, and break his caste. He was ready, and came into the dining room, where every thing had been prepared for the occasion, and two native elders joined us. But when we had made ourselves ready, and called him to take his place, he, in great fear and horror, shrunk back. He sat, however, at the table, not eating, and said, 'I know that in sitting with you at your eating my caste is gone, and I would partake, but I fear lest by it I should bring great distress and danger upon my wife and children. He remained for service, and was present at the baptism of the other converts, and complained bitterly of his misfortune in having his baptism again delayed. I fear he will never come through. He wrote yesterday again, but I shall not soon again trust him. Thus is caste the most formidable idol of the Hindús. Though seemingly crushed, it lifts up its head again and again. This man, before all, acknowledges that he has broken his caste; he shows his belief in Christ, and sets up Christian worship in his house, and has a good knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. He remained faithful during the insurrection, and invited native Christians to come and take shelter in his villages, and for several years has been longing for baptism, but at the point of resigning himself wholly to Christ, he shrinks back, because he will not part, not merely in words, but also in deed, and before the world, with the dearest idol the Hindús possess. But never will we baptize any person who would not give up all, to receive all. As he, in his letter, bewailed his hard fate in being put back, I fairly told him that he must never delude himself with the hope of being baptized till he openly, in the sight of men, resigned every thing, and caste included, for caste is as great a sin as any other. Though we thus were troubled, and had to mourn over this soul, our hearts were gladdened by the church being full to overflowing, and by about twelve heads of families coming to join our people.

"May 20—We have had to mourn over the loss of our dear father Gossner, who has been called into the rest of his Lord, on the 30th of March at noon. He died full of years and

full of faith. The account of his last days, and of his death and burial, are full of interest, and tended to show what we have lost. How great a blessing was it that Mr. Schatz and my brothers were permitted, by the guidance of God, to be near him in his last days, and be witnesses of his faith and love, and how faithfully he loved every one of us! God in His mercy grant that we may be filled with strength from above to go on in his spirit, in his faith and love. Last Sunday we were again enabled to baptize twenty-three persons, and for next Sunday there are under preparation about fifteen more. Altogether, about 230 persons, of different ages, have received baptism since our return here after the mutiny. They are a small number indeed, compared with the multitudes who perish around us day by day. But we hope, and we see, that heathenism gives way before the Sun of Righteousness, and the day of the Lord for this district, may not be far distant. Two years ago there were, south and south-west of Bethesda, only three villages in which there were Christians. Now we have converts in twenty-three.

"June 11—Since I last wrote, six new villages have been opened for the kingdom of Christ: some twenty families from them, by breaking caste, have joined us.

"June 29—Here we are still advancing: the Lord be praised! It seems as if a mighty revolution were going on here in the native mind. No Sunday comes without bringing some inquirers who immediately, by breaking caste, join us. Since I last wrote, more than eight additional villages have been opened for Christ. If sometimes we have at first only one family in a newly-opened village, the Gospel is sure to take root and spread; but fear of another outbreak keeps many longing souls back. If we pass though August quietly, we may hope for greater things. The Jugdespur affair (the success of Kooer Sing and his party) operates sadly on our district, and checks us in every respect. Every one talks openly that we shall be obliged to fly once more for our lives; and though we do not expect such a thing, the excitement which reigns hinders all our operations. But as the Lord is still ruler, and gives us what is best, we are of good cheer.

"July 22—We have here a corps of Madras Sepoys, and, amongst them, a great number very eager for learning, and especially to learn English. Some of them read and understand English well, especially the native Christians. They apply day by day for books. As I brought with me a good supply of Primers and Readers, published by the

Scottish School-book Society, I gave them gladly as far as I could; but as these books are not to give food for the soul, and as most of the men understand only Tamil, and neither Hindí nor Urdú, we cannot do further good among them. To the Eurasians and native Christians who belong to the Established Church I gave Prayer-books, as I got a good supply from Archdeacon Pratt, and some English Bibles; but as my stock in hand was finished, I was compelled to stop, and now venture to apply to the Bible Society and Tract Society for a little help in this respect.

"July 30—It is now just a year since we were obliged to leave our work because of the mutiny. Oh how merciful and full of long-suffering has the Lord been unto us during all this time to the present moment! How many tokens of His goodness has He given us! How many friends has He raised up for our cause, which is His! How wide a door for the spread of His kingdom has He opened to us here! He has done more than our highest hopes could expect. In this month of July alone, about thirty-five families out of the heathen have joined us, and, since our return after the mutinies, more than 120 families. It is still a time of small things compared with the work among the Karens, but our obstacles are greater. Still, God's time for the whole of India will surely come, and then in every place Christ's servants shall have thousands upon thousands.

"August 3—Last Sunday, the 1st August, we had an anniversary of the terrible occurrences last year. The church was full to overflowing. In the afternoon we had our feast of charity, after the manner of the Moravians, before the Lord's supper. With praise and thanks we remembered all the love, assistance, and sympathy experienced through all these distressing times from Christ's people here and in England, and how the Lord, through all tribulations and anxieties had brought us out victorious. I related the wonderful dawn of Christ's kingdom near Mirut, and how mightily the Lord had revealed his power for the conversion of souls there, where the mutiny began in such a horrible manner. All gave thanks, and rejoiced in God's goodness and mercy. Our district is quiet, but Singbhum is as unsettled as ever. The troops experience great difficulties, because of the hills and the immense jungles.

"From Germany I have received a letter, but the news is gloomy. Mr. Schatz, having become dangerously ill through his exertions, has been obliged to go the baths at Carlsbad, Bohemia, but was slowly recovering. No-

thing had been settled definitively for the future, up to the 24th June. It is sad enough, but, praised be God, we have not time to think much about these difficulties, as the Lord pushes us forward to work, and gives us day by day tokens of His nearness. He will do every thing well, though it may come contrary to our expectations. If the brethren now at home were here, how happy we should feel.

"Sept. 2.—The work of conversion, if I dare call it thus (but as it is the Lord's own work, I may say it), goes strongly on. Before our flight we had Christians in about sixty villages, but now we number 130 villages from whence people have joined us; and it still goes on. We commit the whole to Christ's hands; He must stand to us; He must give wisdom and strength; else nothing will come out of it, and instead of wheat only chaff will be gathered in. The prayers of all friends of Christ's kingdom are just now very needful for us, and we are very happy to know that you are joined by prayer to our work.

"Sept. 14.—As it is now harvest time our troubles begin afresh. For this there is no help, and to this we are already accustomed. The harvests of the Christians are cut down, or their threshing-floors are plundered, by these enemies, and this always on Sundays, when the people are here for church. Going home on Mondays they find empty floors and fields. Nevertheless the work is going on in spite of all troubles and difficulties. Last Sunday alone I wrote down the names of twenty heads of families as inquirers, as we call them, but they break their caste on joining. To become more acquainted with all these new comers, and to bring them into order and connexion with us, we have announced a conference for the 20th of this month for all our people. May the Lord Himself be with us, and give us wisdom, strength, and love, through His Holy Spirit! We may find many things which do not please us, but still we have to bear, and to go on. All will not be found upright, but all, more or less, were formerly drowned in drunkenness, ignorance, and vice. But as it is God's way to lift the wretched from the dunghill, to show His power and mercy, we are full of hope and confidence that He will be with us."

Thus far are we enabled to record this interesting and animating story. In writing of it we are desirous to avoid all exaggerations, and in simplicity and godly sincerity to dwell on the truths it teaches and the considerations it suggests.

It is a narrative full of encouragement.

The Gospel is mighty through God. No matter the former state of degradation; no matter the hindrances from active enemies, from habitual vice, from dulness of understanding; the Spirit of the Lord can make His word effectual, and, with commanding power, cause the fruits of righteousness to spring forth to His glory. He has done so under circumstances the most unlikely. He has concealed from the wise and prudent that which He has revealed unto babes. Education is good, enlightenment is good, civilization and social freedom and security are all good, but they are not necessary to the progress of the Gospel, or to the reception of the truth. There is no natural incapacity in the most unenlightened man to receive the truth in the love of it, if the Holy Spirit send it home with convincing power. Barbarian, Scythian, bond and free, are one in Christ: in all, the entrance of the word, and that alone, "giveth light." There is in this narrative evidence, unquestionable evidence, that saving, sanctifying faith, which purifies the heart, may be granted to the uncivilized as well as to the refined; that whatever the difficulties, there is no restraint to the Lord: that we are not straitened in Him. If only His blessing attends the preaching of His Gospel, certainly it will not be in vain. There may be in the poor savage, who once worshipped an unknown God, "saw Him in clouds and heard Him in the wind," a sluggish apprehension of many things which it would be profitable to learn; and it is equally true, on the other hand, that in lands where the Gospel reaches those who are more enlightened, other evils have to be dealt with, in the pride of life, ambition, the excitement and competition of trade, false appearances, and the like. We cannot weigh the effect of these things on the development of the Christian character. We can only judge by appearances: the Lord alone can judge the inner man. The standing of all before the Lord depends not on knowledge, gifts, power, and refinement, but on the state of the heart, as the subject of the Holy Spirit's operations. We now see and know but little, but we do know that there may be greater grace in the most simple believer than in the most learned; that there are first that shall be last, and last that shall be first. If we see the grace of the Lord really touching the hearts of any, we may rejoice and take courage, for He that begun a good work will complete it to the day of Christ.

It is a narrative, too, that inspires thankfulness. Oh, how great is His mercy toward them that fear Him! When the beloved brethren in this forbidding field of labour saw these wild barbarians coming to Jesus—

their hearts inflamed with love to Him, their lips singing His praises—what a glow of holy joy and confidence, what a triumph in the Lord must have followed! And we are called to rejoice with them. These souls are precious as their own. Their salvation is a miracle of grace, and wonderfully does it exalt the mercy and compassions of our God.

But it ought also to stimulate us to sympathy and prayer. We know not what the Lord's purposes may be. He chooses to precede His heavy judgments on India by the commencement of a gracious work in these aboriginal tribes, and, amidst the continued din of war and insurrection, to work still with power in this almost unknown region. The brethren whom He employs in this service, have to deal with rude natives and uncultivated minds, to deny themselves the gratifications of intellectual society, and to stoop down to minister to many who scarcely know what tenderness and holiness mean. In this labour He meets and blesses them; and now, in attracting our thoughts to their trials, and the trials of their converts—their hopes, and the prospects of the Gospel in India—He calls for our earnest prayers, and animates us to plead with Him in lively faith. It is not in vain and for nought that He makes known to His people the silent conquests of the Gospel of his Son: it is not to excite pride, that we may sacrifice to our own net, and boast of our own success. No, it is to show where sympathy is needed, to awaken the energies of prayer, to quicken zeal, and to strengthen hope. Amidst all the discouragements from the failures or coldness in our own labours, amidst fears from new forms of evil and new subtleties of the enemy, He brings forth to view a new discovery of His grace, and bids faith look forward, not to a depressed and slumbering church, but to that which His word has pictured, "looking forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

The narrative shows that the Lord is now at work in India, and recalls our thoughts from His judgments to His promises. We need not fear; though the earth be removed, his word shall not pass away. It may be accomplished in unexpected ways, by unexpected means, in unexpected places; and all boasting may be excluded by the manifest proofs that His Spirit alone has won the victory. While we are relying on this or that hopeful plan of operation, fixing our attention on this or that sphere of action, He may be carrying on a hidden work with secret effect, and suddenly its results may

be apparent to our astonishment, "sealing up the hand of every man, that all men may know His work." (Job. xxxvii. 7.) It seems to be certain from His word, that days are coming when He will endue His people with greater might, and bless them with unwonted success. "In that day shall the Lord defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and he that is feeble among them at that day shall be as David, and the house of David shall be as God, as the angel of the Lord before them." (Zech. xii. 8.) "The nations shall see and be confounded at all their might: they shall lay their hand upon their mouth, their ears shall be deaf, they shall lick the dust like a serpent, they shall move out of their holes like worms of the earth: they shall be afraid of the Lord our God, and shall fear because of thee." (Micah vii. 16, 17.) "Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: all they gather themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side. Then shalt thou see, and flow together: and thine heart shall fear, and be enlarged; because the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee." (Isaiah lx. 4, 5.) This is our prospect. Not a jot or tittle shall fail till all be fulfilled. It is our part to go on patiently in obedience to the command, "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hands, for thou knowest whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good." (Eccl. xi. 6.) We may labour, and others may enter into our labours: there may be little fruit from our service, while there is much from the service of others: but at length, "he that soweth and he that reapeth shall rejoice together." We have to plough in hope. Our labours in India may be amidst all special discouragements of Hindûism and Mohammedanism, Brahminism, caste, female seclusion, all obstructing the Gospel; but the result is certain, and we know not how speedily the work which we have here been contemplating may not extend; how soon the blessing which has been granted to uncivilized tribes may not reach the very strongholds of heathenism, and the powers of divine grace be felt in the sacred city of Benares. And let us rejoice to remember, that vast as India is, the Gospel has a still wider scope; that it is equally adapted and equally promised to other lands; and that the preludes of the coming showers of blessing are already felt elsewhere as well as there. If we will look abroad, and receive with thankfulness the evidences that lie before us, the Lord will make them plain.

THE MIZAN-UL-HAQ, MIFTAH-UL-ASRAR, AND TARIQ-UL-HAYAT.

THESE works, written by Dr. Pfander with express reference to the Mohammedan controversy, have exercised a very important influence on the Mohammedan mind in India. They deal with the points of difference between Christianity and Mohammedanism, in such a searching and penetrative way as to arouse the hakims and other learned men from their apathy, and compel them to attempt the defence of their system; and the instances have been many, of Mussulmans, who, have been led, from a perusal of the Mizan-ul-haq, to doubt the truth of the religion in which they have been brought up, and finally, with a hearty confession, to embrace the Gospel.

These books have passed through several editions in the Persian and Urdú, and are now about to be translated into the Turkish and Arabic. A few notices of them may prove interesting to our readers.

Dr. Pfander's first sphere of Missionary labour was amongst the Mohammedans at Shushi, in the Russian territory, but close to the Persian frontier. A few years labour amongst the Mussulmans of those countries, and travels in Persia, made him keenly feel the want of a work adapted to the Mohammedan mind, which would treat in a proper way the various important points at issue. Verbal discussion was altogether inadequate, for the Mohammedan would not listen to any full and lengthened statement of Christian doctrine, nor to any explicit argument in favour of the Gospel, and in refutation of the Korán; neither could such important subjects be brought forward without constant interruptions from the opponent. A book therefore, that would do this, appeared to be an essential requisite for the effective prosecution of Missionary work. The library in possession of the Missionaries was an extensive one, but such a work was vainly sought for among the German and English books of which it was composed. None of those which treated on the evidences of Christianity were found adapted to this speciality, and no alternative remained but that a book should be written expressly to meet it. Dr. Pfander being the youngest of the Missionaries, had not for an instant entertained the idea of attempting it himself. He pressed the subject on those of his brethren, whom he considered to be more able to undertake it, and many an evening at home in the Mission house, and many an hour when riding along the mountain paths of those countries, when out on Missionary tours with one of his brethren, were spent in discussing the necessity and nature of such a book. Finding them not prepared to undertake it, he then proposed to write down his ideas, in the hope

that one of them would improve upon and organize them; but, as might be expected, they very justly considered that the individual with whom the idea had originated was the best fitted to mature it, and he was induced to make the attempt. To his surprise, and contrary to his expectation, his pen ran freely; page after-page was filled, his heart warmed, and the evenings and nights spent in writing, were hours of blessing and enjoyment to his own spirit. As chapter after chapter was laid before them, the brethren fully approved of them, and the Mizan-ul-Haq was completed before the close of 1829. It was written in German, and afterwards translated into Persian, with the assistance of the múnshi of the Missionaries, a converted Armenian, who, in his youth, was carried away as a slave into Persia and made a Mohammedan. The final revision of the work was accomplished during one of Mr. Pfander's sojourns in Persia, when he employed a liberal Persian múnshi, and a learned orthodox mullah, to whom he had to send the sheets, as he would not come to him. The former was delighted with it, and as he advanced to the end, repeatedly said that it would cause consternation among the bigoted, and joy among the liberal Persians, expressing his hope that the assistance which he had given might never be known. The mullah, as he came to the last part of the work, sent word to Dr. Pfander that he was very sorry to find it so much against the Korán, and that if he had found this out sooner, he would not have assisted in the revision.

Various circumstances delayed its publication, so that it did not leave the press earlier than 1836, a little before the Mission at Shushi was closed, in consequence of an Imperial Ukase forbidding all Protestant Missions in Russia. Of the effect of the copies distributed in Persia, Dr. Pfander, on leaving his first scene of labour, had one encouraging instance. When on his way to India, before leaving Shiraz, he fell in one morning with a Persian gentleman going in the same direction. He had just come from Teheran, and, amongst other things, mentioned the sensation which had been produced there by a book called Mizan ul-Haq, speaking strongly against the Korán. He said it was supposed that some Persian, who had turned a Russian—meaning, had become a Christian—had written the work.

The Miftah-ul-Asrar, and the Tariq-ul-Hayat, were written some years after the Mizan-ul-Haq. It was felt by Dr. Pfander that the subject of the "Divinity of Christ," and the "Trinity," as well as the doctrine of "Sin and Redemption," required a more

complete and explicit treatment than the plan of the Mizan would allow of. The Persian translation and final revision of these were just completed before he left Shushi, and were first published in India.

We believe these works to be equally suitable for the Turk and Arab, as they have proved for the Persian and Indian Mussulman. The most important is the "Mizan," as it comprises all the various points of discussion, as well as an account of Christian doctrines. It has attracted more the attention of the Mohammedan than the other books, and is more eagerly read by them. The next in importance is the "Miftah." This book is also much read. It contains nothing directly against the Korán, it being merely an exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity and Divinity of Christ, with the view of correcting the false and mistaken ideas which the Mohanmedans entertain on these important truths. The third is the "Tariq," in one respect the most important, as it treats on "Sin and Redemption," and as the wrong views on these doctrines form the fundamental difference between the Korán and the Gospel, and are the great obstacles in the way of a Mohammedan; but still, as yet, it has attracted the least attention.

Dr. Pfander has now, we rejoice to announce, entered on his new sphere of action, the Turkish Mission, and is at present residing at a village in the vicinity of Constantinople. He has had much difficulty in finding a dwelling, and is at present in very straitened and inconvenient lodgings. But he has had one encouragement. Great fears were entertained about his books, lest, on account of the peculiar character of some of them, they would not be permitted to pass the custom-house authorities. Some few years back a box of his controversial works had been forwarded to one of the Missionaries in the Turkish dominions, in the hope that they might, in some indirect way, prove useful. They were seized and confiscated. Subsequently, after inquiries had been instituted by

the English Embassy, the box was delivered up empty, the contents having been abstracted. He had been warned that such would be the result on the present occasion—that the books would be again stopped. Instead of this, they were allowed to pass freely and without any difficulty. The translation of the works to which this article refers will be one of the first points to which his attention will be directed. But even before this is done, they may be made useful, in connexion with the large numbers of Persians who frequent Constantinople.

Let many prayers be offered on his behalf, that he may have graciously bestowed on him all the wisdom, and yet zeal, which is needful in his circumstances; and that amongst the Moslems of the Turkish dominions a great door and effectual may be opened. Turkey at the present moment presents itself under an aspect calculated to awaken mingled interest and anxiety. "Whether it be from a statesmanlike desire to understand a religion which is becoming such an active and important element among the forces of the empire, or from mere curiosity, or from a feeling of spiritual want, the fact is undeniable, that many Mussulman Turks, the Osmanlis themselves, are unceasingly calling for the means of understanding Protestant Christianity.

During the year 1856, twenty-two hundred Turkish Bibles and Testaments were sold: they have been sold openly in the courts of the mosques, even in that of St. Sophia. Nor has this ceased. The "Turkish Scriptures are at this moment being largely purchased in the capital and its vicinity." Besides this, "the Turks hear the Gospel preached, and are in various relations of friendly intercourse and connexion with the Missionaries; and the Turkish authorities, well knowing all these things, abstain from interference."

Here then, as in other portions of our earth, already referred to in this Number, there is an open door. Let us, then, go forward, in reliance upon the Lord, to do His work.

THE LANGUAGES OF BRITISH INDIA.

OUR readers are requested to correct with a pen an accidental erratum in the Language Table at pp. 16, 17 of our last Number. Under the population column, opposite Nipali, for "6,940,000," read "1,940,000," a change necessitating a corresponding correction of the total to "181,164,914."

In order to facilitate comparison with Mullens' "Revised Statistics of 1852," the native ministers were included in last month's tables in the total of Missionaries (493) now labouring in British India and Ceylon. We should have been glad to have enumerated separately the Missionaries actually sent out from Protestant lands as an accurate gauge of the real amount of Missionary zeal put forth

on behalf of heathen India; but the adoption in several cases of English names by native converts, and the absence of any distinction in many returns between natives of India and those of Europe, together with other reasons, make such a statement impossible. Considerable investigation, however, serves to show that the number of native and country-born ordained ministers is somewhere between 80 and 100. So that there are not, in round numbers, more than 400 ordained Missionaries sent forth from all the Protestant Churches of Europe and America at present labouring amongst the 181,000,000 of India and Ceylon, or little more than one Missionary to every half-million of the population.



EXPANSION OF THE FIELD OF LABOUR.—PROVIDENTIAL OPENINGS.

How remarkably the existing condition of the human race verifies the Scripture account of the dispersion of Babel! Of the homogeneity of the race under every phase, no doubt can now be entertained. A grand test has been applied. The Gospel of Christ, the revelation of divine love, has been set forth in various languages, and in widely-separated portions of the earth; it has been preached to nations differing from one another in almost every accident which could be enumerated, in language, habits, complexion; and yet wherever heartily received, it is productive of the same grand spiritual phenomena, the same sense of need, the same glad apprehension of the relief provided in the work of Christ, the same change of character as regards God and man. Let the converted Greenlander, the Hindú, the African, the Maori, or wherever else a convert may be found—let them be brought together, and furnished with a common language, and in matters of highest concernment, those which connect with the salvation of the soul, they will be found in strongest sympathy with each other. They are all portions of the same family. Let them only, through the intervention of Gospel teaching, be brought back from their estrangement as regards God, and their affinity with each other at once becomes manifest. How, then, did they become thus severed, not merely as to place, but as to language? It was a penalty for presumption, yet overruled for good. The deluge conveyed not the lesson which it was designed to teach. As the preserved seed of the human race, sown in the earth which had risen out of the waters, increased and multiplied, men, in the pride of their hearts, proceeded to act in opposition to the mind and purposes of God. Instead of replenishing the earth, they resolved to centralize—"Go to, let us build a city and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven." But God subverted their policy, as easily as the ocean's tide, when it rushes in, breaks down the sand heaps which boyish hands have diligently reared to keep it out. Their language became confused.

Each seems to mock his fellow; on the lip
Strange words are heard. The tongue no longer yields
Its well-known sounds. Misapprehension reigns.
Broken, disavow'd, humbled, in their pride,
From Babel they diverge, in distant climes
Another home to seek. Some, eastward bend
Their devious course; some, west their steps direct.
The distant north is traversed by the feet
Of wand'ring exiles, and the south explor'd.

The world extends before them; as they spread,
The solitude is stirr'd. The lonely place
Echoes responsive to the voice of man.

Each migratory tribe
Its destination reach'd, a home obtains,
Takes root within the soil, and soon becomes
A nation's centre. Thus the Banyan spreads
Its branches, and they droop and touch the earth;
And soon a thousand emulative forms
Surround the parent stem.

Then other changes come—
New habitudes and varied modes of life:
Each climate has an influence, and the skin
Assumes new colours—as the autumn stains
The woods with many tints.

But more remarkable still is the diversity of language. The great ocean, which divides nation from nation and home from home, does not so distinctly separate man from his fellow: navigation is no longer the timid, fearful effort which crept along the shore, and dreaded to lose sight of the land. It has become bold and fearless. Nay, science dispenses with the breeze, and the moving influence, instead of being wooed with the outspread sail, is planted within the ship. Thus the ocean yields the means of rapid communication, and connects, instead of separating, distant lands. But when distance is overcome, difference of language still remains to be surmounted. Blessed be God! experience proves that it is one by no means insuperable. Various motives have prompted men to put forth the degree of effort which was required to overcome this difficulty. The political and commercial intercourse between nations has rendered necessary the cultivation of languages. Above all, the love of souls has enlisted many in the prosecution of this noble undertaking, and the Gospel in our day has become *multi-lingual*, that it may go forth on its glorious mission of recovering men to the knowledge of God, as a God of love in Christ; and then the families of the earth, whose separation was caused by their apostacy from God, on their restoration to Him, shall find themselves re-united to each other.

This is the work in which the Christian church, with a revived zeal, has been earnestly occupied during the last century, and in which it desires to be increasingly engaged. Hitherto attention has been directed to the most obvious races, those who, by conquest or otherwise, have been brought under the influence of professedly-Christian nations, as

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the people of Hindústan, or such as fringe the shores of great continents, whose prominence of position, with collateral circumstances, such as the great misery of Africa by reason of the slave-trade, has arrested attention and induced effort; or some whose homes have been islands, and therefore of easy access to the adventurous mariner and the Missionary following in his steps; and thus the great Pacific has been an early and favourite scene of Missionary labour. But God requires that we should advance from the more obvious to the more remote races. His providence seems to operate in this direction. Nations there have been, great and populous, such as China and Japan, around whom has been drawn a barrier of jealous exclusion, so that all access was prohibited. Other nations there are, which have had their homes deep in the recesses of great continents, and there they have remained to this day, untouched. Nor is this surprising. Such races have been remarkably destitute of facilities of intercourse with other lands, and hitherto it has been impossible to approach them. Let the solid blocks of the great continents of Africa or Asia be contrasted with the indentations of Europe. How remarkably its territorial extent is broken by bays, and gulfs, and arms of the sea, so as to provide it with a great extent of shore in proportion to its size, and thus render every portion of its interior of comparatively easy access. But Africa, with its bluff unbroken amplitude, on whose shores the great Atlantic seems to have exercised no penetrative power; and Central Asia, the dome of the world, with its stupendous mountain groups, on whose flanks, or outlying plains, are spread forth numerous tribes and nations; can we be surprised that these have remained among the last to be approached by the quickening power of the Gospel? Yet the time seems to have come when political restrictions and a jealous exclusiveness shall no longer be permitted to interfere with the free action of the Gospel: and thus China and Japan have been instantaneously thrown open to intercourse with western nations. We have much to say with reference to each one of these fresh fields of labour; but we shall not pause to touch them now. They need to be separately dealt with.

Nor is it only these comparatively civilized races that are brought within our reach, but the more hidden ones, long buried in the recesses of great continents, have had given to them an unusual prominence.

Now even the solid block of the great African

continent is beginning to open up, and on the western, as well as the southern shores, hope is gathering strong, that we shall not long remain strangers to its hitherto mysterious centre. The explorations of Livingstone in South Africa have been eminently successful. God has used him as a special instrument for great purposes. He endowed him with the necessary qualifications. He gave him an earnest zeal, an invincible resolution, a frame of iron endurance; His providence led him to Africa instead of to China, whither his own wishes would have impelled him; and various apparently untoward circumstances, interfering with the growth of the customary Mission work to which he had given himself, constrained him to the work of exploration.

The recesses of great continents are not left entirely destitute of facilities of access. Where the unyielding seaboard sternly excludes the waters of the ocean, great rivers have been provided. So it is as regards Africa. The Niger affords a water road by which the heart of Soudan may be reached; the Zambesi promises to become a pathway to healthy highlands, where Missionary stations may be formed, and communications established with the interior tribes. The probability is, that between the parallel of the Tshadda and that of the Zambesi, there are facilities for water communication by numerous lakes, of a very remarkable character. "Livingstone has proved by numerous facts, that, there was once a vast lake in the central parts of South Africa, which has left its traces by deposits of calcareous tufa, some of which run far up the present river courses, and point out the high levels at which the great central lake once stood;" and hence the inference is drawn that the "Lake Ngami is nothing but a great pool left in one of the lower hollows of the central region, when its great body of waters, from some cause or another, drained off and disappeared." Other residua of the great waters referred to, if this theory be correct, might be expected to exist. And thus, 500 miles inland from the coast west of Zanzibar, Burton's explorations have discovered the Lake Ukiji, some 200 miles long and 27 broad; while reliable information had been received of the large central African lake, some sixteen days' journey to the north.

Nor is the great Asiatic continent without similar facilities. From the upper and unexplored regions of Central Asia originate several streams, which, spreading out in different directions, permeate its vast extent. There is the Amoor, or Saghalian Ula, the great river

of north-eastern Asia, its embouchure, 1800 miles in a direct line from its sources, and this distance nearly doubled by the deviousness of its course, now, with its 700,000 square miles of territory, under the domination of Russia, and consequently closed—as is universally the case, wherever the freezing influence of the iceberg of the north is felt—against all Gospel effort. There are the great arteries of China proper—the Hoang-Ho, or Yellow river, and the Yang-tze-kiang, with its numberless tributaries opening up the very centre of the empire, and the rich interior provinces of Honan, Hupeh, and Sz'chuen—great water roads, giving access to hundreds of millions of population. We look with intense interest to the results of Lord Elgin's expedition up the mighty stream of the great Yang-tze, from which the foreigner has been so long excluded. We doubt not but that they will help us to realize the vastness of the opportunity, and arouse British Christians to put forth such efforts, that the child of ocean, which, if regard be had to its tributaries, the cities to which its waters give access, the richness of the soil, and the variety of productions along its banks, and, above all, the vast population scattered far and wide over the villages, and plains, and hill-sides, drained by it and its confluent, stands forth unrivalled amongst the rivers of our earth, may yield its meed of service to the Gospel of Christ. From the same sources, but trending southward, are the rivers of Further India—the Meikon of Cambodia, the Meinam of Siam, the Salween of Pegu, the Irrawaddy of Burmah—the two latter already rendered available to the use of the Christian evangelist; and the kindred streams to be rendered, in due time, available for the same great purpose. One stream more remains to be mentioned, which claims affinity with the rivers of Eastern Asia, the Brahmaputra, its sources in the same unexplored centre, and which forces its way through the mountain barrier of the Himalaya, that it may unite its efforts with the Ganges in covering the alluvial delta of Bengal with innumerable channels.

Limiting our survey to rivers of primary magnitude, the eye rests on two mighty streams, recommended to us by this distinction, that, unlike all those previously referred to, once escaped from the deep mountain recesses whence they spring, their entire course lies within British territory, and is under British influence. One, the Ganges, has been so for a lengthened period. Had we used it more zealously for the extension

of God's truth, we should perchance have been spared the horrors which have been enacted along its banks, and those of the kindred stream, the Jumna; deeds so appalling, that not all the accumulated waters of these mighty streams could ever avail to wash them out, nor can the land ever be purged from them, until it bows itself in submission to the yoke of Christ.

The other, the Indus, is comparatively recent in its annexation. Some sixteen years ago, its lower course lay within the territories of the Amirs of Sindh, while the upper streams were within the grasp of the lion of the Punjab, Runjeet Sing.

Both were suffering lands. Exposed for centuries to political changes, the battle-fields, where opposing hosts met in savage conflicts, these frontier provinces were strangers to peace, and the vicissitudes which they so frequently experienced brought with them no improvement. These reverses seemed to be symbolized in the capricious action of the Indus. The channels, the depth of water, nay, the very embouchure itself, have been subjected to interminable alterations. That which was once the principal mouth, the Kukewarri, or Gora of Burnes, is now blocked up by a sandbank; while the eastern mouth, forming the boundary of Sindh towards Cutch, has long been deserted by the stream. Thus tracts once fertilized by its action have been changed into barren wastes; and this process of physical deterioration shadows forth, under no inapposite emblem, the moral degradation to which the provinces of the Indus have been reduced under the blighting influence of false religions, and the selfish rule of despots, who cared not how grievously they oppressed their subjects, provided they obtained the means of gratifying their sensuality and ambition. The abundant waters of the great river, instead of being duly husbanded, and employed for purposes of irrigation, were suffered to expend themselves with a lavish prodigality, and large portions of the country, which might have been productive, became a desert.

In February 1843, the battle of Miani was won by the British forces under Sir Charles Napier, the dynasty of the Talpurs overthrown, and Sindh annexed to the British dominions. At the close of the same year, the Maharajah of the Punjab, Shere Singh, was assassinated, and the Sikh armies, rushing forth on their wild dream of universal conquest, were met, defeated, and flung back by the British troops. A second outbreak was followed by the same result, and, in March 1849, the country of the

five rivers was incorporated with the British dominions. Eight years subsequently, and English supremacy in India was placed in circumstances of the extremest danger. The native troops, which had fought for us on the banks of the Sutlej, rose throughout the Northern Presidency in one treacherous and sanguinary outburst. But so well had the intermediate time been employed, that while provinces which had been long subject to English rule were involved in anarchy and confusion, the newly-ceded territories remained undisturbed. Without being in the least aware what an important function they were discharging, the Punjab authorities had been led to organize and train the very force which, in the hour of need, when we were impoverished in a double sense, not only by the desertion of the native regiments on which we had relied, but by finding them changed into implacable and well-disciplined enemies, came to our help, and filled up the gap which had been left. The Punjab frontier, westward of the Indus, is beset by wild and independent tribes, who have been accustomed, from time immemorial, to make incursions into the plains, and levy black mail. It became necessary, therefore, to raise a force for the protection of a frontier not less than 800 miles in extent. For this purpose, native troops were equipped, of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, amounting, in the year 1854, to 15,500 men. Thus the Punjab became the basis of effective military operations, and new levies, raised from its varied population, supplied the place of the mutinous Sepoys, and, combined with the European soldier, fought and conquered by his side.

Of the social improvement of these territories, and the remarkable confidence which, after so short an experience of British rule as six years, the population had learned to place in the authorities, the following proof may be given. A census of the population was taken on the first of January 1855. It was effected by actual enumeration of the people, as they were, all over the country, at one given time. The manner in which it was carried out was as follows—

“The Financial Commissioner issued orders to the district authorities, supplying them with forms of statements to be used by those engaged in the numbering of the people, and of the statements of villages and landed area to be filled in by the revenue officials. A code of brief and simple instructions was drawn up for the guidance of the enumerators, enjoining that the inmates of each house be counted, the houses being classified according

to the enclosure wherein situated; that the name of the head of the family, and the numbers of each sex, be entered in the appropriate columns of the prescribed statement; that no person who might sleep on the particular night within any dwelling, whether regular occupant or stranger within the gates, should be excluded; that members of a family who might be away from home should not be reckoned in their own house, but in the place where they might be sleeping at the time of enumeration. It was also declared that the census should include the residents of stations, military cantonments and Sudder bazars. For this latter purpose the co-operation of the cantonment magistrates and the military authorities was to be invited.

“The Financial Commissioner’s circular orders reached the various districts by the early portion of November. The notice given to the local officers was indeed short, but they zealously applied themselves to the task. Many thousands of copies of the directions to enumerators, and of the formal statements of people, houses, and area, were immediately struck off at the many lithographic vernacular presses, which have either been set up in jails, or have been established under the auspices of Government officers, in many cities of the Punjab. In each district the native heads of the civil establishment, police and fiscal, were assembled for instruction in the details of the operation. Each local division was subdivided into circles of superintendence, to be for this occasion under charge of a Government official. Towns, cities, and large villages were parcelled out into wards. Every ordinary village, and every detached hamlet, was formed into a separate beat. To each beat was assigned an enumerator, specially trained, and capable of making the numerical entries. For the towns and cities the burghers readily supplied enumerators. In large villages the landholders, the bankers, and the traders, could also furnish persons for the work. In smaller villages, the village accountants would be ready to act in this capacity. But in the scattered hamlets, in the wilder tracts, and in the hilly localities, various persons were enlisted in the service. In many places the Mohammedan mullah, the Sikh girunthi, the village schoolmaster and his pupils, the petty trader, the chief cattle-grazer, were selected to aid in the work of enumeration. Many items in the returns, such as houses, villages, enclosures, landed area, in short, all entries except those relating to people, could be closely ascertained at leisure, and filled in before the

actual night of enumeration. This was carefully done everywhere. The preliminary entries were often tested by the district authorities. Occasionally, even an experimental census was partially made to test the strength of the apparatus, and to afford an opportunity for practice. As the appointed day drew near, the people generally were warned to be in readiness.

"On the night of the 31st December, the enumerators went round to the houses of their respective beats. Each man, having asked his questions and made his entries, completed his circuit during the night, and by the morning of the 1st of January, presented the return to the supervising officer. At the places where the servants of Government, whether police, fiscal, or judicial, happened to be stationed, these officers personally tested the entries on that very night. In many cases this was also done by the European Officers. There was scarcely a single civil *employé* of the Government disengaged on that occasion. In the two capitals of Lahore and Amritsar, the Deputy Commissioners were themselves in the streets during a great portion of the night, accompanying the enumerators, or following in their wake, and cross-questioning the householders. On these rounds the district officers were attended by the most respectable among the burghers. In all cases the mass of the people effectually co-operated. The heads of families were usually quite ready to return their inmates. At Amritsar, in particular, the people stood waiting with a light at their doors for the arrival of the enumerators, and the streets and alleys were half illuminated. At the large stations, census papers in a tabular form were circulated among the European residents. In the cantonments and the Sudder bazaars, the enumeration was effected through the cantonment magistrates, with the sanction of the military authorities.

"It appears satisfactory that the operation should have been conducted so easily and quietly. If it were considered that inquiries of this nature have often given rise to absurd and unfounded rumours, and excited serious discontent and apprehensions as to the intentions of Government, that this inquiry was to be made simultaneously throughout a newly-acquired province, and to be extended to rude and martial tribes on the frontier, doubts might at first sight be entertained as to the probable success of the measure, and the nature of its effects. But confidence was placed in the good sense and feeling which the Punjab people have uniformly displayed, and that reliance has been justified. The utter absence of alarm among the inhabitants ge-

nerally at this, the first regular census, was truly remarkable. They seem to have understood the work to be a statistical investigation, with no special or ulterior design. No suspicion appears to have arisen, even in the minds of the Trans-Indus population, although the tribes on the border are proverbially sensitive to even the semblance of interference. In one or two districts only of the Punjab, do any rumours appear to have spread abroad, but these were quite exceptional, and were easily allayed. In many instances the local officers bear emphatic testimony to the alacrity and good-humour with which the measure was received by the people. And after reflection on the extent of territory, stretching as it does from the Jumna to the Indus, from Kurnal to Peshawur, from Jummoo to the confines of Sindh, through which this operation was conducted simultaneously on a single night; the diverse nature of the machinery which was set in motion; the still more varied character of the tribes to be enumerated, some being men who had turned from rougher pursuits to agriculture and such like industry; some being warrior barbarians, who until recently had never conceived the idea of a settled Government, much less of statistical inquiry; some being nomads in deserts or pastoral wilds; some being denizens not only of hills, but of mountains topped with snow;—after reflection on all these points, it is hoped that the efficiency of the result attained may appear not otherwise than creditable to the administration."*

Let it be remembered, that on the part of the Punjab authorities the cowardly policy of pretending indifferentism to Christianity, in the hope of conciliating the natives, was unhesitatingly repudiated. There were, indeed, no injudicious attempts to interfere with them in the profession of their religions. Justice and impartiality marked all Government proceedings, and the good of all, whether Sikh, or Mussulman, or Hindú, was diligently promoted: but as believers in the truth of Christianity, the Punjab officials openly avowed that belief, and convinced that the Gospel of Christ is the true element of social improvement, they invited Missionaries to come and teach that Gospel, and gave them encouragement and support. "Our mission in India is to do for other nations what we have done for our own. To the Hindús we have to preach one God, and to the Mohammedans, to preach one Mediator and how is this to be done? By state armies and by state per-

* Selection from Records of Government of India, No. XI., pp. 4-7.

secutions? By demolishing Hindú temples, as Mahmud of Ghuzni did, or by defiling mosques with Mohammedan blood, as Runjeet Sing did? It is obvious that we could not, if we would, follow such barbarous examples. The 30,000 Englishmen in India would never have been seen ruling over 200,000,000 of Hindús and Mohammedans, if they had tried to force Christianity upon them by the sword. . . . It is not the duty of Government, as a Government, to proselyte India. . . . The duty of evangelizing India lies at the door of private Christians: the appeal is to private consciences, private effort, private zeal, and private example. Every Englishman and Englishwoman in India is answerable to do what he can towards fulfilling it." Such was the language of Colonel Edwardes at a public meeting held at Peshawur in Dec. 1853, for the commencement of a Mission to the Affghans.

And on this manly avowal of Christian duty a special blessing from God has rested.

In the Peshawur valley, the Puthan clan of Hill Momunds had caused, in 1851, much trouble. This people, besides their mountainous territory, held considerable tracts of fertile land within the Peshawur valley. They were held in fiefdom under the British Government, but, like all other independent tribes on the frontier, they seemed to mistake moderation for fear. Their villages became asylums for malefactors and outlaws, nor did a Government official dare to enter them, except at the risk of losing his life. They were chastised, and compelled to sue for peace. Still, to overawe them, it was necessary that a strong brigade of troops should be concentrated at Peshawur, and it consisted, at the time of the great outbreak, of 1500 European infantry with 500 artillery men and 10,000 Hindustani troops. The position of the authorities at that juncture was sufficiently formidable. What if the disaffected Sepoys and the fanatical population of the city should make common cause, and rise in sanguinary outbreak, while the wild tribes of the hills around the valley should gladly seize the moment to recover their independence, and avenge past discomfitures? Could the handful of Europeans sustain itself against overwhelming odds, and that at a remote station, the most so of all others, where no succour could be had? The Sepoys thirsted for the outbreak: the badmashes of the city were prepared to join them: the mountain tribes were invited to act in concert. But a higher Power restrained the lawless elements, and Peshawur remained undisturbed. The hill tribes refused to move; nay, they came down, at the bidding of the British Commissioner,

and enlisted in considerable numbers. More trust in God would have secured elsewhere a happier issue in the time of danger.

Peshawur, west of the Indus, at the mouth of the Khyber pass, under the Hindú Cooth, constitutes a military post of the first importance. There we hold our own, overawing or subduing ferocious and fanatical tribes, and establishing, on the very borders of Afghanistan, in the ancient seats of despotism, the reign of equity and justice, and the restraining, civilizing power of a firm, a vigorous, and a scientific Government. We are there in a position, by a just and moderate course of action, to repair the injury inflicted on the national character by the unjust and disastrous Afghan expedition. To subserve our own interests, as we thought, we committed a great wrong, and our iniquitous policy reacted on ourselves. The exemplification of Christian principles can alone restore the prestige we then lost.

In a Missionary point it is not less commanding. We look forth from thence on the vast unoccupied area which extends from the Indus to the Caspian.

"Many in those regions are barbarians, ferocious, hospitable, acute in intellect, but with minds entirely uncultivated, well armed, generally incapable of combination from internal jealousies and dissensions, and, spiritually, so utterly dark, that their priests are not the less esteemed if they are leaders in predatory parties, and imbrue their own hand in blood. Another large portion of the people in this extensive space are cultivators, in Persia, Bokhara, Afghanistan, and the smaller territories, whose industry is repressed by the insecurity of their crops, and who are constantly excited to deeds of violence either by oppression or by terror. But physically the whole people are a noble race, superior in muscular force, in powers of endurance, and in personal courage, probably, to any other race in the world, and endowed with the capability of wonderful and extraordinary mental culture and power." That extended territory remains as yet untouched.

"Very little has been attempted, and perhaps very little has been practicable, in the work of Christian Missions, either on our own borders, or in Central Asia. The efforts of Mr. Stern in Persia among the suffering and disconsolate Jews, failed, because, strange to say, the British ambassador withheld his encouragement and support. The Moravians, with characteristic zeal and self-denial, are endeavouring to penetrate into Thibet, and have established a Mission at the extremity of our Cashmir frontier in the mountainous district of Lahul, but at present cannot penetrate beyond. Some enterprising British

travellers have advanced far beyond the British possessions; and one of them, Lieutenant Wyburn, like Captain Burton at Mecca, by assuming the character of a Mohammedan pilgrim, seems for a time to have gained the confidence even of the most fanatical and suspicious people. But few authentic records have reached us of the topography of those dark portions of the earth, and little has ever been heard there of the glorious Gospel. Poor Colonel Stoddart and Lieutenant Conolly perished at Bokhara, and it is believed that Lieutenant Wyburn was murdered too, without leaving any record of their experience. We have scanty details from Dr. Wolff and Colonel Abbott, of Bokhara and Khiva. Mr. Stern has told us something of Teheran and Balfrúsh, but none have given great encouragement to Christian Missions. But viewing the aspect of Asia, and especially of Central Asia, as a whole, it is painfully manifest that gross darkness broods over it, and that all its glorious mountains, and all its lovely fertile valleys, are 'full of the habitations of cruelty.' Of the people everywhere it is seen, that their feet are 'swift to shed blood, and destruction and misery are in their ways.'*

Immediately before us lies Afghanistan, a country to which we owe a debt. We introduced into it the miseries of war. It remains that we introduce therein the blessings of the Gospel. Of its inhabitants and their country there is no better description extant than that which is given by Elphinstone.

"If a man could be transported from England to the Afghan country, without passing through the dominions of Turkey, Persia, or Tartary, he would be amazed at the wide and unfrequented deserts, and the mountains, covered with perennial snow. Even in the cultivated part of the country, he would discover a wild assemblage of hills and wastes, unmarked by enclosures, not embellished by trees, and destitute of navigable canals, public roads, and all the great and elaborate productions of human industry and refinement. He would find the towns few, and far distant from each other; and he would look in vain for inns or other conveniences, which a traveller would meet with in the wildest parts of Great Britain. Yet he would sometimes be delighted with the fertility and populousness of particular plains and valleys, where he would see the productions of Europe mingled in profusion with those of the torrid

zone, and the land laboured with an industry and a judgment nowhere surpassed. He would see the inhabitants following their flocks in tents, or assembled in villages, to which the terraced roof and mud walls give an appearance entirely new. He would be struck at first with their high and even harsh features, their sun-burned countenances, their long beards, their loose garments, and their shaggy mantles of skins. When he entered into society, he would notice the absence of regular courts of justice, and of every thing like an organized police. He would be surprised at the fluctuation and instability of the civil institutions. He would find it difficult to comprehend how a nation could subsist in such disorder; and would pity those who were compelled to pass their days in such a scene, and whose minds were trained by their unhappy situation to fraud and violence, to rapine, deceit, and revenge. Yet he would scarce fail to admire their martial and lofty spirit, their hospitality, and their bold and simple manners, equally removed from the suppleness of a citizen and the awkward rusticity of a clown; and he would probably, before long, discover, among so many qualities that excited his disgust, the rudiments of many virtues.

"But an English traveller from India would view them with a more favourable eye. He would be pleased with the cold climate, elevated by the wild and novel scenery, and delighted by meeting many of the productions of his native land. He would first be struck with the thinness of the fixed population, and then with the appearance of the people; not fluttering in white muslins, while half their bodies are naked, but soberly and decently attired in dark-coloured woolen clothes, and wrapped up in brown mantles, or in large sheep-skin cloaks. He would admire their strong and active forms, their fair complexions and European features, their industry and enterprise, the hospitality, sobriety, and contempt of pleasure which appear in their habits; and, above all, the independence and energy of their character. In India he would have left a country where every movement originates in the Government or its agents, and where the people absolutely go for nothing; and he would find himself among a nation where the control of the Government is scarcely felt, and where every man appears to pursue his own inclinations, undirected and unrestrained. . . . He would meet with many productions of art and nature that do not exist in India; but, in general, he would find the arts of life less advanced, and many of the luxuries of Hindú-

* "Calcutta Christian Intelligencer," April 1857. An excellent periodical, edited by the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society's Corresponding Committee, Calcutta, and which we commend to the attention of all our readers.

stan unknown. On the whole, his impression of his new acquaintances would be favourable; and although he would feel that, without having lost the ruggedness of a barbarous nation, they were tainted with the vices common to all Asiatics, yet he would reckon them virtuous, compared with the people to whom he had been accustomed, would be inclined to regard them with interest and kindness, and could scarcely deny them a portion of his esteem.

"Such would be the impressions made on an European and an Indian traveller, by their ordinary intercourse with the Affghans. When they began to investigate their political constitution, both would be alike perplexed with its apparent inconsistencies and contradictions, and with the union which it exhibits of turbulent independence and gross oppression. But the former would, perhaps, be most struck with the despotic pretensions of the general Government, and the latter with the democratic licence which prevails in the Government of the tribes."*

Now, there is this special advantage in the occupation of Peshawur, that, in the prosecution of Missionary labour, the Missionaries necessarily become conversant with Pushtu, the language of Afghanistan, which is commonly understood and spoken at Peshawur.

The origin of the Pushtu "is not easily discovered. A large portion of the words that compose it spring from some unknown root, and in this portion are included most of those words which, from the early necessity for designating the objects they represent, must have formed parts of the original language of the people; yet some of this very class belong to the Zend and Pehlevi, such as the terms for father and mother, sister and brother. This seems also to be the case with the numerals, though the Zend and Pehlevi numerals bear so strong a resemblance to the Sanskrit ones, that it is difficult to distinguish them. Most of the verbs, and many of the particles, again, belong to the unknown root. The words connected with religion, government, and science, are mostly introduced from the Arabic through the Persian.

"The Affghans use the Persian alphabet, and generally write in the Nushk character. As they have some sounds which are not represented by any Persian letters, they express them by adding particular points or other marks to the nearest Persian letter.

"The Pushtu, though rather rough, is a manly language, and not displeasing to an ear accustomed to Oriental tongues. The

dialects of the east and west differ not only in the pronunciation, but in the words they make use of, to a degree at least equal to the difference between Scotch and English. None of the famous Pushtu authors are of more than a century and a half old, and I should imagine that there were no books in the language that can pretend to more than double that antiquity. What literature there is, has been derived from that of the Persians; and their compositions would resemble that model, but for their greater rudeness and superior simplicity. I have the names of eight or nine Affghan poets, besides translators from the Persian.†

The Affghans are Mohammedans of the Sunnī sect,‡ and are bitterly opposed to the Persian Shiāhs, so much so, that they are said to hate the Persians more because of their religion, than because of the injuries inflicted by that nation on their country. Towards a people entirely differing from them in religion they are, however, free from asperity, so long as they are not at war with them. Hence the Hindūs who reside amongst them "are allowed the free exercise of their religion, and their temples are entirely unmolested, though they are forbidden all religious processions, and all public exposing of their idols."

"The dress of the men varies; but that now used in the west appears to be the original dress of the whole nation. It consists of a pair of loose trousers of dark-coloured cotton; a large shirt, like a waggoner's frock, but with wider sleeves, and only reaching a little below the knee; a low cap, (shaped like a Hulan's cap,) the sides of which are of black silk or satin, and the top of gold brocade, or of some bright-coloured cloth; and a pair of half-boots of brown leather, laced or buttoned up to the calf: over this, for a great part of the year, is thrown a large cloak of well-tanned sheepskin, with the wool inside, or of soft and pliant grey felt. This garment is worn loose over the shoulders, with the sleeves hanging down, and reaches to the ankles. In the cities and more-civilized parts of the country, the dress generally worn resembles that of Persia; and along the eastern borders of Afghanistan it in some respects approaches that of India.

† Ibid. pp. 251—253.

‡ The Sunnis acknowledge the three first caliphs, who are rejected by the Shiāhs as rebels and usurpers of an office which of right belonged to Ali, the nephew of Mohammed, and his fourth successor.

* Ephinstone's Cabul, vol. i. pp. 197—199.

"The women wear a shirt like that of the men, but much longer. It is made of finer materials, and generally coloured or embroidered with flowers in silk: in the west it is often entirely of silk. They wear coloured trousers, tighter than those of the men; and have a small cap or bright-coloured silk, embroidered with gold thread, which scarcely comes down to the forehead or the ears; and a large sheet, either plain or printed, which they throw over their heads, and with which they hide their faces when a stranger approaches. In the west the women often tie a black handkerchief round their heads, over their caps. They divide the hair over their faces, and plait it into two locks, which fasten at the back of their heads.

"Their ornaments are strings of Venetian sequins, worn round their heads; and chains of gold or silver, which are hooked up over the forehead, pass round the head, and end in two large balls, which hang down near to the ears. Ear-rings and rings on the fingers are also worn, as are pendants in the middle cartilage of the nose, which was formerly the custom in Persia, and still is in India and Arabia. Such is the dress of the married women: the unmarried are distinguished by wearing white trousers, and by having their hair loose."*

Such are the people on whose borders we now stand encamped, one of the remote nations, difficult of access, and yet to whom in our day a way of approach has been afforded; so that our Missionaries are even now engaged in those preliminary labours, which, when the time comes, will serve as the basis of more extended operations. Already the first fruits have been reaped; the Affghan race has yielded its first convert to the Gospel of Christ. Some facts respecting him will be found in the following memoranda from one of our Missionaries in the Punjab:—

"Peshawur, June 17, 1858.

"I have been highly privileged in baptizing the first Affghan convert of this Mission, and as Colonel Martin and Mr. Mc'Carthy think it desirable, I send you a short narrative of the event. It illustrates, I think, in a striking manner, the electing love of God, and the sovereign power of His distinguishing grace. It gives occasion for much thankfulness for the efforts which God's servants have made to extend the Gospel to this place, and may well encourage any who are ready to say, 'I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain.'

"Dilawar Khan, the person I have baptized,

is a native of a village on the Peshawur border, and of pure Affghan blood. Like all his race, he is a tall, manly fellow, not less than six feet high; and at the present time his age may be about forty-two. He was for some years a 'Border Robber,' and thought he was doing God service when, at the instance of his mullahs, he plundered Hindú traders, and perhaps also Mussulmans of another tribe and sect. It is not unlikely that, in years gone by, he laid some of those he esteemed Kaffirs low in the dust. But at length God awakened his conscience, and he began very seriously to doubt the propriety of such a life. He was too independent to bow to every teacher, and did not hesitate to reason with the mullahs upon certain points he could not acquiesce in. At that time, or soon after, he met with Colonel Wheeler, a very excellent man, who has been well known in India as an earnest preacher amongst the heathen. Colonel Wheeler gave him a copy of the Mizan-ul Haq, and urged him to study it: God inclined Dilawar to do so, and blessed its perusal to his good. He entertained serious doubts from that time of the mission of Mohammed and the truth of the Korán. Afterwards he conversed with Colonel Edwardes, and was much encouraged by him to follow on to know the Lord; and subsequently this Peshawur Mission was established, and Dr. Pfander and Mr. Clark, with our friend Colonel Martin, came here. Dilawar Khan soon made the acquaintance of Dr. Pfander, and began to acknowledge his doubts of Mohammedanism, and desire to learn the truth. It was our revered brother's happy privilege to instruct him from time to time, and lead him to clearer views of true religion, and remove the difficulties which hindered his acceptance of the Gospel. He received the Bible, and studied it; and as he proceeded in his inquiries he sought the mullahs and moulwis in several places to answer the Mizan-ul Haq, or refute the arguments which had satisfied him of the truth of the Gospel. Of course, no one could do this, and his faith became stronger and stronger. He was no longer in doubt, and now began to accompany Mr. Clark to some of the villages near Peshawur and help him in preaching in Pushtu. This he did, as I understand, upon several occasions, and as he is well known, a man of talent, and well informed, his helping a Missionary made a stir amongst the people. Yet he had not received baptism, and our brethren waited with anxiety the time when he would come forward as a candidate for Christian fellowship. But their faith was tried. The mutiny broke

* Elphinstone, pp. 312—314.

out in May, 1857: Dilawar Khan was a jemadar in the Guide Corps. With that distinguished regiment he went to Delhi, and so quickly did they march, that no opportunity was afforded for an interview with the Missionaries, nor was any account received of him from the time he left till the return of the corps in February last. Through God's mercy he was one of those who survived that terrible struggle; one-fourth, at least, of his comrades died the soldiers' death, but he escaped without a single wound; and not only so, but obtained promotion to the rank of subadar.

"We might have feared for this inquirer, that amidst such exciting scenes he would be tempted to put away his doubts and forsake his new religion; but God did not allow him. He had none to help him to the truth, or encourage his Christian faith; but yet he held it fast. The only book he had was one of controversy, and from it he gathered arguments against the Mussulmans. You will wonder that he had not taken his Bible with him, but this is easily accounted for by the extraordinary march the regiment made. They started at six hours' notice, and marched direct to Delhi at the rate of twenty-seven miles a day, in the months of May and June! Wonderful indeed was that march, but how much more remarkable was the working of God's grace in the heart of Dilawar Khan! In the intervals of battles and watches he studied the doctrines of Christianity; and one day, in the presence of his fellow-soldiers, called for a loaf of bread, and eat it with a European, that all might see that he was no longer a Mussulman. When the 'Guides' returned from Delhi, they were ordered here to receive the public honours they so richly deserved. General Cotton received them at a grand review of the whole garrison, and paid them the highest compliments he could. Dinners were given to the European officers by the General and Colonel Edwardes, &c., and the men of the regiment were also entertained at a public banquet. Then they were sent to their station at Murdan, but before they left, Colonel Martin urged upon Dilawar Khan the duty of receiving baptism, and thought he ought to solicit a few days' leave for the purpose. His commanding officer was willing to give it when applied to, and Colonel Edwardes also was willing to seek it for him, but he himself thought it better to go on with his regiment and wait a better opportunity, as he was then expecting some days more of active service; he promised, however, to come in as soon as possible. We heard no more of him till May, and had almost feared that he was putting off the last

grand step; but, no, he kept his promise, and took the first opportunity of obtaining leave, and came to Peshawur. Our conversation that day was most satisfactory; we felt persuaded that he had chosen 'the better part,' more especially when at the close he said, 'I have come to learn my duty and to do it; but you must show me what it is from the word of God, for in matters such as these I will not follow man.'

"On the next day he sat with me three hours, and I showed him many passages relating to baptism, and read the service with him. His mind was at once made up, and he asked to be 'made a Christian.' He was baptized on Whit Sunday in our new chapel, only just before made ready, and then told us all, sponsors and congregation, how happy and thankful he was. He received the name of Dilawar Messih (bold for Christ). I think him a most promising convert, and was much struck by the clearness and simplicity of his faith. His subjection to the word of God is very remarkable. He told me the day before his baptism how he had tried to put away all thoughts of becoming a Christian, but he could not, and when at length he had arranged for his baptism, he said, 'Now this heavy load is off me, and I am very thankful.' It is God alone who has guided him, and this gives us hope that he will be a faithful Christian and an earnest witness for Christ amongst his countrymen. It struck me as an interesting fact, that he alone, as I think, of all his regiment, refused to take any plunder at Delhi. He who was formerly a border robber, upon principle refused to touch the smallest thing of all the spoils of war; the reason surely is that he himself has been 'apprehended of Christ.' Our brother Dr. Pfander will be much encouraged when he hears of this baptism, and if ever Colonel Wheeler learns what a blessing has followed the gift of that one book in Peshawur, he will take it as an ample recompense for all the reproach he has endured. But we must beg your prayers in behalf of this new disciple. He is the only Christian amongst the hundreds of his corps, and although, as a native officer, he is to a great extent protected from the enmity of his fellow-soldiers, yet he must endure many temptations, the more particularly as he is not within reach of Sabbath ordinances, or other privileges which Christians generally enjoy. But who can harm the weakest or the youngest believer? He is a monument of divine grace, and will remain such, I trust, for ever and for ever."

Nor is Afghanistan the only land to which Peshawur promises to give us access. One

other there is, whose mountains may be seen every day from its cantonments—Kaffiristan. The Rev. M. Barker, who was chaplain, in 1856, at Peshawur, furnished us at that time with some notices of this country and its inhabitants, collected from native sources. They have never been printed, so far as we are aware, and we now introduce them—

“ Since my arrival at this frontier station, not only have I felt much interest in the work of our Mission to the Affghans here, which has already been, and, I trust, will be yet more largely prospered by the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose name by it is sought to be glorified; but my attention has been also drawn to a nation lying without, but not far beyond the bounds of British dominion—I mean the country of the Kaffirs, or Kaffiristan, as it is called by the natives of these parts.

“ My object in bringing this country under your notice, and, through you, under that of the Committee, is not that I think it is at present accessible to Missionaries, nor even that it is one of the first fields to be occupied (for there are others whose claims press at this moment much more), but I bring it before you as one whose geographical position, and the character of whose inhabitants, will afford a road to nations in Central Asia who have not yet heard the Gospel of life.

“ Very little is known of it by Europeans. I have met with some, and they neither uneducated nor ignorant, and who have resided for some time in Peshawur, unaware of its existence as a separate country, although its mountains can be seen every day from the cantonments, being distant about seventy or eighty miles. You will find (should it not have attracted your attention before) an interesting account of it in ‘Elphinstone’s Cabul,’ and in ‘Thornton’s Gazetteer,’ which two works, I believe, contain all, or nearly all, that is publicly known about this land; I will therefore refer you to them, merely giving some of the private information I have received, which you will perceive corroborates, in most points, Elphinstone’s account. These notes are the result of inquiries made by Mr. Clark and myself during the last few weeks; I, by myself, without his invaluable assistance, could have done nothing. Our informants, at present, are, (1) Abdul Karim Khan, a Puthan of respectability and considerable intelligence, who was treasurer and native secretary to the late Sir Alexander Burnes, and who is also a near relative to Mullah Nujib, Elphinstone’s principal emis-

sary and informant respecting Kaffiristan. (2) A servant of his, whose name I did not ascertain, but who is a native of Kunur, a district within the Mussulman territory, but at the foot of the Kaffir hills. (3) Abul-Khair, a Puthan boy, in the service of Mr. Clark. He is a native of Kotali, a village of Lughman, lying adjacent to the same land, but to another portion of it, and who left his home to come to Peshawur about six months ago; and (4) Nazr Mahmud, a native of the same village, and a private soldier of the Guides, who has left his country about four-and-a-half years.

“ I am happy to state that I have hope of obtaining more extensive information, for a native of Lughman came to visit this Nazr Mahmud in our compound on the evening of April 7th, and has undertaken to bring one or more men, Kaffirs by descent, down with him, to tell us about their mountains. And, I trust, he may return in about a month or two; but this cannot be reckoned upon with certainty. Mullah Nujib is also alive, and dwells in the city. I have sought an interview with him, but he has hitherto excused himself on the score of ill health: a very permissible excuse at his great age. The last three men are uneducated; but Abdul Karim is quite the contrary. He is a member of the (till lately) influential and powerful family of the Kazis.

“ From these I learn that both sides of the Hindú Kosh are inhabited by a race of men wholly independent of and totally distinct from the Mohammedan nations around them. The boundaries of their country are very ill defined; but, apparently, they are limited on the north-west and north by Bulkh Khundooz and Badakshan; on the south-east, by Chitral Kashgurg, Punjcora, Bajour, and the valley of Kunur; on the south, by the Affghan tribes, of the Ahmedzies, Ghilzes, Lughmanis and Safis, with other tribes of the Kohistan whose names I have not been able to obtain. I was informed by Abdul Karim that they extended as far as Herat; but this, I think, must be either my misapprehension of his meaning, or an exaggeration on his part. I think Bamean will prove to be their extremity on the western side, even if they extend so far, while their eastern boundary is lost among the Himalayas. I am not able to form any idea of their numbers, but the following are the names of some of their villages or towns, with the number of houses stated to be in them; and I have put down the estimated population at five to a house, which, I suppose, is near the mark—

	Houses.	Estimated population.
Kamoze . . .	3000	.. 15,000
Shumash . . .	2500	.. 12,500
Peshagurh . .	1250	.. 6250
Kutah . . .	240	.. 1000
Gunir . . .	140	.. 700
Dewaz . . .	60	.. 300

These three last became (apparently through force) Mussulmans in the year 1849; but many inhabitants still retain the customs and idolatry of their ancestors.

"As apparently they are formed of the relics of more than one race, which have been swept from the plains by the tide of Mohammedan invasion, so likewise they appear to have at least two different forms of religion—one a pure theism, and the other a theism adulterated with the worship of ancestors; much, therefore, that is said respecting their religion may be true only of a part of them. From all the information I can gather, it would seem that there is neither Buddhism nor Brahminism among them. There is no caste, no priesthood, nor monkery. Or if there be a priesthood, the members of it are few, and of small power. There are no sacred days, no fasts, no pilgrimages, no holy fires. But instead thereof, they worship the supreme God, without sacrifices or temples; while the idolaters among them offer various animals, when and as they please, to upright images of men, formed of gold and silver, and wood, erected in the centre of covered temples. Men and women worship together, and, in their adoration, bow their heads till they touch the ground. It does not appear that there are any worshippers of the sun among them. A female slave of Abdul Kadir, another kazi, when asked what she worshipped, pointed upwards, by which we understood that she was a sun-worshipper; but she might only mean she served the supreme God, as certainly, it appears, some do. The idolaters themselves declare that there is but one God; but 'these others,' say they, 'are mediators.' I have not been able to trace that facility* of apotheosis of which Elphinstone speaks; but the usual accuracy of his statements would lead one to suppose it must be as he says, at least among a portion of them. There appears to be no devil or demon-worship, unless this ancestral idolatry can be called so. They do not practise circumcision; but on the thirteenth day, (so I am informed, and not on the twenty-fourth day,

as stated by Elphinstone) they wash the child in water. The ceremony, possibly, may have given rise to the report that there were the remains of Christianity among them, but of which there seems to be no real trace. Their morality appears to be bad; but we must remember all our information is gathered from their deadly and unrelenting enemies. They have no books—indeed, it would seem that their languages have not yet been reduced to writing. Two tongues, or at least dialects, appear to be used, and possibly several more. One which Nazr Mahmud could speak, he called the Kohistani, it being also used in Kohistan, to the north of Cabul—the other, of which he was ignorant, he called the Kartu. The Kohistani is distinct both from the Pushtu and Persian, which a few of the Kaffirs, living on the borders, are able to use sufficiently to hold converse with their neighbours; but the Kohistani is, at least on the side of Lughman, the principal medium of intercourse between the Puthans and those tribes of which it is not the vernacular. In addition to those named in Elphinstone, I here give the names of six other tribes: (1) Phirag; (2) Shamuni; (3) Sumoni; (4) War-muh, which is also the name of a village; (5) Kartai; (6) Koreish. I am not certain whether the Shamanis and Sumonis are not the same, differently pronounced; the first of them was given by Nazr Mahmud, and the other by Abdul Karim's servant. The last name (Koreish) is very remarkable; but whether there is supposed to be any blood relationship between them and the celebrated Koreish tribe at Mecca, I have not been able to ascertain. The Koreish of the Indian Kosh are said to be of the colour of wheat. All the traditions respecting their origin are mentioned by Elphinstone, to which I refer you; but he appears to have been misinformed respecting their being all alike in appearance, for while the Koreish are of a wheaten hue, others (those near Khunduz, for instance) are said to be as fair as the English; while other tribes are as dark as the Affghans, who in their turn are far lighter in complexion than the inhabitants of the plains. The fair-complexioned have, universally, red or light hair, and blue eyes; and the darker, black hair. Their beauty is by all highly praised. This, and their great intelligence, cause them, like the Circassians and Georgians, to be much sought after as slaves; and it is said there were very many of them at Peshawur, but they took the opportunity of the English conquest to escape to their own hills. Their chieftains, as well as their ene-

* Elphinstone's Cabul, vol. ii. p. 377.

mies, sell them into captivity. There are said to be many female slaves still remaining in the city; but it would be obviously imprudent to attempt to get any information from, or seek to establish any intercourse with them. This slave-trade will greatly hinder our procuring much information, for few will dare to venture from their mountain fastnesses into the plain, where there would be a moral certainty of their being either murdered or enslaved. With the Mussulmans they are at almost constant war, interrupted only by an occasional truce. During such times the followers of the false prophet are allowed to go among their hills, and traverse their dominions with safety, for commercial and other purposes — nay, they are even hospitably received, and treated with kindness, and none of our informants had ever even heard of a Mussulman traveller in these times of amity being ill-treated, far less killed. If, then, they treat their late enemies thus, this encourages a hope that Christians, who have never been their enemies, and who, I trust, will shortly be their friends, would not be injured among them. Food appears to be plentiful and cheap. Of wheat they seem to have little, of barley much, and a kind of millet, respecting the nature of which I can get no information. Grapes and wine are so abundant, that, in native exaggerated phraseology, the people are said to drink nothing but wine; by which, I suppose, is meant that they have no other manufactured liquor but that from grapes. Of sheep, goats, and horned cattle they have abundance; and the Mohammedans say they eat bears and wolves, but not monkeys, as Burnes was informed. From what I have heard, I imagine some tribes to be more civilized than others, and those towards Lughman to be less so than the rest. Their language will, I fear, present a considerable difficulty. I send you at the end of this a small vocabulary, compiled from the lips of Nazr, Mahmud and Abul Khair, by which the linguists at home may be able to determine the affinity of the Kohistani. There seems plainly to be Persian, Pushtu, and Sanskrit words in it. In spelling, I have endeavoured, with the kind assistance of Mr. Clark, to follow the system adopted in Forbes' Hindústani Manual; but there are several sounds, which have no exact representative either in our language or alphabet.

"The Government of Kaffiristan, as far as I can understand, does not appear to be entrusted principally to hereditary chiefs, except in cases of war, for in many of their villages they have councils of the chief men of the place, sometimes to the number of twenty or thirty men. But our information on this point is very meagre, as the Mussulmans

know but little of them except as enemies or captives. One of their chiefs, and apparently the most powerful of them, resided at Kamoze. He died in 1846. His name was Dál. He had as many as 20,000 warriors under him; but his son and successor, Gurnal, who dwells in the same place, has not the like power and authority."

Mr. Barker, in concluding his letter, mentions the one great obstacle to approaching Kaffiristan—the fierce bigotry of the Puthan hill tribes, who, in 1856, looked with jealousy, partly religious and partly national, on any European traveller. He then adds—"If ever these hills of Affghanistan are swallowed up by the Company—and less likely things have happened, or if ever a real peace and true amity should exist between them and the British, then the way will be clear to preach the Word in Kaffiristan also." This latter alternative has taken place: the fierce hill tribes have learned to respect the British power, and prefer amity to turbulence.

Thus a connection with the territories of the Indus, a vast field of labour, is open to us: Sindh, with its three collectorates, Shikapur, Hyderabad, and Kurrachi, and its population of 1,087,762; the Punjab, the land of the five rivers, a vast territory of nearly unbroken flatness, rising to a moderate elevation from the south-west to the north-east, and containing a population, including the Cis-Sutlej principalities, of 12,717,821, a population unequally dispersed over the area, according as the land is fertile or otherwise, the measure of fertility depending on the means of irrigation. Three millions are divided into Mahomedans, Hindus, and Sikhs; the Mahomedans preponderating over the Hindus in the proportion of 1:37 to 1, while in the north-western provinces they are only as 1:5:65. The Sikhs constitute but a fragment of the population. In the division of Lahore, which contains the religious capital of Sikhism, Amritsar, and the original and peculiar territories of the Sikhs, the Manjha, out of a population of 3,500,000, there are not more than 2,000,000 Sikhs. With the extinction of the military despotism of the Sikhs, their religion has fallen into decay, and its distinctive population is being absorbed into Hinduism.

"Besides the Sikhs of the Lahore division, there is of course a Sikh population in the Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States, and also in the Chuch Doab, of which the exact number is unfortunately not distinguished. But with this included the number must be small, as compared with the strength exhibited by the Sikh nation a very few years ago. The old Sikhs are dying out; the new Sikhs initiated are but few: the children of Sikhs are, and

remain, Hindus. A vast number of Sikhs, though organized and linked together by political bond, were, as regards faith and religious practice, but little different from Hindus. Now that Sikhism is politically defunct, they return to Hinduism, and thus the numerical paucity of Sikhs at the present day may be explained."*

Such is this important territory—important from the largeness of its population, a population capable of indefinite increase, as, with the formation of canals, a measure of improvement to which the authorities have energetically given themselves, the country becomes more productive; important from its position, commanding, as it has done, the north-west provinces, and affording means of access to independent kingdoms around—Gholab Singh's dominions on the north, Afghanistan and Kaffiristan west and north-west;—fitted thus to become a great commercial centre, where the merchants of Europe, Central Asia, and Hindustan, may meet and traffic with each other, and the inhabitants of the land and the extremities of the earth interchange their productions. Facilities of communication with Europe by the Indus are being rapidly provided. A railway is being constructed from Kurrachi to the Indus at, or near to, Kotri, so as to avoid all the dangers and uncertainties of the Delta navigation. This railway is expected to be completed in October of the present year. Another line has been sanctioned, from Multan to Lahore and Amritsar, a distance of 230 miles. Between these points, Kotri and Multan, steam communication has been established on the river, by Government vessels, for goods and passengers; an advantage to be extended to Kala-bagh, on the Indus, and the town of Jhelum, on the tributary of that name.

On these territories, thus thrown open by roads, by railroad, and river communication, the Church Missionary Society has entered, as on a providentially-appointed and most eligible field of labour: and we rejoice to perceive a sprinkling of Missionary stations, ascending up the course of the river, and opening into the Punjab. We may enumerate Kurrachi, Hyderabad, and Shikarpur, Multan, Amritsar, Peshawur, Kangra; and these occupied by thirteen ordained Missionaries, two of them native, with Lieut.-Colonel Martin, to whom this Mission work is so much indebted, and seventeen European and native Catechists. Sindh was entered upon in 1850, the Punjab

in 1852. We have made therefore, thanks be to God, a good commencement. But let us not stop here: let the Missions expand: let new Missionaries be sent forth: let new stations be occupied. Let us not be contented with a weak Mission in so important a locality. We want men for the territories of the Indus; we shall plead for each field specifically: we shall have a word for China. But we now plead for the Punjab, and the lines of communication with that presidency. We desire to occupy new points, and strengthen our basis of operations, against the time when Missionary action shall break forth over the Soliman range into the countries beyond. We want to lay hold on the Sikh population, now in so interesting a transition state, and enlist them as soldiers of Christ. Shall there be none to hear, none to offer—none, whose hearts are being moved towards this particular field of labour? Oh, do not resist that stirring of heart you feel within you, but decide at once, and without delay. Come forward and offer yourself for this Mission work! Your home duties, they will be taken care for; your home sacrifices, they will be more than made up to you. Come, and strengthen the gallant little band of faithful men, who are struggling to grasp the responsibilities of a vast labour, over which their hearts yearn; but to the pressing necessities of which they find themselves unequal.

We conclude with the following interesting extract from the "Bombay Guardian" of January 8th, 1859—

The "Punjabee" says—"The 24th regiment Punjab Infantry is, as most of our readers probably know, composed of Muzubes Sikhs, enlisted in 1857, in the neighbourhood of Amritsar, Ludiana, &c. They have seen service, and served well; so well, that on their return to the vicinity of their homes, in November last, the whole of the men received a month's leave to visit their families. It is said, that, while in Oude, a number of these men intimated to their commanding-officer their desire to enter the pale of Christianity. Circumstances, however, intervened, and no further sign was made until their return from leave some days ago, when, learning the particulars of the anxiety that was said to prevail amongst them on the subject, a member of the Church Missionary Society's Mission visited their camp, was listened to attentively, and met with a speedy declaration on the part of one man to embrace the faith, and profess his willingness to enter the Church of Christ by baptism. Another inquirer, being found qualified, and both considered to be in a state sufficiently advanced to admit of their wishes being complied with, they were publicly baptized, on

* Selection from "Records," p. 24.

the afternoon of Sunday last, the 19th inst., in the hall of the Missionary school, in the town of Amritsar, by the Rev. A. Strawbridge, in the presence of four of his brethren from Peshawur and Kotghur, (assembled at their annual conference,) of other European gentlemen, and of a congregation composed chiefly of native Christians, two of whom stood sponsors for the new converts. The men received respectively the names of Ummur Mesih and Mesih Charan, the former meaning 'Life from Christ,' the latter 'subject to Christ,'

literally the 'footstool of Christ.' The ordinary evening service was read, in a very impressive manner, by the Rev. J. M'Carthy; and on its conclusion a sermon, suitable to the occasion, was preached by the Rev. W. Ball, from Acts xxii. 16.

"The very same evening, several men of the regiment expressed their apparently earnest desire to be instructed in the truths of Christianity; and hopes may reasonably be entertained that many will follow the example thus publicly set by their comrades."

NARRATIVE OF A MISSIONARY TRIP TO CHIN-KIANG.

So soon as our Missionaries on the coast were made aware of the treaty of Tien-sin, it became with them a point of great interest to ascertain how far its stipulations would be recognised by the mandarins; and whether it might with truth be said that China was open to Missionary action. With this object the exploratory journey detailed in the following pages was undertaken by our Missionary, the Rev. J. S. Burdon, accompanied by the Rev. W. Aitchison, of the American Board of Missions.

The results will be found to have been in all respects satisfactory. The authorities, at all the cities and towns visited during this tour, acknowledged that the Missionaries were at liberty to proceed if they so decided. Thus the disturbed state of the country, in consequence of the devastating action of the Tae-Pings, alone prevented them from advancing beyond the Yang-tze-kiang.

Our Missionaries are now anxious to advance their stations from the coast into the interior. It is assuredly most desirable that they should do so. The door is open. If we do not promptly avail ourselves of the right to enter, it may be so far stealthily closed, as to make it, after a time, difficult to enter. The positions on the coast are not the most desirable. The population is unduly crowded, and more demoralized than in the interior, in consequence of the opium traffic and the intercourse with ungodly Europeans. Moreover, by advancing, they put a pressure on the church at home, and compel us to sustain them.

"October 5, 1858—My own personal circumstances having rendered a change from Shanghai desirable, and the new treaty, though not yet in actual force, having opened up, to all intents and purposes, the whole of China to Missionary effort, Mr. Aitchison and myself determined on at once making an attempt to go beyond even the extended limits of Mis-

sionary excursions, and, if possible, to establish ourselves in a Mandarin-speaking district. The province of Shantoong was thought the best region in which this attempt might first be made; and with this as our ultimate destination, though uncertain how far we might be permitted to proceed, we started this day between eleven and twelve o'clock. Messrs. John & Lea, both connected with the London Missionary Society, accompanied us, without, however, intending to go further than the Yellow River. We sailed up the creek commonly called the Soo Chow Creek, and passed, at a little distance from Shanghai, the boats that had just brought the great commissioners from Peking for the purpose of making the final arrangements consequent on the settlement of a new treaty. The boats in which these grandees have travelled so far, differ only in size from those in which we ourselves ordinarily move about the country. They are, no doubt, convenient enough as residences, from their being very capacious inside, but externally they look awkward and unwieldy things, which, even to the Chinese, must contrast very unfavourably with the foreign steamers and ships that are seen by many of our new visitors for the first time. In this respect it is to be sincerely hoped that their visit to Shanghai will have a beneficial effect in removing much of that prejudice and pride which enter so largely into the composition of a Chinaman's mind. As we moved on, we met the boat that contained the Governor-General of these two provinces, and a host of smaller boats containing his retinue; so that it was evident, as far as the Chinese could do so, they intended to make a display, to overawe, if possible, the barbarians. But Chinese display is, most unfortunately, the least adapted to produce any effect on the minds of Westerns, beyond affecting their risible faculties in a most unseemly manner. In grand visits of ceremony, with the exception of a few re-

spectable-looking soldiers and other attendants, the procession is generally mainly made up of miserable-looking beggars, who are pressed in for the occasion, and dressed up in a costume as dirty as it is ridiculous. We anchored for the night at a large village, called Wong-Doo, about 80 le, or 25 English miles, from Shanghai.

"October 6—Started very early, and as the wind was favourable, we made very good progress. The day was very beautiful, and the face of the country had a most delightful aspect, covered as it was in all directions by very fine crops. I hope the poor people may be permitted to gather them in safety, as, for the last two or three years, they have suffered grievously, either from locusts, or excessive rains. Rather late in the afternoon we arrived at a country town, called Kw'un Shan, whose most striking feature to a mere passer-by is a hill in the centre of the city, with a temple and pagoda on the top. It is called "Saddle hill" in Chinese, from its shape. As our object was to press on northwards, we thought it better to attempt no active Missionary work in the shape of preaching or distributing books, until we saw whether we should be successful or not. We consequently did not stay at all at this city; and, wherever it was possible, we followed this rule until we were turned back. Our time was well filled up from morning to night in studying Chinese, and to me, in this respect, it was an exceedingly profitable season. Anchored for the night at a country town, called Ye-Ding, about ten miles from the important city of Soo Chow.

"October 7—Arrived at Soo Chow this morning about half-past eight. Our servants having purchases to make detained us for nearly an hour, but, for the reasons already mentioned, we did not think it prudent to attempt going into the city ourselves. Soo Chow is one of the most important cities in the empire, and is regarded by the Chinese with feelings of love and veneration. Their proverb, that there is "Heaven above, and Soo Chow and Hang Chow below," as places of the highest happiness, shows the estimate in which the Chinaman holds these two cities, and they have been among the last places in the neighbourhood of the open ports to open their gates to the intrusive foreigner from the west. A few years ago, one of our number, Mr. Aitchison, was taken prisoner near this very place, and escorted back to Shanghai by a company of soldiers. A little more than a year ago another of our number was denied admission at the gates of the city, and though he effected an entrance at one of the water-

gates, and preached in the streets to the people, the authorities had done all they could to keep him out. Not very long ago we thought it a great thing to be allowed even to sail in our boats under the walls of the city without being arrested, but now the change is complete. Not a word was said to us as we sailed past the city and through a very long and busy suburb, extending some two or three miles beyond Soo Chow; and in our way back to Shanghai we walked through the city, and preached in it, followed by a far less noisy and numerous crowd than in many other places. The city, including its suburbs, is of immense extent, and must contain an enormous population; and yet how sad it was to think of the ignorance of almost every person that we saw, of the great truths concerning Him who made them, and the eternity to which they were all fast hastening! Here generation after generation has passed away for ages, and God's distinguishing gift to mankind—the Gospel—is as yet unknown, except, perhaps, in a corrupt form, in the vast, and populous, and important city of Soo Chow.

"Soon after leaving Soo Chow, we passed the great Custom-house, until very recently an object of terror to the foreign traveller. But no objection was made to our passing; on the contrary, those in charge treated us with the greatest politeness. Passing several towns and villages, and one place where a few soldiers were stationed to examine boats, we made our way on to Wu-Si, where we arrived about midnight.

"October 8—We awoke this morning, and anchored at the large, important, and prettily-situated city of Wu-Si. It being the native place of our boatmen, we gave them the forenoon to go and see their friends, whilst we went to visit one of the hills in the neighbourhood. Amongst other objects of interest we visited a Taoist temple, built on the side of the hill, and there, for the first time, I saw something like public worship being conducted in honour of one of the idols, whose birthday it happened to be. By public worship I do not mean the public recitation of prayers, &c., by the priests, for this can be seen at any time; but on this occasion there seemed to be a congregation gathered from among the people, and one amongst them acted as their minister. A number of people, principally women, were sitting at a table, on which lay the paper-money to be presented to the idol, much of which, however, was being made into the proper shape by the old ladies, as the service went on. A man sat at the head of the table, and read a clause, and then the whole congregation

joined in a low musical tone, repeating the name of their principal idol, 'O me du Veb.' After carrying on this exercise for some time, they ceased their responses, and their minister read something from a book about the idol they were worshipping, which, however, not one of his audience even heard, for they were all busy looking at and making their remarks about us. But still the leader, nothing touched by the fact that nobody was listening, read on with all his energy; and yet, if every one had been attending, edification would have been equally impossible, as the Chinese book-style is, when read, perfectly unintelligible to the mere listener, whether he be learned or ignorant. It requires to be translated into the colloquials, as it is read, so as to convey instruction. But as instruction is no object of the priests, if, indeed, they were able to communicate any, no translation is dreamt of. The merit is, with them, the same. The tongue understood by the people, Taoists, Buddhists, and Romanists, carefully avoid in public worship. It was very melancholy to stand by and watch these immortal beings thus thinking to smooth their passage through life, and, in some way, through and after death, by muttering a few unmeaning words of worship to they know not what.

"Another object of interest was what is called 'The second well in the empire,' the water of which, as it comes from the rock, is delicious. There is a tea-shop opened beside it, and round about it are several summer-houses, so that, on a hot day, it would form a most pleasant retreat. Just at the entrance to this place is a pond, in which, for the sake of accumulating merit in preserving life, several gold fish are kept. About noon we set sail again, and, with a fair wind, made a good run to Ch'ang Chow in less than five hours. We were a little uneasy about our reception at this part of our journey, for, in consequence of the disturbances of long-haired rebels, which have deprived the Imperialists at Nankin for so many years, Ch'ang Chow has been made the residence of the Governor-General and other high officials. On drawing near to the city we passed one of the innumerable examination houses; but as it was a small one, with only a soldier or two, we were soon allowed to pass on. At the other end of the city, however, we were called up for another and a stricter examination. We were asked where we were going, and we replied, to the north, to distribute the books of our religion and to preach its doctrines. They asked for our passports, but we told them we had none. We reminded them that peace was now

established between foreigners and Chinese, and that the Emperor had permitted us to travel all over the empire. They at once acknowledged this, and granted that we had a perfect right to go where we pleased, but begged us, at the same time, not to continue our journey, in consequence of the disturbed state of the country. They then told us, that during the last few days the news from the north had been of the worst possible character; that the rebels had broken out afresh; and that, consequently, troops were being moved about from place to place, which would make it most unsafe to travel. After some little conversation it was arranged that we should anchor within the bar all night, with a promise, that early in the morning, we should be allowed to proceed.

"Oct. 9.—On our attempting to start this morning, a little before daybreak, we were again challenged by the soldier on duty, and the mandarin in charge had to be roused to talk with us before allowing us to prosecute our journey. Mr. Aitchison was our spokesman, and he again explained to the mandarin our object. The latter then told him that we might do as we pleased about going forward, but warned us to be very careful as to how we travelled. The rebels, he said, were in great force in the very district through which we wished to pass, and Imperialist soldiers were also stationed at different parts of our route, so that travelling was rendered almost impossible. He wound up with saying, that if we were robbed he could not be held responsible after this fair warning. We thanked him for his courtesy, told him that we had no fear of robbers, and that, if we did suffer from them, we would hold him quite clear of all responsibility. Suspecting, as we did, that a good deal of this story had been concocted during the night, for the purpose of frightening us from our purpose, we availed ourselves of his permission to proceed, and departed on our way to the next stage of our journey, the city of Tan Yang. On our way we passed three very large and busy market-towns, whose chief articles of trade seemed to be pigs. Boats were filled with them, men were handling them in no very gentle way, and the squealing of the poor ill-used animals, the bargaining of the buyers and sellers, and the shouting of men, women, and children on shore, spoke of no stoppage to trade as yet, in this quarter, by the rebels. Towards evening we arrived at Tan Yang; and as we had now reached the commencement of the disturbed districts, it was thought best to allow the boatmen to anchor here over the Sabbath, until Monday morning. As we passed in, we

saw many and melancholy proofs of the doings of the rebels. Miserable-looking boats, filled with more miserable-looking people, lined the canal for nearly a mile, and here and there on the bank a wretched mud and straw low hut was constructed as a residence of those who could not afford a boat. The people are those who have been driven from their homes by the present commotions, many of whom, from their appearance, we judged to have been once in comfortable circumstances. We sailed past them all, anchored in a retired spot, and went on shore for a walk. Everywhere we saw traces of the struggle that had been carried on at this place between the Imperialists and the rebels, when the latter attempted to take the city. That attempt, fortunately, was unsuccessful, but the misery of the people generally, shows how effectually they have succeeded in destroying the comfort and happiness of thousands of poor innocent people. On coming back to our boats, we found an order waiting for us from the mandarin to appear before him. Instead of doing so, we invited him on board, where we might inform him of our object and destination. First one came, and, a little after, two others, dressed up in their full military costume, and they, in a very positive manner, informed us that we could not proceed, in consequence of the state of the country. We argued the point with them a little, but when they found that we were going to stay over the next day, they appeared considerably relieved. No foreigners having been so far before, and the rebels having broken out just a short time before our coming, they seemed to think that the two events had some connection, and asked, evidently in much trepidation, whether any more of our countrymen were to follow us. We tried to quiet their fears as well as we could, and gave them copies of the different books that we had brought, begging them to read them at their leisure, and judge for themselves as to our real object. I was rather astonished, in the course of the evening, to meet an old friend at this out-of-the-way place. One of the petty officers attached to the magistrate's office had been in Shanghai for some months, and there had heard me preach, and joined himself with a few whom I used to meet for the purpose of reading and explaining the Bible. On hearing my name, he came to the boat to pay his respects, as well as to have a conversation which he might report to his superiors. He was very polite, but endeavoured to dissuade us from our purpose, by asking us why we should seek to go through a region that was thoroughly disorganized,

while we could in peace and safety carry out our benevolent object in an extensive field nearer to Shanghai. We thought we would inquire a little more particularly, and go on a little further before we admitted that the country was thoroughly disorganized. He left, promising to come the next day, and told us that it was probable we should receive a visit from the chief mandarin of the place.

"Oct. 10: *Lord's-day*—A strangely, yet, I trust, not unprofitably spent day. It was interesting to think of keeping holy the Lord's-day in a place which has never known a Sabbath, and where, probably, the day has never been kept or honoured before. It began, however, by an anticipated, but most unpleasant interruption, which it was impossible to avoid. Immediately after breakfast we determined to move from our anchorage to a more retired spot, a little way out of the city; but before we had quite reached the part at which we wished to stop, the chief magistrate came in state, with all his usual attendants, to pay us his visit. The military officer of the city accompanied him, and the uproar caused by the crowd brought together on the bank was little in unison with our wishes and feelings. The conversation between the dignitaries of the city and ourselves, was friendly in the extreme. No objection was made to our proceeding next day, and even help was promised to further us on our journey. For this offer we were hardly prepared, and, of course, we were exceedingly grateful, though we could not help having some misgivings respecting its sincerity. He talked much of the difficulties of the way, and the utter impossibility of our going by the usual route, and the consequent necessity of seeking a by-path, free from those impediments. It was in marking out this by-path that he promised his help; but we afterwards found that it was his politeness only that prompted the offer at the time. He asked us if we could eat Chinese food; and on our assuring him that we lived principally on it, he promised to send us a small present of 'siau-te-æ,' the name given by the Chinese to either vegetables or meat taken with rice. He gave our boatmen directions as to where we were to anchor for the night, and said that all would be ready for our proceeding on our journey early on the following day. He begged us not to go into the city, as the people were apt to become noisy and unruly on seeing foreigners; and to this we readily yielded, as we know the dread in which Chinese authorities stand of crowds being collected during a time of civil war. After staying some time, and entering a little into conversation with us respecting our

doctrines and practices, especially that of keeping one day in the seven, he took his leave, greatly to our delight. We then went on shore at the opposite side of the stream, where, screened from the view of the people by a high bank behind us, we sat down and held our Sabbath-service in Nature's great temple, under the open canopy of heaven. Prayer, praise, and conversation filled up a happy hour, which I shall not soon forget. Our work, our duties and hopes respecting it, formed the subject of our conversation, one which I have not a doubt will have a good influence upon us, wherever we may be settled in this vast harvest-field. I certainly enjoyed our little service, and felt, in common with my brethren, that this spot was consecrated as it never had been before.

"About four o'clock came the promised present from the magistrate, carried by two coolies, presented by his personal servant, who came on horseback, accompanied by another servant, also on horseback. The present consisted of several dishes of pork, &c., variously prepared. We selected two or three of them, and returned the remainder, which we were told was according to Chinese etiquette. This feeling of kindness, from whatever motive, we could not but appreciate. We were rather surprised, however, and a little mortified, to find that, notwithstanding all this outward show of kindness, even long before we arrived at this city, we were under surveillance. Messengers seem to have been despatched from Ch'ang Chow to announce our approach, and the consequence was, that a boat from Tan Yang met us while only half-way, and, unknown to us, attached itself as guardian of our boats and their passengers. All night it was anchored by our side, having a man sleeping on the bow, so as to be ready to call his companions, in case we might, in our rashness, attempt something desperate. The professed object is, of course, to look after our interests, and protect us; but I believe the real object is to watch us, lest, after all, we are on our way to assist the rebels. We spent the evening chiefly in singing the praises of our God and Saviour, and at last committed ourselves and ours to that God who has watched over us hitherto, and who is able to keep us amid all dangers. If it consisted with His will, we wished to proceed; but we earnestly prayed, that 'if His presence went not with us, we might not be allowed to go up thence.'

Oct. 11.—Anchored all last night near the jetty belonging to the magistrate's office. About midnight we were awake by a loud noise of men, who brought a large boat near

us, which we soon found, from the way in which they talked, had come to carry powder and shot to the scene of war. As they were carrying lights about the boat in the most careless manner, we did not feel satisfied to remain anchored so close to such an inflammable neighbour, and we moored away some little distance, when we were permitted to sleep in peace for the remainder of the night. In the morning we made up as good a present as we could extemporize from the few foreign articles that we had brought, and sent it by our two catechists to the chief magistrate, with our cards and compliments. These were received, apparently, with great satisfaction; some pieces of honey-soap that had been sent calling for especial admiration. Our friend, however, was determined not to be outdone by us, for, a very short time after our present was received, he despatched another of his servants with a second present of tea and dates. We were sorry to be put under so many obligations to him; but we had no choice. We accepted them, and departed, glad to escape from such excessive kindness. We afterwards heard that it was all owing to a circumstance that happened long ago, and of which one would not have expected to have heard at this distant place. Many years ago Drs. Medhurst and Lockhart were mobbed and nearly killed by the people of Tsing-poo, a city not very far from Shanghai, and, by means of Mr. Alcock's firm measures, some of the ringleaders were severely punished. One of the men, then in the magistrate's office at that city, is now in Tan-Yang, and so salutary a dread did this circumstance give him of injuring foreigners, that his strong representations secured for us the kindest possible treatment.

We set off about 11 A. M., accompanied at a distance by the boat mentioned before, filled with soldiers, but without the guide promised by the mandarin. Passing by some two or three villages, remarkable, apparently, for nothing but their dirt and poverty, we arrived about dusk at Tau-t'u, a village on the border of the Yang-tze Kiang, and only five miles from Chin-kiang. In the course of the evening, one of the mandarins, apprised of our arrival, came in his chair, attended by several soldiers, bearing swords and spears and flags. We went out to meet him, and we could not help being amused at the apparent fear of us that had fallen on the great men of the land. The gentleman himself, in conversation with us, was very agreeable, and spoke very freely of the movements of the rebels on the other side of the river. He did not seem, however, to know very much

respecting them, as he could give us no very definite answers when pressed for information. All we could learn from him was, that the whole of the country immediately opposite, on the north side of the Yang-tze kiang, was in such a disturbed state as entirely to interfere with travelling in safety, and that, indeed, the passage across the river would not be allowed under such circumstances. The rebels, he said, from whom they were now suffering, were not the long-haired men of Nanking, but were really in league with them. They were a set of banditti, who dressed so exactly like the imperialist troops as to cause many of these to fall into their power. We assured him that, in such a state as the country seemed to be in, we would not think of attempting to prosecute our journey to the north, but he could have no objection, as we had come so far, to our going to the mouth of the river, where, by the information there received, we could judge for ourselves as to the practicability or otherwise of crossing. If we found it was impossible to cross, we should immediately return. After a friendly chat for nearly an hour, he took his leave, and we soon after retired to rest.

"Oct. 12.—After sending our two catechists to the mandarin who visited us last night, with our cards and some books, we set off for Chin-kiang, there to find, by ocular demonstration, the truth or otherwise of all the reports we had heard on our way hither. No sooner did the mandarin at Tau-t'u hear that we had actually started, than, as we afterwards found, he despatched a messenger overland to inform the authorities of Chin-kiang of our coming. A sail of an hour or two brought us to the scene of conflict between the imperialists and rebels, where the latter held the city, and we all went on shore to take a view of the ground, while our boats made the best of their way along the narrow winding stream. We were well repaid by going on shore. Had the place no historical associations to make it interesting, the scenery itself would be a sufficient attraction to an admirer of Nature; but when we reflected on the struggles for life or death to which the ground on which we stood had been witness, we felt a peculiar and almost sacred interest in the scene. The ground about Chin-kiang is very high, and as the day was beautifully clear, we had as extensive and as fine a prospect as I have seen anywhere. On our right were the heights formerly occupied by the Imperialist troops, the remains of whose fortifications and trenches are yet to be seen. Below, a little before us, and on our left, lay the city, surrounded by its brick wall, apparently newly

repaired, and showing only, at the distance at which we stood, one mass of tiles glittering in the sun. On the other side of the city were more commanding heights than those on which we stood, formerly the position of the rebels, but now occupied by a camp of the imperialists, whose gaudy flags were bidding defiance to the distant foe, and showed that the entrance to the town from the other side of the river was guarded as well as Chinamen could do it. A muddy-looking river, beyond the city, showed us where the great 'Child of the Ocean' was flowing, which we were so anxious to cross; and, far in the distance could be discerned the country on the other side, which looked to us like a promised land, from which, for the present, we appeared but too likely to be debarred. By the aid of a little telescope, we thought we could distinguish the wall of a city, which, from its position, we conjectured to be Yang Chow; and either in it, or near it, two or three columns of smoke were rising up to the heavens, telling us, as we feared, too plainly, of war and its devastating effects. Behind us rose some hills, and just in front of us, to complete the picture as Chinese, stood an old pagoda, which has, no doubt, seen many a change in the works and the persons of the men who have acted their part there. We stood for some time on the highest of the ramparts erected by the imperialists, gazing with increased interest all around us, and longing for China's emancipation and regeneration. The Gospel is what she needs, and to Christians she appeals, both on the ground of her wrongs and her woes. Joining our boats again, we passed on to the south gate, and under the wall of the city, until we came to the west gate, where we anchored and went on shore. It was thought best to try to go into the city at once, and in we marched through three different massive gateways. Just as our feet got over the threshold, a tall, gentlemanly-looking officer, very mildly, but very firmly, stopped us, and said that permission must first be received from the mandarin in command before we could be allowed to enter, and if we would wait at our boats for a few minutes, we should be told whether it could be done. We went back at once, and found our boat in possession of one of the servants of the mandarin, who told our catechist that information concerning us had just been received from Tan-t'u. He seemed in much trepidation when we came in and sat down to converse with him, and was evidently ill at ease until some one else came who appeared to be of a little higher rank. We were not long in conversation with the two, before

the gentleman who stopped us at the gate made his appearance, dressed in his full military costume as keeper of the city. We were all very much struck with his appearance. Tall and commanding in person, quiet in manner, but firm, reserved almost to haughtiness, but a perfect pattern of politeness, we could not help feeling a high degree of respect for him. We first of all spoke of our wish to cross the river; but he spoke in such a decided manner of the impossibility of it, that we were compelled to give up the last lingering hope of being able to proceed. We next asked his permission to see the city, of whose fame we had heard for many years, and from which we should not like to return without being in it. He evidently did not like to take the responsibility of admitting us, while he as evidently did not wish to refuse us permission. He asked if we would wait till the chief mandarin, who was gone to the camp on the hill, could be consulted; but we said, that if we must return from Chin-kiang, our intention was to return at once. The three left our boat to hold a consultation, and, immediately after, called us to come along with them. We lost no time in doing so, and soon we found ourselves walking in the far-famed city of Chin-kiang, attended by two mandarins and an assistant of a third. The street along which we walked was in a straight line with the three gateways, rather broader than usual, but in other respects no way different from any other Chinese street that I have been in. Manchu soldiers, with their own native character, instead of the Chinese, written on their dress, stood in groups about the entrance to the city, and attracted our attention from the cleanliness and respectability of their appearance, as compared with Chinese soldiers. As we walked on, ruins of dwelling-houses and shops, &c., were the most prominent object of notice, the melancholy result of the long protracted struggle, which perhaps is only suspended for a season. The city seemed a perfect wilderness, deserted by all but the soldiers necessary to keep it, and a few tradesmen who are induced to stay and risk all dangers of a second siege for the sake of selling provisions, &c., to the troops. So far as the city itself is concerned, it cannot be worth much to whichever party has the command of it; but its position, as the old port of Nanking, and the key of the Yang-tze-kiang, is sure to be always a contested one in a time of war. Our guides were very polite to us as we walked on through the city, and showed their anxiety for our peace of mind by trying to remove the fears which they thought (from their own, no doubt) we must entertain from the noise

raised by the rabble who followed us; and by a short turn they soon brought us back again to the gate by which we had entered. As we were passing the wall, we saw men busily strengthening the position most likely to be attacked by the rebels, should they succeed in landing on this side of the river. But we had seen enough, and we were glad to escape from such a scene of desolation, and such a painful proof of the sad miseries of war. We returned to our boats, and, as it was impracticable to cross the river, we had no other course left us but to turn our boat's heads towards Shanghai. It was no doubt a great relief to our mandarin friends when they actually saw our backs turned, and it was a satisfaction to ourselves that we had not shown our backs to the mandarins of any other place, nor until we had been convinced, from personal inspection, that by this route at least, the river could not be crossed.

"Our journey homeward was varied by our choosing a route very little, if ever before, taken by Missionaries. We visited several large towns and cities, at some of which there had never been a foreigner before, and we were freely permitted both to preach and to distribute books, which was done to a small extent. We finished this kind of work with a second visit to Soo Chow, to which I have already alluded, and then made the best of our way to Shanghai, where we arrived on Monday, the 25th of October, having been absent nearly three weeks.

"I hope to be able soon again to send accounts of places opening up to Missionary effort, but in the meantime I would close this very imperfect and hastily-written sketch, by making a simple remark, and asking a simple question. My remark is, as will easily be anticipated, that this vast empire of China, with its 400,000,000 of immortal beings, is now open in its length and breadth to the Missionary of the Gospel. As far as travelling is concerned, no let or hindrance is put in our way, except that arising from the civil commotions, which every lover of China must desire to see removed, by the dispersion of those who have so long disturbed the peace of millions. There is hardly an important city that we visited at which a judicious man, by kindness, and patience, and prayer, might not be able to establish himself, and, by living amongst the people, far from all foreign influence, gain a permanent footing, first for himself and then for the Gospel that he brings. I could mention many places in this immediate neighbourhood that ought at once to be so occupied; but as it is well to be moderate in our expectations, I shall notice only one. Soo Chow, from its position, the number

of its inhabitants, and its influence on so many millions of Chinese, ought to be the first place thought of in a movement of our Mission from Shanghai. There will be some difficulty in at first establishing ourselves, but I have not a doubt that, by care and prayer, we should soon succeed. Again, there is a vast country to the north of this, with its newly-opened ports, by which we shall have access to the interior there. I sometimes feel inclined to be sorry for those of our brethren who have to travel over hundreds of miles, and have to endure many hardships, even in the seeking out a few of their people to whom to teach the way of life, and to wish that we had some of them here. People meet us at every step, and the Missionary's mind is apt to become bewildered at the immensity of the field before him.

"In the view of this, my simple question is, are we to have the men to occupy these cities, and to take possession of this empire in the name of the Lord? For many years have we been praying for the result which has now been brought about, and how are we prepared to meet it? Our own Mission here consists of two men, and one of us is necessarily, for some time at least, tied to Shanghai by a Missio-

nary school. Many other Missions in Shanghai are almost equally weak, and I sometimes fear that next year will see very little advance made on the territory now opened to us. I know that a great deal depends on those who are at present in the field, to draw forth or damp the energies of the churches at home. If we on the spot show no disposition to avail ourselves of the opportunities of usefulness of which we talk so much, our fellow-Christians at home will not be very ready to do so either. But if we branch out from our hitherto settled habitations, and scatter into the various places that are ready to receive us—those 'regions beyond' which as yet know but little of Christianity except its name, I have confidence in the zeal and love of Christians at home that they will not leave us long without assistance, or suffer us to fight single-handed against Satan in his very seat. Of no other portion of the great Mission-field of the world can it be said with greater truth—'The harvest truly is plentiful, but the labourers are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that He will send forth more labourers into his harvest.'"

THE AMOOR RIVER.

A BOUNDARY treaty, signed early in July between the Governor-General of Siberia and the Chinese authorities, ceded to Russia the left bank of the Amoor, as well as the coast territory on the right bank of the Usuri, north of the 43rd parallel of latitude. Extra-provincial China on the north is divided by Dr. Williams, the author of the well-known work entitled "The Middle Kingdom," "into Inner Mongolia, Outer Mongolia, and Manchuria; the last territory, the cradle of the ruling race, is subdivided into Shingking, Kirin, and Tsitsihar. If the information furnished as above is correct, Russia has obtained the whole country extending from above *Yaksa*, in *Tsitsihar*, to the bend in the coast of *Kirin*, if not beyond that point to *Corea*, and bounded southwards by the Amoor and its important affluent, the Usuri. The navigation of these river boundaries will of course become as much Russian as Russia chooses to make it, and the Long Island, as the Chinese call it, known to European geographers as *Tsokko*, *Tarakai*, or *Sagalien*, is, we presume, of necessity included in the concession. Japan asserts a claim to part, if not the whole of this, and the men-of-war engaged in our cruise up the Gulf of Tartary in 1854 brought us word that the Japanese had re-established themselves along the Gulf of

Aniwa in positions which the Russians had, but a short time before, compelled them to abandon."

The official report of Mr. Collins, United States' Commercial Agent to the State Department, of explorations successfully carried out by him along the course of the Amoor, may serve to show the importance of this acquisition. It is dated April 17, 1858—

"The Amoor, it will be recollected, is a river second only to the Mississippi, which flows from the centre of Northern Asia into the Pacific Ocean not far north of Japan. The report will give a general view of the interior commerce of Russia preparatory to the grand development of her Asiatic commerce and policy.

"Mr. Collins obtained the appointment of commercial agent from President Pierce, for the purpose of making the exploration of the Amoor, and testing the practicability of its navigation. In order to do this, he was compelled to proceed by way of St. Petersburg, to obtain the permission of the Russian Government to enter the Amoor country. To have attempted its exploration from the sea, without the assistance of steam, and alone, would have been worse than folly; therefore the necessity of entering Russia by way of the Baltic. This, of course, rendered

the land journey across both Europe and Asia necessary; nor was this without policy or aim: it was to witness that great inland trade of Russia concentrating at Nijne Novgorod in Europe and Kyachta in Asia, and to trace this line of commerce from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean. If the Amoor could be ascended by steamers, this vast country could be opened to American commerce, and the very heart of Northern Asia made accessible to our merchants.

"Having obtained the appointment, he proceeded, early in the spring of 1836, *via* England and Denmark, to Cronstadt and St. Petersburg. Owing to many circumstances, Mr. Collins was detained in St. Petersburg and Moscow until after the coronation of the present emperor: it was not till after that event that he could obtain the necessary formal permission to prosecute his voyage. It was now too late to cross the two continents in order to reach the Amoor before winter would set in: he consequently remained in Moscow until winter fairly set in, and the roads were rendered good by a sufficient coating of snow. His detention was not without its benefits, because it gave him an opportunity to become familiar with the vast interior trade of Russia, the wealth of its great cities, and the internal resources of a vast empire, all of which was regularly communicated to the Department of State, and, in the mean time, to make himself familiar with the Slavonic language.

"Mr. Collins passed overland from St. Petersburg to the headwaters of the Amoor, where he awaited the approach of spring, and then, in a small boat with oars, and five Cossack soldiers, furnished him by General Mouravieff, the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, proceeded down the three rivers Ingadah, Schilkab, and Amoor, to the ocean, a distance by water of some 2500 miles. As he proceeded entirely under the auspices of the Russian Government, he had every facility granted him in obtaining information and for exploration. Starting from Moscow mid-winter, Mr. Collins had the rare opportunity of testing all the terrors of a Russo-Siberian winter upon an American constitution.

"Mr. Collins now proceeded in a sleigh with post-horses by way of Vlademir, Nijne Novgorod, Kazan, crossing the Ural Mountains at Catherineburg, and thus on by Omsk, Tomok, and Kramoyank, to Irkoutsk, the capital of Eastern Siberia, 4000 miles east of St. Petersburg. Spending some time at Irkoutsk, and being hospitably entertained by General Mouravieff, Mr. Collins then visited the cities of Kyachta and Mai-mat-Tschin. These places are, by treaty between

Russia and China, the only points where commerce can be conducted by the people of the two empires. They are situated about 350 miles south-east of Irkoutsk, and 1000 miles north-east of Pekin, on the frontiers of Mongolia and Siberia.

"Mr. Collins had the rare opportunity of witnessing the opening of the great fair at the full or 'white moon,' in February. Grand feasts and entertainments were given in honour of the occasion: the town of Mai-mat-Tschin was filled with feasting, and illuminated with lanterns at night. The trade concentrated here is very important, said to be 20,000,000 of dollars annually. After finding its way on the backs of camels and by bullocks from Pekin, it is taken up by the Russian merchants in the winter on sledges, and in the summer by the rivers and waggons, and finds its way across Siberia to the foot of the Ural mountains, crossing which, it concentrates at the great fair of Nijne Novgorod, where the commerce of 1856 summed up to 800,000,000 of silver roubles.

"Upon the approach of spring, Mr. Collins crossed the Staunvey mountains, and fell upon the headwaters of the Amoor. Navigation not yet being opened, he made a full exploration of the gold and silver country of Nerchinsk, the mines of which are worked by the convicts from European Russia. The country is very rich in silver and gold.

"Returning from the tour, he awaited at Chetah the breaking of the ice in the Ingodah, whence he proceeded on his downward course to the sea.

"The country along the Amoor is fully described, much of which is susceptible of farming and grazing. But the great problem as to its navigability is fully solved. Mr. Collins states, without hesitation, that steamers can ascend from the sea to Chetah, a distance of 2600 miles, which great fact opens up Siberia to our Pacific commerce through the Amoor. This fact, hitherto unknown, and not even guessed at, presents a new field for commerce, the ultimate limits of which can hardly be grasped by the most comprehensive mind. Mongolia, Manchuria, Northern China, all the Tartaries, Thibet, and Siberia, with a population of twenty to thirty millions, are approached by this river, and a new route to the Indies opened. The discovery of the north-western passage sinks into utter nothingness in comparison with the utility and practicability of this route. One most astonishing fact is elicited, which is, that Irkoutsk, the capital of Eastern Siberia, can be approached with only about three hundred miles of land carriage.

"Mr. Collins is the first foreigner that has

ever descended the Amoor, and the first that has crossed the mountains dividing the waters of the Pacific from those of the Frozen Ocean.

"By way of Hakodadi, Japan, up through the sea of Japan to the Straits of Tartary, and into the mouth of the Amoor, the navigation presents no unusual difficulties; steam is wanted at the mouth of the Amoor to tow vessels to and from sea, the same as at the mouth of the Mississippi.

"Vessels approaching the Amoor will stop at De Castries for a pilot, where they can also get wood and water, and the supercargo or captain can proceed by way of Keezey, making a small portage into the Amoor, and thus anticipate his vessel at the mouth of the river.

"Since Mr. Collins' visit to Irkoutsk and the Amoor, a company, called the 'Company of the Amoor,' has been organized in St. Petersburg, and received the sanction of the emperor, with a capital of four millions of francs, to be increased to twelve millions, for the purpose of 'encouraging and developing the commercial and industrial activity of the valley of the Amoor, to open trade through the Pacific ports with foreign countries, to trade with the Indians, to build and maintain steamers and sailing vessels, establish factories, magazines, &c.'

"After leaving the Amoor in the fall of 1857, Mr. Collins visited Japan, Kamschatka, and the Sandwich Islands, and returned to Washington by way of San Francisco, California."

Another extract will show that Russia is not inert in providing for the security of her new possession.

"The Government of St. Petersburg has just received from the Governor of the Russian possessions on the river Amoor a very favourable report on the military and commercial situation of the vast territory which has been there definitively annexed to the Russian empire. The extensive works of fortification of Nicolaieff, which is destined to become, in case of need, the centre of operations against China, have not been interrupted by the winter, which is very mild in those countries. Formidable batteries have been raised at the mouth of the Amoor, so as to be able to defend the entrance against hostile fleets. 'Commerce during the last year,' we are informed, 'has acquired an unexpected degree of development. A number of German, American, and Chinese merchants have formed establishments in the town, and a regular line of steamers has been established between Nicolaieff and San Francisco. The discovery of a mine of coal, of very good quality, in the island of Sagalien, will contribute to extend the navigation of Russia in the Pacific Ocean.'"

We find the following additional intelligence in the "Times" of February 16th—

"The 'Gazette' of the Senate of St. Petersburg publishes an ukase of the Emperor, dated December 8th, 1858, settling the government of the Russian possessions on the Amoor, in accordance with the proposition of the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, and conformably to the advice of the Committee on Siberian affairs.

"1. The country of the Amoor is divided in two provinces, the first of which preserves its actual name of maritime Province of Eastern Siberia, and the other takes the name of Province of the Amoor.

"2. The Okhotsk district is detached from the province of Yakoutsck and united to the maritime province, which comprises six districts, viz. :—Nicolaievsk and Sopbiisk, newly formed; Okhotsk, Petropaulovsk, Ghijiga, and Oudak. The administration of the maritime province will remain on the same footing as heretofore, with the exception of a few changes prescribed by a special order of his Imperial Majesty.

"3. The province of the Amoor will consist of all the territories situated on the left bank of the Amoor from the confluent of the rivers Schilka and Argoune, or from the limits of the Transbaikalian provinces and of Yakoutsck, descending the Amoor to the confluent of the river Oussouri and to the new confine of our maritime province. The town of Blagovestchensk will be the capital of the province of the Amoor. The administration of the province is regulated by a special order annexed to the present ukase.

"4. The detailed settlement of the limits of each province is entrusted to the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia.

"According to the regulation annexed to this ukase, the superior administration of the province of the Amoor appertains to the Governor-General, and to the Superior Council of Administration of Eastern Siberia, and its immediate administration to a military governor of the province, who at the same time directs the civil administration. His residence is Blagovestchensk. The military governor has under his orders a military administration (board) for the regular troops and Cossacks, and a chancery and other functionaries for the civil government.

"A tribunal and notary are established at Blagovestchensk for the whole province. The sanitary service is entrusted to a medical man. A special police is organized for the town of Blagovestchensk. This Imperial ukase and the annexes thereto attached are promulgated by an ukase from the Senate, dated the 31st of December 1858."



VIEW ON THE TAI-HOO, OR GREAT LAKE, NEAR NANKIN.

THE OPIUM QUESTION.

In our number for October last we expressed our conviction, that, under the provisions of the new treaty with China, opium would be legalized. That anticipation has been verified. The disinclination of the Imperial Government to the adoption of such a course, has at length yielded to the pressure of circumstances, and opium is henceforth to be admitted on payment of a regulated duty.

The following extract from the new trade regulations, appended to the treaties of Teñ-tsin, as translated from the Chinese, will explain accurately the fiscal position which the drug is henceforward to occupy:—"Opium shall be permitted to be imported on paying a duty of thirty taels per pecul. Foreign merchants, however, are only permitted to sell it at the treaty-ports, and will not be permitted to take it to other places for sale, at which it will be viewed in the light of property belonging to Chinese. Chinese merchants are alone permitted to take opium into the interior of the country; and foreign merchants cannot take charge of it for the purpose of conveying it into the interior of the country. Hence the tenor of the ninth article of the Teñ-tsin treaty permitting British subjects to proceed into the interior to trade under a passport system, and the tenor of the twenty-eighth article of the same treaty respecting the transit duties, have no bearing upon trading in opium. With respect to the transit duty on opium, such will be left to the arrangement of the Chinese Government."

The history of this traffic is in the highest degree derogatory to the national character. "Previous to the year 1767, the amount of opium sent to China, principally by the Portuguese, did not exceed 200 chests. In that year it reached 1000. In 1735, a small adventure in opium was undertaken by the East-India Company. In 1780, a dépôt for it was formed in Lark's Bay. In 1781, 2800 chests were sent by the Company to Canton, and bought by one of the Hong merchants there. He was obliged, however, to export the principal part, not being able to find a market for it in China." Not eighty years back, and that vitiated craving after this stimulant, which now so extensively pervades at least the sea-board population, had no existence amongst the masses of the Chinese. But the tentative continued to be applied, in the hope that a demand would arise, and a market be opened for the prosecution of a gainful traffic. A blessed and privileged office it is, to be instrumental in leading forth the energies of

the human heart in aspirations after good; but to intensify them in the pursuit of some demoralizing object, that we may be profited by another's injury, is the very work of Satan. Probably they who were engaged in stimulating into action a new vice, were not fully aware of all the evil they were perpetrating; but they must have known that the modes of action which they adopted were dishonest and unjustifiable. The attention of the Imperial Government was directed to the drug so early as 1800, and its introduction was prohibited under heavy penalties on account of "its wasting the time and destroying the property of the people of the Inner Land, and exchanging their silver and commodities for the 'vile dirt' of foreign countries;" but the system of bribes was largely resorted to, and the connivance of the local officers secured; and when this was interfered with by a pressure from the central Government, and, in 1821, the opium ships were driven from Whampoa, then Lintin, an island between Macao and the Bogue, became the dépôt, and the native wherries, called fast-crabs and scrambling dragons, were employed, these boats paying regular fees to the custom-house and military posts, but resisting other official interference, and fighting desperately when attacked.

Tentative action was gradually put forth along the coast. Vessels were sent forth, inquisitively searching where a market for opium might be found. In 1832, "the 'Sylph,' a fast-sailing vessel, chiefly loaded with opium, was sent northward, and reached Kinchau in Liantung," returning leisurely along the coast, and stopping at Shanghai, Chappu, Pihkwau, Tsiuenchau, Namoa, for the sale of her cargo. Eventually these visits were followed by the establishment of receiving-ships, floating dépôts of opium, continually replenished with the drug, and affording a constant supply to the nativesmugglers. The East-India Company's commercial privileges ceased in 1834, when Lord Napier was appointed Chief Superintendent of British trade; but amidst the complications which ensued, there was no cessation of the opium traffic. This seemed to flourish, while other branches of commercial intercourse declined. Thus the foreign merchants, in the estimation of the Chinese, became more and more identified with the opium traffic; and while the demoralized native dealers on the coast, whose hands were stained with bribes, longed for the extension of foreign trade, as calculated to afford them increased facilities for their unlawful gains,

the more respectable portion of the community, apprehensive of an increased sale of the drug, were disposed to narrow and constrict, instead of enlarging, the opportunities of commercial intercourse with foreigners. There is no doubt that the intense prosecution of this contraband traffic did seriously complicate our relations with the Chinese, and became the fruitful source of numerous scuffles. The chief superintendent, in a despatch to the Home Government (1835) expresses his conviction that some salutary measures needed to be adopted. "Whenever His Majesty's Government directs us to prevent British vessels engaging in the traffic, we can enforce any order to that effect; but a more certain method would be to prohibit the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium in British India."

Chinese statesmen at Pekin were by no means insensible to the complications on the coast in consequence of the opium traffic, and the continual danger to which they were exposed of collision with the foreigner; and in the Imperial Council a difference of opinion prevailed as to the best policy to be adopted. Some there were amongst them, that advocated the legalization of the trade, and Nai-tsi, President of the Sacrificial Court, and formerly Salt Commissioner and Judge at Canton, presented a memorial to that effect. "The impression was general at Canton, that the trade would be legalized, and increased preparations were accordingly made in India to extend the cultivation." But counter memorials were sent in from influential persons, recommending a more determinate prosecution of the restrictive system, and this counsel prevailed. The trade, emboldened by the prospect of speedy recognition, had become overt in its action. Numerous small craft engaged in smuggling, were plying up and down the Canton rivers. The Chinese who were compromised in the trade were the first to experience the renewed severity of the Government. The retailers at Canton were imprisoned, and those found in other places brought there in chains. But the authorities did not stop there. The foreign traders were interfered with: they were imprisoned in the factories; nor were they liberated until 20,283 chests of opium had been surrendered into the hands of Lin and his subordinates. This vast quantity of opium, its marketable value at the time amounting to not less than nine millions of dollars, by a rescript from Pekin was commanded to be destroyed. This was done in the most thorough manner, by mixing the drug in trenches with lime and salt water, and then drawing off the contents into the

adjacent creek at low tide. Overseers were stationed to prevent the workmen or villagers from purloining the opium, and one man was summarily executed for attempting to carry away a small quantity; and no doubt remained in the mind of the persons who visited the place, and examined every part of the operation, that the entire quantity of 20,291 chests, eight more having been sent from Macao, was completely destroyed; "a solitary instance in the history of the world of a pagan monarch preferring to destroy what would injure his subjects, than to fill his own pockets with its sale." Hence the first Chinese war, in 1841. That "war was set afoot to obtain reparation for insults and injuries offered Her Majesty's superintendents and subjects; to obtain indemnification for the losses the merchants had sustained under threats of violence; and, lastly, get security that persons and property trading with China be protected from insult or injury, and trade maintained upon a proper footing." But had trade ever yet been on a proper footing? Had not a traffic, which carried with it a direct infraction of the laws of the Celestial Empire, been prosecuted under the eyes of Her Majesty's representative on the coast, until, in his despatches homeward, he was constrained to declare "that it was a confusion of terms to call the opium trade a smuggling trade." In principle it was such: its legalization had been sternly refused: but in practice it had ceased to be such, for British vessels prosecuted the traffic as openly and avowedly as though they were free to do so, and English authority offered no restraint. Not only was moral injury inflicted, but it taught the Chinese people insubordination, and accustomed them to set at nought the decrees of their own government. The entire coast line of China was thrown into dire confusion by the complications of the opium traffic. And yet the Chinese authorities were expected to be as passive and indifferent on the one side as the English authorities were on the other. Is it wonderful that they were stung, irritated? that, under the influence of that irritation, they passed the limits of temperate action, and confounded the innocent with the guilty? But the cause of all these complications lay with the English themselves, and it was rather unjustifiable when an offence was committed, that the parties whose mal-action had introduced all the evil, should undertake to punish the offender. The English Government were bound, at such a time, to rebuke the contrabandists of their own nation, and point out to them the mischief they had wrought, and cleanse their own hands of the iniquity, before they proceeded to punish the

offences of the Chinese. The whole affair reminds us of what has often occurred in the intercourse of ungodly Europeans with heathen races. An exploring vessel reaches some new island; a party of lawless sailors land and offer insults by their licentiousness; the wild natives, provoked, have recourse to violence to expel the intruders; they pour forth volleys of stones, and some of the ship's crew are struck down; the captain of the vessel opens his guns, and mows down hundreds of them: he thinks himself justified in doing so. But it was his duty to keep his own men under restraint, and nothing could be more unjust than to slaughter the poor islanders for a complication which originated in his own indisposition to use the authority committed to him.

Very true it is that the Chinese arrogantly claimed supremacy over other nations, and maintained, in business matters, a haughty, patronizing, and contemptuous position. But assuredly our procedure on the coast had been neither respectful to our ourselves or conciliating to them. We had not so acted as to give them very high ideas of our morality, or lead them to conclude that a more intimate intercourse with us would conduce to their own improvement. Had we been more carefully observant of the great Christian moral, to do to others as we should wish them to do to us, Chinese character would, in all probability, have assumed towards us a far more amiable aspect. But it is rather too much to expect that a man will look kindly and graciously upon you, when, taking advantage of superior force, you persist in doing the very thing which he is most anxious you should not do, and hesitate not to inflict upon him serious injury, because it is your advantage. The gates of China were barred against us; but the keepers of the gates looked upon us as a nation of smugglers. According to their principles, it was difficult for them to understand how the authorities of a country could disapprove of proceedings which they put forth no effort to arrest. The central Government of China disapproved of the opium traffic, and they did what they could to put it down, although the effort failed through the venality of their own subordinates and the force of the temptation. And here they had another ground of complaint against us, that we corrupted their own officials and deprived them of their services. We cannot be surprised that they kept the gates closed against us, and did what they could to prevent us penetrating into the interior; for if we had wrought so much mischief on the coast line, what should we not be likely to do in the heart of China? Well, as they would not

of their own accord throw the gates open, we resolved to force them open. Some may be disposed to say, if this had not been done, China would never have opened, and the grand *panacea* for all its evils would have remained excluded. We cannot admit such reasoning. Japan has long been closed, yet it has opened gently, and without force. Happily we had not been known there as identified with the opium traffic: we have not first helped to demoralize a nation, and then taken up the sword to punish them for their lawlessness. English Missionaries will enter Japan under far more favourable circumstances than they can enter China. In the latter country they must prepare themselves for reproach: they will have to contend against prejudice. Christianity, when proffered by the hand of an Englishman to the heathen of China, for a time at least, will suffer under a disadvantage. All this will have to be lived down. Our Missionaries, by patient continuance in well-doing, will have to establish for themselves a new character, different from the unhappy light in which the English as a people have been hitherto regarded.

But when the war commenced, we struck where no injury had ever been inflicted upon us. We dealt with China as though it were a single nation, and so at unity with itself, that each portion of it was in sympathy with the others, and all mutually and reciprocally responsible. We either knew not or regarded not, that China is a group of nations, speaking different dialects, and each unintelligible to the other; that the truculent people of Canton are not to be regarded as a universal type of Chinese character, but rather as something special and peculiar; and that the peaceful villagers of Che-kiang, the inoffensive islanders of Chusan, had nothing to do with Lin's overbearing policy. Justly did the Chinese officers in command of Tinghai complain of the hardships of being made responsible for wrongs done at Canton, to which they had never been consenting parties. How suddenly the thunderbolt must have fallen upon those islanders! When our guns opened on their defences, justly might they have asked, "Why do these strangers slaughter us? we have never injured them." We doubt not such cries of bitter anguish did go up to heaven, and were not unheard, for verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth. The Chinese troops knew nothing of warfare. At Chinhai (Chin-kiang) they waited until the English turned their flanks and commenced firing upon them simultaneously from three different points: they then broke and fled, the greater part rushing into the water, and many being drowned. They knew nothing

of the mode of asking for quarter. Indeed, how could they have known that they who had attacked them without provocation, would, after the conflict had commenced, be disposed to show them mercy. These details are painful. The fact is, we dealt with an ignorant heathen people, as though they were a civilized European people.

The war reached its close. Chin-kiang had fallen, and the victorious soldiers, as they penetrated into the city, were shocked at the extent to which suicide had been committed by the despairing multitude. One striking passage from Captain Loch's narrative proves how ruthlessly the stroke had fallen.

"After we had forced our way over piles of furniture placed to barricade the door, we entered an open court strewn with rich stuffs, and covered with clotted blood; and upon the steps leading to the hall of ancestors, there were two bodies of youthful Tartars, cold and stiff, who seemed to be brothers. Having gained the threshold of their abode, they had died where they had fallen, from loss of blood. Stepping over these bodies, we entered the hall, and met face to face three women seated, a mother and two daughters, and at their feet lay two bodies of elderly men, with their throats cut from ear to ear, their senseless heads resting upon the feet of their relations. To the right were two young girls, beautiful and delicate, crouching over and endeavouring to conceal a living soldier. In the heat of action, when the blood is up and the struggle is for life between man and man, the anguish of the wounded and the sight of misery and pain is unheeded; humanity is partially obscured by danger; but when excitement subsides with victory, a heart would be hardly human that could feel unaffected by the retrospection. And the hardest heart of the oldest man who ever lived a life of rapine and slaughter, could not have gazed on this scene of woe unmoved. I stopped, horror-stricken at what I saw. The expression of cold unutterable despair depicted on the mother's face changed to the violent workings of scorn and hate, which at last burst forth in a paroxysm of invective, afterwards in floods of tears, which apparently, if any thing could, relieved her. She came close to me, and seized me by the arm, and with clenched teeth and deadly frown, pointed to the bodies, to her daughters, to her yet splendid house, and to herself; then stepped back a pace, and with firmly closed hands and in a husky voice, I could see by her gestures, spoke of her misery, her hate, and, I doubt not, her revenge. I attempted by signs to explain, offered her my services, but was spurned. I endeavoured to make

her comprehend, that, however great her present misery, it might be, in her unprotected state, a hundredfold increased; that if she would place herself under my guidance, I would pass her through the city gates in safety into the open country; but the poor woman would not listen to me, and the whole family was by this time in loud lamentation. All that remained for me to do was to prevent the soldiers bayoneting the man, who, since our entrance, had attempted to escape."

The Emperor trembled for Nankin, and peace, at whatever cost, was resolved upon. The stipulations of that treaty are transferred to the page of history, and there our readers may find them. But what of the opium? Was this left undefined—this which had been the principal source of so much misery, was it to be left vague and uncertain in its position, and thus, in process of time, to engender new complications? If the past had been unhappy in events, which every one regretted, could nothing be done to prevent their recurrence? The Chinese Commissioners prayed that the growth of the poppy might be prohibited within the British dominions. The British Commissioner declared this to be an impossibility, and urged the legalization of the drug. His instructions from the Home Government were to this effect—

"It is of great importance, with a view to the maintenance of a permanent good understanding between the two countries, that the Chinese Government should place the opium trade upon some regular and legalized footing. Experience has shown that it is entirely beyond the power of the Chinese Government to prevent the introduction of opium into China; and many reasons render it impossible that the British Government can give the Chinese Government any effectual aid towards the accomplishment of that purpose. But while the opium trade is forbidden by law, it must inevitably be carried on by fraud and violence; and hence must arise frequent collisions and conflicts between the Chinese preventive service, and the parties who are engaged in carrying on the opium trade. These parties are generally British subjects; and it is impossible to suppose that this private war can long be carried on between British opium smugglers and the Chinese authorities, without events happening which must tend to put in jeopardy the good understanding between the Chinese and British Governments."*

Keying was continually urged to the adoption of this measure, but he declined to sub-

* *Vide* Parl. Papers: Papers relating to the Opium-trade, 1842—1856, p. 2.

mit it to the consideration of his master. "I am apprehensive that if I submitted to the great Emperor the abolition of the prohibitory regulations by the Central Empire itself, he would not only not grant it to me, but scarcely forgive the crime I had incurred." Intermediate measures were then proposed. Sir H. Pottinger had received authority not to allow opium to be brought into Hong Kong, or even into its waters,* and he was willing besides to issue a proclamation in the Queen's name, calling on all British vessels trading in opium to quit the harbours and inner waters of China, on pain of seizure or confiscation, provided that the Chinese were prepared to enforce this penalty without the assistance of the British Government. If they were impotent to effect this, as was well understood to be the case, then it was concluded by the British Commissioner, that to exclude opium from Hong Kong, would be to drive the clippers to the harbours of the inner waters of China, where they might with impunity prosecute the traffic. Keying's answer is remarkable. He deprecates persistence in the sale of the drug—

"The tariff being now adjusted, all illegal fees being abolished, Canton being already opened to free trade, and the other four ports being also about to be thrown open immediately, if the merchants of all nations would only content themselves with bringing legal articles of traffic to China, and disposing of them at just and fair prices, there is no fear that they would not reap an ample harvest of profit: why, then, should they persist in selling this baneful opium, rendering it necessary to have any prohibitions at all?"†

He deprecates the growth of it—

"Again, among the different foreign countries that furnish opium, we find that Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, supply by far the most: all these are so many states of Hindústan, which are subject to your honourable nation; and the honourable plenipotentiary having issued a proclamation prohibitory of the sale of opium, surely the merchants of these places engaged in the traffic will be induced to retrace their steps. The subjects of other countries, since they are all willing to trade according to the new regulations, cannot but, in like manner, prohibit opium in conformity with the laws: thus we must look up to the honourable plenipotentiary first and foremost to prohibit English merchants to engage in the sale of it, and thus to set a bright example to all other nations; which being done, the difficulties of the high commissioner and colleagues will be infinitely less, our labour infinitely lighter, and our friendship will thereby be very much strengthened and cemented."‡

And he prays, instead of the *onus* of enforcing the penalties against smuggling being cast exclusively on the Chinese Government, that each consul should be responsible for his own people—

"There remains only one thing to be done, viz. that each of us should control his own people, and attend to his particular charge. Whenever, therefore, the Chinese transgress the prohibitions against opium, let them be punished according to Chinese laws, and England ought not to take notice of it. When, however, British merchants sell and import opium, the British authorities ought to deal with them according to their laws, and China will take no notice of it. Thus the Chinese smokers will in future decrease, and the supplies of the English merchants also lessen: this is what I, the great minister, fervently hope."*

The practical issue of these attempts at adjustment will be found in the following sentence from a letter by Mr. Lay (Consul at Canton) to Sir H. Pottinger—

"As to the opium question, there is between the Chinese authorities and myself a clear and explicit understanding. They declare their inability to deal with the subject, and I my want of both authority and inclination to initiate any proceedings against the traffic while it is carried on beyond the precincts of the legal trade. I am resolved, as far as in me lies, to prevent the trade for which the tariff provides from being mixed up with another for which no provision is expressly made. I think this is all your Excellency requires of me."†

Thus this vital question was left without solution, and remained a source of irritation to engender new difficulties.

The illicit traffic soon surpassed all previous limits. The refuse of both nations—the English, who, for the sake of gain, violated the fiscal laws of a helpless country, and introduced amidst its population that which they knew to be an injury, and not a benefit, and the demoralized Chinese, who were either tainted with the vice, or enriching themselves by the unhappy propensities of others—joined heartily in its development. The inferior officers of the Chinese openly engaged in it, especially in the Canton river. They became the principal dealers, and secured the largest profits. British ships, as well as those of other nations, Danish and Swedish, lay at Whampoa amongst the regular traders expressly for the sale of opium. The smugglers were treated with special favour, being permitted to form settlements at Namoa and Cumsingmoor upon the Chinese territory, building houses, and making roads, while respectable British subjects were exposed to

* Parl. Papers on Opium-trade p. 9. †† Ibid. p. 12.

* Parl. Papers on Opium-trade, p. 21. †† Ibid. p. 14.

all kinds of ill-treatment and obloquy. The drain of silver from the empire became increasingly large, and lawful trade was injured and embarrassed.

There are many sophistries by which individuals compromised with the opium traffic have endeavoured to persuade themselves that they might do so with a safe conscience. We shall advert to one or two which have been most current on this question; first, that the use of opium amongst the Chinese is not so extensively prevalent as some have supposed; and, secondly, that its ill effects on the human constitution have been greatly exaggerated. On the first of these heads it is enough for us to know, that, by universal admission, the habit has been one of great and rapid increase. We have the testimony of Dr. Hobson, of Canton, to this effect—

“With regard to the number of opium-smokers in China, it is quite impossible for any one, either European or native, to furnish a certain estimate. It cannot be questioned that opium is greatly on the increase. Its entrance into China is comparatively of recent date. I have been informed that it was first spoken about in the twentieth year of Keenlung, about ninety years ago. Statistics will show the rapid augmentation of opium imported during the last twenty years, and I can vouch, on personal experience and on general report, that the use of opium as a luxury has become far more general than it was even ten years ago; and if its progress shall be equally rapid in forthcoming years, it would not be unsafe to hazard the opinion that its use would be everywhere as common (through the eighteen provinces of China) as dram-drinking has been in England and America.” *

Now we do not wish to go further into this disputed point. Some contend that there are twenty millions of opium-smokers in China; others reduce the proportion to two millions. It is enough for us to know, on the authority of the witness who contends for the truth of the lesser calculation, that unless some great corrective be applied, its use in China will be as common throughout the eighteen provinces as dram-drinking has been in England and America; nay, more so, for at home there is a moral power of resistance to the spread of drunkenness beyond certain limits, but in China it is far otherwise.

But again, it is said that the effects of opium on the human constitution are not so injurious as some have supposed. Many have so persuaded themselves. Sir H. Pottinger has strongly expressed himself on this point—

“I cannot subscribe, in the smallest degree,

* Parl. Papers on Opium, p. 43.

to the idea entertained by many, that the introduction of opium is a source of aggravated evil and misery to China. I have not been able, personally, to discover one single instance of its decidedly bad effects, though I am not prepared to deny that when carried to excess its abuse may not be exceedingly injurious. The same observation may be applied, however, to every known luxury or indulgence; but, both from what I have seen since I came to China, and from my inquiries in every quarter, and even from the admission of the highest officers of the Chinese Government, I am, and have long been, convinced that the demoralization and ruin which are by some ascribed to opium, are, apparently from imperfect information, grossly exaggerated, and that they do not form a hundredth part of the like melancholy and deplorable consequences which are daily seen to arise from the excessive use of spirituous liquors and other stimulants, largely and constantly consumed, both in England and India.” *

We shall not adventure ourselves on the comparative question as to the measure of injury, whether more or less intense, although we have formed a strong opinion. Sufficient it is for us to know that the habitual use of opium is exceedingly hurtful to the human constitution. In a pamphlet† recently published on the opium-question, a remarkable document is introduced: it is the opinion of the leading members of the medical profession in England on this point.

“However valuable opium may be when employed as an article of medicine, it is impossible for any one who is acquainted with the subject to doubt that the habitual use of it is productive of the most pernicious consequences, destroying the healthy action of the digestive organs, weakening the powers of the mind as well as those of the body, and rendering the individual who indulges himself in it a worse than useless member of society.

“I cannot but regard those who promote the use of opium as an article of luxury as inflicting a most serious injury on the human race.

(Signed) “B. C. BRODIE

“Signed also by—

“Dr. R. Bright, F.R.S., Dr. Chambers, F.R.S., Dr. Ferguson, F.R.S., Sir J. Forbes, F.R.S., Dr. Glendinning, F.R.S., Dr. Gregory, Sir H. Halford, Bart, F.R.S., Dr. Hodgkin, F.R.S., Mr. Cæsar Hawkins, F.R.S., Sir H. Holland, Bart., F.R.S., Mr. Aston Key,

* Parl. Papers on Opium, pp. 7, 8.

† “The Traffic in Opium in the East,” by Julius Jeffreys, F.R.S., formerly staff-surgeon of Cawnpur, &c.

Dr. Jas. Johnson, Dr. P. Latham, Mr. R. Liston, F.R.S., Sir C. Locock, Bart., Dr. Macleod, Mr. J. C. Moore, Dr. Paris, F.R.S., Dr. A. T. Thompson, Mr. F. Tyrrell, Dr. B. Travers, F.R.S., Dr. Thos. Watson, F.R.S., Mr. Anthony White, Dr. J. C. B. Williams, F.R.S."

Dr. Hobson thinks that the use of opium amongst the Chinese is not nearly so fatal to life as spirit-drinking is with us, and that the mortality arising from it has been greatly exaggerated. But when, leaving the comparative view of the subject, he views the drug *per se*, his admissions fully confirm the judgment of our medical men at home—

"In writing the above, I wish only to place the case before us in the true light. I wish not to defend or extenuate the evils of opium. I would not smoke it on any account myself, and I do not fail to strongly advise the Chinese not to do it, both on moral and physical grounds: moral, because its tendency is to debase the mind, blunt the conscience, lead to bad habits, late and irregular hours, tricking in business, and a prodigal expenditure of time and money, which often occasions much poverty to the individual and his friends; physical, because the tendency of opium, like every other unnatural stimulant and narcotic, is to weaken the powers of life, disorder the stomach and bowels, unduly excite and subsequently enervate the brain and nervous system, now unequal to their functions except

by a continual supply of a false stimulus, which takes the place of wholesome food and drink."*

Thus let us endeavour, as we may, to reduce the amount of mischief to a minimum, still quite enough remains to burthen us with a very serious responsibility; and the course of Providence appears to place such an interpretation on our proceedings, and to indicate divine displeasure because of them. Certainly, in a financial point of view we have not prospered on the coast of China. The opium contrabandist may have enriched himself: whether he prospers in those riches is another question. They may prove his greatest detriment; but nationally we have not enriched ourselves.

Our exports to China consist of opium, British manufactures, and Indian cotton. On the cessation of the East-India Company's monopoly in 1834, it was confidently expected that China would afford an advantageous market for British manufactures; and on the opening of the northern ports, on the termination of the first war, this expectation was indefinitely increased. Have these hopes been realized? By no means. Let the table of exports for 23 years, beginning with 1834, be consulted, and it will be found that the element of steady increase has been entirely wanting. Such a table of exports will be found in a recent work;† one too elaborate to be introduced into our pages. A few extracts may suffice, presenting a comparison of several periods of four years each—

Year.	Worsted Stuffs.	Camlets.	Long Ells.	Wool- lens.	Dyed and Printed Cottons.	Plain Cottons.	Cotton Twist.
	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	lbs.
1836	12,436	17,021	137,415	68,042	60,776	308,624	3,073,934
1840	3,210	2,670	107,424	31,813	29,856	428,948	2,478,800
1844	14,265	20,542	98,214	59,143	242,197	2,375,225	3,110,074
1848	9,322	5,412	80,884	51,364	90,100	1,738,835	4,553,390
1852	10,935	17,664	90,464	49,025	366,973	3,325,557	6,871,652
1856	7,428	4,470	36,642	38,553	281,784	2,817,624	5,579,600

On these comparative statistics the Correspondent for the "Times" remarks—

"There is no steady increase, no hope for the future, shown by these figures. In 1838 and in 1844 we exported twice the quantity of worsted stuffs that we exported last year [1856]; in 1852 four times the amount of camlets. The long ells have fallen off from an average of 90,000 to 36,642. The woollens have sunk from 68,042 in 1836 to 38,553. Printed cottons vibrate with a somewhat higher average in later years, but printed cottons and cotton twist show a large decrease since 1853."

The unsatisfactory condition of this branch of trade comes out more forcibly when contrasted with the steady increase of exports to Calcutta. Let the period from 1842 to 1856 be taken, and in the former of these years the

declared value of cargoes to China was rated at 1,169,906*l.*, and to Calcutta at 2,187,076*l.* In the year 1856, the former sum had risen only to 2,005,881*l.*, the latter to 4,501,480*l.* Moreover, the increment in the Calcutta trade had been reached by a steady increase, while that on the China trade had been reached amidst continued shiftings to and fro.

Various reasons have been alleged for this paucity of British exports, but one may be preferred above the rest—the unwholesome action of the opium traffic. It is admitted to exercise on the British merchants at the free

* Parl Papers, &c., pp. 44, 45.

† "China," being the "Times" Special Correspondence, in the years 1857-58, by G. W. Cooke, p. 167.

ports an influence prejudicial to the sale of British exports. Let us hear the "Times" Correspondent on the subject.

"British exports are an unpopular branch of commerce with British merchants in China. I say no more than they themselves would say quite frankly and quite openly. There are some houses which pay a certain attention to cottons and woollens, but the largest British houses in China care very little about British exports. Talk to them of the transit duties upon tea or silk, or of the import duty upon opium, and you will be certain of an animated discussion, or a very warm expression of opinion. Speak to them of the Pihsing Kwan, and show them how little progress is made with British goods, and they give you, in an off-hand way, the same reasons you have heard in England. It is too hot to rush about China. The fact is, this business is neither pleasant nor profitable. These men come out here to make fortunes in from five to seven years, not to force English calicoes up into remote places. Their work is to buy Chinese produce. If the English manufacturer wants his work done, they will do it for him, as it comes in their way. But if he wants extraordinary exertion, carefully collected information, and persevering up-country enterprise—and this is what he does want—he must do it himself. . . . I am perfectly aware that the British manufacturers, when the four ports were first opened, established houses in China for the sole purpose of extending the sale of their produce, and that these houses did not pay. They could not pay, nor would they now pay. The great profits come from tea, silk, and opium. The houses that have this business in their hands, have also to a great extent the British exports in their hands. The British export trade will not maintain mercantile houses; but it would pay for travelling agents acting in immediate connexion with the home manufacturers, who should keep their principals at home well informed, and who should work their operations through the established houses here."*

And is it not so with the native dealer? He would take British exports in exchange for his tea and silk, did not opium intervene. But he prefers this, because, through the vitiated appetite of his countrymen, he is sure to find a market for it; and thus, both by the British and the native merchant, British manufactures are pushed aside as an element of subordinate importance, and are reduced to that inferiority of position which they have hitherto held on the coast of China.

Not only has the presence of the opium indisposed the Chinese to the purchase of British goods, but disabled them, to a considerable extent, from doing so. For many years the balance of trade was decidedly against China, and the drain of precious metals from her shores considerable. The value of the opium imported exceeded the value of the teas exported, and the difference had to be balanced by the Chinese in hard cash. This drain of silver, continued for a series of years, was a leading complaint with Chinese statesmen. "At the end of the commercial year 1854 the balance of trade between China and Great Britain was estimated at 7,900,000 dollars, or 2,000,000*l.* sterling, against China." In that year, a reaction commenced. Some of the leading staples of sustenance and comfort have been successively and remarkably blighted in European countries. The potato crop was smitten; the vine suffered; the silk crop failed. China was made available for the supply of the deficiency in the latter article.

"In 1843, there was not a bale sent home. In 1845 there were 10,727 bales. In 1855 there were 50,489 bales. 1856 showed an increase of 50 per cent. over 1855; and the present year (1857), if the stocks on hand are brought to Europe, will show an increase of at least 50 per cent. over the year past. I am informed that if the Chinese succeed in establishing the prices now demanded, and in selling all their produce in stock, the money paid for China silk at Shanghai during the current year will certainly not be less than 10,000,000*l.* sterling. 20, 40, 60, 90, 140, are figures of rapid progress, yet they represent the advance of our silk imports from China."*

The tide has turned, and we have been obliged to export the precious metals to China. Thus, in the years 1854 and 1855 upwards of 28,000,000 of dollars were imported into China,† and in the first three months of the year 1857 no less than 7,639,000 dollars.‡ The Chinese bought up all the opium that was available, and had still money in hand. They did not expend it. No doubt the disturbed state of the interior, and the uncertainty of political affairs, accounted for this in some measure; but in addition to this, the healthy desire for British goods had been interfered with, and in a great measure destroyed, by the opium action, and they cared not to purchase them, although they had the means to do so.

Amidst these unsatisfactory details, the

* Cooke's "China," pp. 200, 201.

* Cooke's, "China," p. 165.

† Parl. Papers, &c., p. 74.

‡ Cooke's "China," p. 182.

opium traffic, thriving on the depression of British manufactures, continued to present the one flourishing item of our export trade to China. The quantity imported into that country amounted,

In 1853 to 56,000 chests.

1854 to 57,000 „

1855 to 70,000 „ *

In 1856 the total amount was 76,300 peculs,† and the value was 30,868,055 dollars, or 7,202,545L‡

So on the side of Indian finance, the revenue which has accrued from opium presents an enormous increase. Lord Stanley, in his speech on the East-India Loan, entered with precision into these statistics—

“At the beginning of the century the revenue derived from opium was 372,000L. In the year 1810 it had amounted to 985,000L. In 1830 it was 1,500,000L, and it remained in that state until 1840, when it was under 1,500,000L. In 1850 it had risen to 3,558,000L.—an enormous increase, which was attributable to the new trade which had opened with China. In 1857 the opium revenue was 4,696,709L. In 1857-8 it had risen to 6,443,706L, being an increase of 1,800,000L. in a year. In 1858-59 the revenue derived from this source had fallen to 5,195,191L.”

But is Indian finance in a disembarassed and prosperous condition? Is not India's great difficulty a financial one? Notwithstanding the land revenue has increased from 7,330,000L. at the beginning of the present century to 18,392,000L. in 1858-59, and the opium, during the same period, from 372,000L. to 5,195,191L., yet her revenue is unequal to her expenditure. A debt has accumulated to the amount, at the lowest calculation, of 74,000,000L., and upwards, in the opinion of some, of not less than 90,000,000L. How far did the fact that it was possible to raise a revenue from the opium render the Government less attentive than it would otherwise have been to the development of the great internal resources of that country? A man who has access to some dishonest mode of getting money, neglects that legitimate effort which is doubly remunerative, in the increase which it brings in, and the improving influences which are reflected on the character. We believe that the opium revenue is not only demoralizing to the Chinese, but that it has been so to the Government which has occupied itself in providing this element of getting wealth; that the improvement of public works would have been more earnestly attended to, but for the easy way of getting

revenue by the growth and sale of opium; and that, had the authorities been engaged, not only in devising the means of collecting revenue, but of enabling the natives to pay it, we should have had less of expensive, unremunerative, unjustifiable wars, which did not bring “one rupee to the Treasury to defray the many millions thrown away.”* The same necessity would not have been felt to exist for the great native army which we so carefully organized and disciplined, little thinking we were preparing a weapon to be used against ourselves. The statistical papers on India, prepared and printed for the Court of Directors, had emblazoned on its pages that magnificent military array—“*The army of the British Government in India, including Her Majesty's troops and the Company's European and native troops of all arms, consists of 289,529 men.*” Where are now the Company's native troops of the Northern Presidency, the Gwalior Contingent, the Joudpur Legion, the Kotah Contingent, and many others? Let the battle-fields of the North-West Provinces, the captured and recaptured towns, the waters of the Ganges, and the Gogra, and the Rapti, the jungles of Oude, answer that question. And how many years of opium revenue has not this mutinous outbreak consumed? At the commencement of the outbreak, the equilibrium between income and expenditure had been very nearly restored: but since then the expenditure has been so increased, as to leave an estimated deficiency of 21,000,000L. on the two years ending April next.

The rebellion of the native army, and of such of the chiefs and people as had the courage to avow their sympathy with the movement, and the extraordinary efforts rendered necessary for its suppression, have absorbed the opium revenue of several years. Perhaps, had we been more conscientious in our dealings with others, more careful not to injure them, so great a calamity might have been averted from ourselves. But as we have meted to others, so has it been measured to us again. What connexion exists, it will be asked, between the Sepoy mutiny and the opium traffic on the coast of China? Just this much—and it might be well to realize it—that He who observed the one, permitted the other. They who wilfully blinded themselves to the sufferings of the Chinese, were left in blindness as to their own danger, until it came upon them as a thunderbolt.

But now at length the opium is legalized, and as to the effect which this will exercise on the

* Parl. Papers, p. 74. † The pecul is 133½ lbs.

‡ Cooke's China, p. 171.

* “Times,” Feb. 15, 1859.

sale of the drug, various and contrary opinions have been expressed. Sir John Bowring considers that "the legalization of the sale of opium by farming opium revenue, is, on the whole, the simplest and safest way of minimizing acknowledged evils."* Dr. Hobson is of a different opinion. Writing to Sir John Bowring, he says—

"The opinion that I believe your Excellency entertains, that legalizing it, with a moderate duty, would be the best thing that could be done to lessen the evil, is not one that commends itself to my humble judgment. It would certainly convert a contraband trade into a legal one, which would be desirable for the honour of our country's flag, and would probably prove advantageous to trade. . . . There is reason in believing that, among a sensual people like the Chinese, the legal right to use opium *ad libitum* would lead to an universal practice. The country would be deluged with it, both of native and of foreign growth. I mention this, however, with diffidence."†

We shall not enter on this controverted point: the legalization has taken place, and the practical results, whether injurious or otherwise, will soon make themselves apparent.

The opium receiving ship need no longer be a floating garrison, with a disciplined crew trained to gunnery and boarding practice, so as to set at defiance all efforts on the part of the Chinese authorities to interfere with the course of disgraceful yet profitable smuggling. all this has passed away. The opium importation will now be labelled with a legal recognition; yet, in the sight of God, must it ever continue to be regarded as an iniquitous proceeding, in which men, professing to believe the religion of the Bible, become, for the sake of gain, panderers to the vicious infatuation of a heathen, and, therefore, morally weak and defenceless people. Its legalization, let it be remembered, has not divested it of its immorality. It is an immoral act to take advantage of a brother's weakness in order to benefit ourselves, and, for the sake of pecuniary gain, to help on the process of moral deterioration of which he is unhappily the subject.

But the practical question for us is, what course of policy ought to be pursued in these altered circumstances? Our position is one of deep responsibility. It is not China only, but all the surrounding countries, which are affected by the growth of opium in India. Considerable quantities of opium are imported through the mountain passes into

Thibet. In Pegu it is permitted to be landed under a pass from the Collector of Customs, and sold under licence, its exportation beyond the frontier being prohibited. From 4000 to 5000 chests go to Netherlands-India, and 2000 or 3000 are consumed in and about the Straits. Siam, Camboga, and Cochin China take a few thousand more. The taint is spreading, for the taste when once formed, is insatiable in its craving.

Is India to become the poppy-field for the East, and shall all the groups of interesting nations, to whom we might become the almoners of good, suffer injury at our hands, that we may increase our revenue by the sale of the opium? What, then, is to be done? Let it be observed, we do not urge the abandonment of the Government monopoly. Lord Stanley, in his speech on Indian affairs (Feb. 14, 1859), touches this point—"It may be a question how far the cultivation of opium ought to be kept a monopoly in the hands of the Government. It is impossible to deny, that, upon general considerations, the principle of that monopoly is open to grave objections, and many of those who have considered this subject would be glad to see their way to the possibility of doing away with the Government monopoly and substituting, for it a system of excise."

We would deprecate such a proceeding. It would be, as it seems to us, a highly dangerous experiment. If all who pleased were at liberty to cultivate opium, we are apprehensive that there would be a great increase of evil in India, without any diminution of evil in China. Capitalists would not be wanting, eager to occupy the position which the Government had abandoned, some to cultivate, others to fit the drug for the widely-extending market. At present, retained as it is in the hands of the monopolists (the Government) until disposed of on the sea-board at Calcutta, it is, to a considerable extent, sealed up from home use, and thus the facilities afforded to the Hindús of indulging this propensity are comparatively limited; but under the new system, as all would be free to cultivate it, all would be free to use it; and such we find to be the case in Assam. The testimony of Mr. C. A. Bruce, superintendent of the tea-plantation in Assam, is decisive on this point—

"I might here observe that the British Government would confer a lasting blessing on the Assamese and the new settlers, if immediate and active measures were taken to put down the cultivation of opium in Assam, and afterwards to stop its importation, by levying high duties on opium land. If some-

* Parl. Papers on Opium, p. 41. † Ibid p. 46.

thing of this kind is not done, and done quickly too, the thousands that are about to emigrate from the plains into Assam will soon be infected with the opium mania; *that dreadful plague* which has depopulated this beautiful country, turned it into a land of wild beasts, with which it is overrun, and has degenerated the Assamese from a fine race of people, to the most abject, servile, crafty, and demoralized race in India.

"This vile drug has kept, and does now keep down the population; the women have fewer children compared with those of other countries, and the children seldom live to become old men, but in general die at manhood; very few old men being seen in this unfortunate country in comparison with others. Few but those who have resided long in this unhappy country know the dreadful and immoral effects which the use of opium produces on the native. He will steal, sell his property, his children, the mother of his children, and, finally, even commit murder for it. Would it not be the highest of blessings, if our humane and enlightened Government would stop these evils by a single dash of the pen, and save Assam, and all those who are about to emigrate into it as tea-cultivators, from the dreadful results attendant on the habitual use of opium? We should, in the end, be richly rewarded, by having a fine healthy race of men growing up for our plantations, to fell our forests, to clear the land from jungle and wild beasts, and to plant and cultivate the luxury of the world. This can never be effected by the enfeebled opium-eaters of Assam, who are more effeminate than women. I have dwelt thus long on the subject, thinking it one of great importance, as it will affect our future prospects with regard to tea; also from a wish to benefit this people, and save those who are coming here from catching the plague by our using timely means of prevention."

We repeat, then, that the abandonment of the Government monopoly would be too dangerous an experiment. It would be precisely similar to the policy advocated by some in reference to the African coast, the removal of the squadron, and that on the plea of humanity. If that policy were pursued, we should see the Atlantic covered with slave ships. It would be the same as if, at home, the restrictions on the distillation of spirits were removed, and every Irishman was free to prepare his own potheen, and every Highlander his usquebaugh. No, there is no margin for experiments in a matter so serious as this, in which are involved the prospects of millions of human beings,

already, from their low and enervated *morale*, disposed to become the victims of this seducing vice. Under native Governments, little if any revenue was derived from opium, except as a common article of cultivation; and the drug was sold at a cheap rate, and very generally used." Under the present system, "the free cultivation is prohibited throughout our Bengal provinces, which has the effect of diminishing the consumption in those territories, and thus preventing the demoralization of the people."* We do not believe it possible, in territories so extensive as our Bengal Presidency, where the Europeans are so comparatively few, and we are so much in the hands of native *employés*, to carry out any system of excise which would prevent the illicit sale of the drug at a cheap rate throughout the country. What, then, is the principle on which the Government of this country is to act, now that India, in its political and fiscal relations, has come under the direct control of the British Crown?

Our duty is plain: we shall state it without reserve. The growth of the poppy ought to be at once reduced to what might be requisite for medicinal purposes. Such would be magnanimous policy. It would consist with the honour of that true faith which we profess and with the interests of humanity. Medicinally used, opium is highly valuable, and for this purpose it has been providentially given; but for the healthy system it never was intended, and, if thus perverted, must be highly detrimental.

Amongst the many proofs of a gracious superintendence, none is more touching than the ample supply of medicines for the physical infirmities of man. Food was necessary, even in Paradise. It was a want co-existent with man's creation, and therefore it is not surprising that, in the Divine administration, there should be provision made for a necessity of God's own implanting; but sickness is a want superinduced by sin. Yet this, also, has been cared for. Thus we occupy a complexedness of position: we are suffering under Divine displeasure, and yet, notwithstanding that displeasure, are remembered and cared for. As sinners, we are subject to sickness, yet not finally abandoned, and therefore there are remedies provided for physical suffering, and these constitute beautiful types of the great corrective, the Gospel, for the great moral disease of man—sin.

Now, Great Britain, the great Protestant nation of our world, is in a peculiarity of position respecting the natives of the East. They

* Campbell's Modern India, p. 388.

are as yet unevangelized, and, while thus, are subject to various unhappy hallucinations—one in particular, the abuse of opium—so as to turn that which was intended for a benefit and blessing into a curse. The Divine intention is frustrated. The medicine becomes a poison, and, instead of healing, generates disease.

Nothing can be more aggrieving to the great Creator than to behold his providential gifts, through man's abuse of them, changed into occasions of evil. Yet such is our moral depravity and waywardness of action, that we are continually interfering with God's arrangements, perverting things from their proper use, and filling the world with confusion. Nor does man learn to control his natural tendencies, and place himself in that relationship to the gifts and creatures of God, which consists with the proper use of them, until he has come under the influence and power of the Gospel remedy.

But England has, to a great extent, the command of this drug. She can restrict its growth, and thus hold back the abused element, so as to prevent, to a very great extent, its illegitimate use, and send forth in its stead the great spiritual restorative.

It is urged by some that such a restriction is impracticable. We do not think so, and others, who are better qualified to judge, are of the same opinion. Let us hear Dr. Hobson on this point. After stating his conviction that legislation would not lessen the evils of the opium trade, he adds—

“Your Excellency's superior judgment and knowledge of commercial affairs will enable you to offer a more decided opinion than I can on this point; but it does appear to me highly probable that legalization would fail in even lessening the evils of the opium-trade. I would say, let the restrictions continue, and any plan that would raise and keep the opium high ought to be encouraged. A heavy duty would do it; but a weak Government like this could not enforce it, and therefore it would prove injurious. The only hope and remedy in our hands, as it seems to me, is to discourage the growth of opium in the British dominions in India. Probably 24,000 chests will reach China less this year than the year before, 12,000 chests, it is said, having been condemned, and 12,000 chests less ordered to be grown, because of its sale proving unprofitable.

“Why should not the same quantity be diminished every year, and the fertile plains of Hindústan grown with cotton and other useful products? Opium is now dearer than it has been for a long time, and its disuse will be

proportionate. If the quantity imported was diminished annually, the price of opium would increase with it; and if our Indian Government could be induced to give up gradually the revenue derived from this branch of commerce, I cannot but think that it would prove the most effectual plan to alleviate and remove the present state of things. Opium would probably be grown in districts over which our Government has no control; but surely it would not amount to the present figure. But supposing opium did flow in from other quarters, Her Britannic Majesty's Government and public opinion could be brought to bear upon its discouragement, which cannot be so well done whilst our Government, for the sake of a certain amount of revenue, sanctions and fosters the growth of the poppy. Native opium might possibly be grown to a greater extent to make up the loss: but I have been informed that the poppy does not thrive in China as it does in India, and the extract is of a harsher taste; so that, though cheaper than the imported drug, it will not sell unless mixed up with the Indian opium. But its growth, together with opium-smoking, would surely be discouraged with renewed vigour by the Chinese Government when it learnt that the British Government, was checking the growth of opium in India.

“I hope the above suggestion will not be thought crude or impracticable: if it could be adopted, it would reflect honour upon our Christian country, though it would only be the fulfilment of duty. The Indian revenue, though always insufficient, might not suffer any material loss by ceasing to grow opium (witness the loss upon it last year), and by gradually withdrawing from it, our shipping and mercantile interests would have opportunity of making up their loss. A legal trade would be pushed to its utmost, and in the end we should all reap advantage by this new order of things.

“I have endeavoured to treat the subject dispassionately, and, as far as I know, truthfully and justly. I have no ends to gain either way. I sincerely wish our commerce to prosper, but I also intensely long to see it conducted according to the great principle, ‘Do unto others as you wish them to do unto you.’ Now, growing opium and bringing it to China is one of those things we should not like done unto us; and also, as we find the Chinese Government (I do not say the people or corrupt custom-house officers) really averse to the opium traffic, but powerless in putting it down, then I think it is our duty, as a Christian Government, to do what we can to help it and certainly the first step seems to be to

discourage, as much as possible, the growth and sales of opium in India."*

This policy has been, in former years, acted upon, and was not then found to be so impracticable. Lord Cornwallis, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Minto, "circumscribed the produce within the narrowest limits, confining the cultivation of the poppy to two of our provinces, and actually eradicating it from districts where it had been previously cultivated."† The growth of opium has been effectually discouraged in the Western Presidency, and in Sindh it is prohibited. Why may not the same policy be resorted to in other parts of India? It is replied that if we were to stop the growth of the drug in Bengal it would be carried on in the Rājput States. We are not apprehensive that such would be the case, provided there be no more of those "burdensome treaties," which Mr. St. George Tucker complains were "contracted by the Company with the Rājput States to introduce and extend the cultivation of the opium." Moreover, it is in the power of the British authorities to check the growth of the poppy in the independent States by making the transit duty virtually a prohibitory duty. "The same power which enabled them to levy 400 rupees per chest, would avail to levy 4000 rupees, or prohibit it altogether."

But this would be to forfeit revenue. Yes, here lies the real difficulty. The Indian finances are already sufficiently embarrassed. To demand, at a crisis like the present, the sacrifice of so productive a source of revenue as the opium, and that on a mere question of morality, in the opinion of statesmen is preposterous. Whatever be their shade of political opinion, they are, in this respect, all the same—they will not hear of it for an instant. This is the temptation, and as we deal with it, so we may be assured of it shall we be dealt with. The course we have hitherto pursued on this question has been indefensible on moral grounds. It has not prospered with us. A perseverance in the same policy will assuredly entail heavier disasters. Let us take warning by the correction we have received; let us "cease to do evil, learn to do well. If ye be willing and obedient ye shall eat the good of the land. But if ye refuse and rebel"—we must look for more calamities. The nation that, avowedly for pecuniary considerations, perseveres in the growth and preparation of an article, which, when by retail put into circulation, acts injuriously on man, and increases to a considerable extent the sorrows which afflict humanity, especially

when the delinquent nation is one so enlightened and privileged as England, is ripe for the rod of correction. The country is on its trial, and that, too, in relation to this very question. There have been, in connection with our great Indian dependency, great sufferings, and there have been great provocations; and this is one of especial magnitude, that England—Protestant England, wealthy England—taking advantage of the vitiated taste of an unhappy heathen nation to raise a revenue, has herself furnished the fuel and fed the vice, and thus her complicity with the evil is open and avowed: it is her reproach amidst the nations of the earth; a blot on her fair fame; and there is one who says, "I have not found it by secret search." She has now a noble opportunity, by a magnanimous act, of vindicating her character, and demonstrating how she regrets the inconsistencies of the past; now at this moment, when the intervening authority of the East-India Company has been set aside, and India has come under the direct influence of the British Crown.

It were easy to alter our course of action, if new resources had been developed; and, amidst the rapid improvement of our Indian finances, the opium revenue could be spared without inconvenience; but now at this moment, when there are difficulties, embarrassments, to come forward and declare, cost what it may, this heartless, selfish procedure must be abandoned. We can no longer touch money which is the price of life. We can no longer identify ourselves with a policy which is lucrative just in proportion as the Chinese become more depraved. Let the growth of the poppy be at once reduced within the limits which may be requisite for medical purposes. That would be magnanimous. It would be an act deserving to be placed on record with the twenty millions of money paid for the emancipation of the slaves in the West-India islands. It would be a reparation rendered for a great wrong. The minister who should have the moral courage to propose such a measure would be sustained: he would carry with him the concurrence and confidence of all that is sterling in the land. Such a policy, humane, honest, and becoming a Christian nation, would avert judgment and bring down blessings.

But these are days, not so much of principle as of feeble compromise. The breeze of popular favour is inconstant, and men trim their convictions accordingly. They sacrifice their consciences when their interests are concerned. It is, no doubt, very painful to do so, but with Orpah's tears they act Orpah's part. Measures are estimated, not so much

* Parl. Papers, pp. 46, 47. † Ibid. p. 54.

by their moral fitness as by considerations of expediency; and the approbation of God is dealt with, by the utilitarianism of the day as an element far too sublimated to be introduced into human calculations. Amidst the discussion of financiers, and the difficulties connected with Indian affairs, this feeble protest will not be heard. It will command no more attention than a child's wail amidst the battlings of the waves and winds, when the doomed vessel is a wreck upon the shore.

But, at least, let the evil be mitigated. The revenue must not be interfered with. Well, then, let it be. It will bring no blessing. But if we can raise the same revenue on a lesser amount of moral evil, surely to this there can be no objection. There is a fiscal principle, which, if acted upon, would secure this result. It is one on which the East-India Company long since professed to base its policy, but which, from motives of expediency, has been grievously departed from. It is this—*so to regulate the monopoly, as to realize the greatest revenue, on the fairest terms, from the smallest quantity of the drug, and with the least injury to the Chinese.** If, unhappily, our statesmen decide that *coute qui coute* the opium revenue must continue to be raised, then we believe this to be the least objectionable arrangement: and we urge it, because, although it will not exonerate England, it will be less injurious to the Chinese. It was the principle of management at one time adopted, one in which the growth is regulated, not merely by considerations of revenue, but by considerations of humanity. But of late years this fiscal principle has been abandoned and we have injured the Chinese without any proportionable pecuniary benefit to ourselves. We have increased the growth amazingly, and in doing so we have cheapened the drug. On the Chinese coast, opium has been plentiful and cheap. We have thus brought it within the reach of the mass of the community. The poor man, who could not buy it if it was dear, procured it because it was cheap. The man in more affluent circumstances, who would otherwise have been constrained to content himself with a limited supply, for the same reason could use it immoderately; and yet, while thus unhappily facilitating the process of demoralization on the coast of China, we did so without any proportionable benefit to our own revenue, for we might have raised the same amount on a less quantity.

"The rise and fall of prices depending on demand and supply is very remarkable. At the first commencement of the trade in 1799, the opium seems to have realized no more than 415 rupees per chest. The Company

reduced the supply a little in 1800, and the price rose to nearly double that sum. They reduced the supply still more in 1802, and the price ran up to nearly 1000 rupees. They went on reducing the quantity, and the price rose again in 1803 to 1300, and in 1805 reached to nearly 2000 rupees. They increased the supply, and the prices fell in 1808 to 1500 rupees. They kept it then nearly steady, and the prices remained at 2000 for several years. In 1822 they decreased the supply, and the price rose to 4000 rupees. From this time till 1830 it kept steady at from 1500 to 2000 rupees. Since 1830 the supply of opium from Bengal rapidly increased, but the prices it realized very little exceeded 1000 rupees. During the last five years they have brought the supply of Patna and Benares up to 50,000 chests annually, but the price obtained for it is not more than 750 rupees. In this may be seen how cupidity sometimes defeats its own ends.

"The object seems to have been to raise a larger revenue from the opium: in order to this, the Company laid out ten times the quantity of valuable land in the cultivation of the drug, and expended a capital twelve times the former amount, but realized a profit only four times as much as they formerly obtained. Thus the more they expended on the cultivation the less comparatively they got for it. It is true the gross amount of their gains in the last twenty years is four times that of the preceding thirty; but the capital and territory employed in obtaining it vastly preponderates in the latter period as compared with the former. Perhaps some men may consider this a good speculation; others may, however, question it. If a man has to exert ten or twelve times the amount of strength, and succeeds in raising a weight only four times as great as before, he will conclude that the beneficial result of such expenditure is in inverse proportion to the given exertion, and that he had better husband his strength, or apply it in some other way, than lavish it so profusely to so little increased advantage. If a loss of power is discovered in the working of the machine, the machinist will examine as to whether it arise from friction or from the escape of steam, and try to remedy the defect, but certainly will not continue to work on in the same direction without inquiry. The chances are, that if the same scheme is carried on by the Company to a much larger extent, it will defeat itself. When the opium was at 2000 and 3000 rupees a chest, the cost of production was 300 or 400 rupees: now the price is reduced to 750 rupees, the same sum must be laid out in raising it. Let the Company

* *Vide Campbell's Modern India*, p. 392.

in future double or treble its supply, and they will bring down the price so low, that it will be no longer profitable to produce it at all; and then their expensive factories, warehouses, apparatus, and machinery for increasing the supply of opium will be rendered useless, and the large population previously engaged in it will be thrown out of employ. Viewed merely as a means for raising a large revenue, the plan the Company are now pursuing is self-destructive. But there is another light in which the scheme ought to be viewed, and that is, the effect it has had, and is likely to have, upon others. To benefit one's own finances at the pecuniary expense of our neighbours may be all very well according to the code of this world's morality; but when the profit accruing to self is small in proportion to the loss that falls upon another, and when that loss is not merely of a pecuniary kind, but affects moral considerations, it becomes then the bounden duty of the speculator to reflect upon his conduct and pause in his proceedings.”*

Let us look a little into figures, and see whether we cannot find abundant confirmation of the statements which have been advanced. The following statistical paper has been compiled from returns presented to the House of Commons—

Official Year.	Maunds.	Chests.	Total Net Profit at 2s. per Rupee.	Profit per Chest.	Average Profit.
1845-6	42,169	21,084	1,988,257	94½	96½
46-7	42,249	21,124	2,096,142	99½	
47-8	59,752	29,876	1,745,189	58½	
48-9	69,995	34,997	2,462,713	70½	
49-50	66,991	33,495	2,518,349	75½	74½
50-51	62,539	31,296	2,237,257	71½	
51-2	59,294	29,647	2,744,780	92½	
52-3	68,506	34,253	2,738,912	80	
53-4	84,236	42,168	2,324,499	55½	52½
54-5	86,826	43,413	2,187,448	50½	

This return, when looked into, exhibits a double evil. The East-India Company doubled the production, and diminished the price one half, thus increasing to an immense extent the facility for consumption. To have doubled the production, without any diminution of price, would have been an evil; to have diminished the price without any increase of quantity, would have been an evil; but in the actual course pursued, both evils are involved. Compare two official years, 1846-7 and 1854-5.

	Chests.	Total net profit at 2s. per Rupee.
1846-7 . .	43,413 . .	2,187,448
1854-5 . .	21,124 . .	2,096,142
	22,289	91,306

* Parl. Papers on Opium, pp. 53, 54.

What monstrous figures these are! There has been an increase in quantity to the amount of 22,289 chests, and the increase of revenue has actually not amounted to five rupees per chest—a fearful augmentation on our part of the sources of moral evil and human suffering, without even the poor excuse that we had become the richer by so doing.

If, then, we cannot have an unhesitating abandonment of this unhallowed revenue, let us at least have a reduction in the amount of growth. Experience shows that the same amount of revenue may be realized on less than half the quantity, the increase of price being in proportion to the diminution of quantity.

And with this limitation, as regards British-grown opium, there will be necessary an increase of duty on the Malwa opium. On the annexation of Sindh, when the Portuguese ports of Damaun and Diu became no longer available for opium exportation, and Bombay remained as the sole gate of egress, the duty on Malwa opium passing through the Company's territories for exportage was raised, first to 200 rupees, then to 300, and, in 1846, to 400 rupees per chest, at which it has since remained. It will need to be increased to such an extent, that there shall be no increase of profit to the Malwa grower in consequence of the increased value of the drug on the China coast.

There is another consideration which may serve to recommend the policy which we advocate—the decrease in the quantity of opium exposed for sale in the markets of China would afford more room for the introduction of British manufactures. They have been hitherto cast into the shade by the undue prominence given to the drug, and their real value has never yet been recognised by the population of the Celestial Empire. We can never be persuaded that opium, and the vitiated appetite which it engenders, have been otherwise than a most serious obstruction to the development of healthful trade. We believe that in India, as a source of revenue, it has rendered statesmen less energetic than they would otherwise have been in opening up the vast resources of that country; and in China we are persuaded that it has engrossed attention, and rendered the British merchant careless in commending, and the native dealer as careless in noticing, the various branches of British manufacture. Just as the demand for opium is excited, in the same proportion is the demand for useful objects and designs diminished. “Stimulants to mental imbecility, to disease, or sedatives to indolence, debauchery, and all other attendants upon the con-

firmed smoker, are not exactly calculated to promote increased demand for cotton and woollen manufactures."

We are now upon the threshold of a more extended intercourse with China than we have yet enjoyed. It is just the moment to interpose, and, by a wholesome fiscal policy, relieve beneficial trade—that trade which is mutually advantageous and improving—from the embarrassing competition to which it has hitherto been subjected. Prices are running up on the coast of China. The fact is, silver has become more plentiful with the Chinese, or, in other words, it becomes cheaper. His standard is his copper cash. In copper cash the tael of silver is now worth little more than one half of what it used to be. "As silver becomes more plentiful, its value in relation to copper cash goes on diminishing: it takes more silver every year to give to the peasant who grows silk or tea the remunerating amount of the only currency he knows." The pushing of our manufactures into China can alone restore a healthful equilibrium in commercial affairs. "We may find a silver California; but putting miracle aside, I can see no other remedy for the present unsatisfactory state of things—no other means whereby the export of tea and silk can go on—except the sending of cottons, and broadcloths, and hardware, and lace to China, instead of bullion."* But unless the quantity of opium on the coast be reduced, there is no room and no hope for British manufactures, which, if once brought into request, and their sale established on a healthful basis, are capable of illimitable increase. The Yang-tze is open for steamers, and Hankow, the point beyond which the Taeping desolations have not extended, is within five days' steam of Shanghai. There concentrates the trading action of the central provinces, which, deprived by the interference of the rebels of the great water route to the coast, continues, by devious courses, to filter towards the seaboard. Shall opium pre-occupy the market? Shall this great upas tree be planted in the interior, and complete, by its demoralizing influences, the desolations of the Taipings? There is not a moment to be lost. If our statesmen have not that high principle which will lead them at once to decide that opium shall henceforth be raised for medicinal purposes only, let them at least so diminish its quantity, as that it shall be unequal to fill up the measure of commercial opportunity; and merchants, in the presence of new marts and increasing purchasers, will either find themselves empty-handed, or be constrained to fill their hands with British manufactures. In

the new ports, where opium has not spoiled the market, we have no doubt they would be favourably received. But our English manufacturers and mercantile men must take up the subject, determinately and without delay, and bring such a pressure to bear upon the Indian Council and its President, as to constrain a prompt decision on this subject.

One point more requires a brief notice. Mr. Lay, in a letter to Sir H. Pottinger, dated 1844, urges the following objection against the cessation of the opium trade—

"If the introduction of this drug could be stopped, not only along the sea-coast, but on the land side on the west, by which, I am told, many thousands of chests annually find entrance, the consequence would be that the peasants of Yunnan would soon cultivate the poppy, so extensively as to supply the demand with an article but little, if at all, inferior to the foreign. Thus the evils resulting from the abuse of this valuable drug would not be lessened, while large districts, which now yield the staff of life, would be diverted from their usual and beneficial course of tillage."*

Well, fifteen years have elapsed since the objection was urged. During the above period the traffic has not been arrested, but it has been greatly increased. That very course has been pursued which Mr. Lay recommended as the best mode of averting an impending calamity. Has it been successful? Quite the contrary. The poppy is being largely grown in the interior. It is cultivated over the hills and on the plains of Yunnan. "Any one who penetrates into the amphitheatre of mountains which bound the Ningpo plains will see valleys upon valleys of rich fine land covered with poppies." The mischief has been done. The vicious habit having been extensively formed amongst the Chinese, their next step has been to cultivate the poppy for themselves.

We have dealt with this subject far more largely than we had intended, but its importance may extenuate our fault. We have endeavoured to discharge a duty, and if any thing which has been advanced may serve, in however feeble a degree to the solution of this question, we shall consider the amount of labour bestowed upon it amply repaid. In any case, that duty has been discharged; and in our future Numbers we shall address ourselves with more freedom and pleasure to the true antidote for Chinese sufferings, and the necessity of large, and prompt, and earnest efforts to dispense to her the leaves of that tree which are "for the healing of the nations."

* Cooke's China, p. 184.

* Parl. Papers on Opium, p. 14.

MISSIONARY LABOURS IN SINDH.

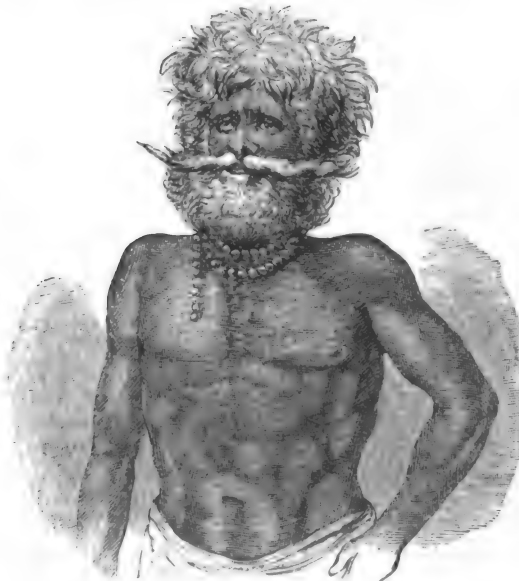
IN our last number we placed before our readers the territories of the Indus; their great importance; and the increasing facilities which they present for the prosecution of Missionary effort. We now introduce a journal written and illustrated by one of the labourers in the Sindhian vineyard. It will help to a realization of the labours in which Missionaries there are engaged.

The Sindhians constitute a mixed population, composed partly of the Juts, a race of Hindú extraction and Beluchis. Under the Mohammedan dynasties which successively ruled the land, considerable numbers of the Hindús were compelled to profess Mohammedanism; and the descendants of these people, of peaceable disposition, and principally employed in agriculture, are despised by the Beluchis, who are of bold and martial character. Besides, these classes, Sindhians, whose religious system is Hindúism, form a large proportion of the population: at Shikarpúr they are estimated at two-thirds. Besides these distinctive races, there is the offspring of their intermarriages.

Religious toleration was unknown under the *regime* of the Amirs of Sindh. On the slightest pretext, Hindús were compelled to profess Mohammedanism; while such as retained their religion, were subjected to great indignities. They were forced to adopt the Mohammedan dress, and wear beards. None were permitted to ride on horseback; and when the rule was somewhat relaxed, there was to be no saddle. Merchants of wealth and respectability were compelled to use asses and mules: animals considered unclean. Deprived, under British rule, of the power of tyrannizing over the consciences of their fellow-men, the Mohammedans of Sindh retain their prejudice and bigotry; and the Missionary, as he preaches the Gospel in the bazaars and places of public resort, is exposed to continued interruptions and

discussions, of which this journal will present some illustrations. The respect for the Seyuds, or descendants of the Prophet, is unbounded and superstitious; nor can the religious awe, evinced by the Hindú for his Brahmin priest, be more abject than a veneration which is tendered to this tribe by Sindhian Mohammedans. This class exists in considerable numbers, and exercises a baneful influence on the mass of the people.

April 16, 1857—The city of Hydrabad extends along a ridge of low limestone hills about three miles from the present bed of the Indus, on its left bank. It has one principal street or bazaar running its whole length, from which branch off innumerable smaller streets and alleys, sometimes leading to squares, sometimes to mosques and fakirs' poles. Here daily the Missionaries go out "to seek for Christ's sheep in this naughty world." Sometimes in the main bazaar, jostled by passing crowds; sometimes in the open shop-fronts, the owners of which ask them to sit down, and place for them a carpet of camels'-hair; sometimes in the back lanes and purlieus; sometimes in the open spaces in front of the mosques, or in the private dwellings of fakirs, who are generally willing to hold an argument; the Gospel has been both declared and defended to all sorts and conditions of men. Here the Hindú Bunniah, the Candahara jewel-merchant, the rude Afghani, the Pathan from Peshawur, the Brahmin from Benares, the Khorassani horse-dealer from the frontiers of Persia, and the Persian himself from the shores of the Caspian, the Cashmiri from the Hindú Khush, and the Sidi from the centre of Africa, as well as Sindhis of all grades and classes, may be met with, and have heard the words of eternal life in the streets and lanes of the city.



A MUSSULMAN FAKIR.

The Mussulman Fakir is a sad mixture of the rogue and fool.

We generally go out about half-past four or five, and, in the very hot season, as late as six, and remain in the bazaar till dark, about half-past seven or eight. In Hydrabad there is a great variety of genuine native society; and, for the most part, the people know but little of the general character of the European rulers of India. But when a European regiment is quartered at Hydrabad, a drunken soldier not unfrequently finds his way into the city. Those of the natives who know us well, distinguish between us and the "soldier log;" yet an exhibition of drunkenness in the open street is a stronger argument against Christianity than all the Missionary can say in its favour. This is more common at Kurrachi than here, and still more so at Bombay. The greatest obstacle to the reception of the Gospel (next to the hostility to it which there is in the natural mind) is the ill conduct of the Europeans: indeed, were it not for the abstract character of the native mind, this argument would be more frequent than it is in the mouths of the natives. They watch us narrowly, and what must be the conclusions they draw as to the effectiveness of Christianity? The further Missions are from camps and harbours, the more hope,

humanly speaking, of success.

April 17—As soon as the sun became bearable, we sallied forth into the main street of the city, now crowded with people of all castes and costumes, as well as with camels, asses, horses, and bullocks. We stopped opposite a shop where they were employed making the hats peculiar to Sindh. The workmen were sitting on the shop-front, engaged in selecting and fitting the richly coloured and embroidered silks and velvets with which these hats are covered. We engaged in conversation with several loiterers, and the hatters. There is not here that difficulty which a parochial minister in England experiences (and which is one of his greatest trials) in turning any subject easily into a religious channel. Many times, in England, he is forced to drag religion into into the conversation, spite of careful fencing of it off on the part of his hearers. But not so here. It lies nearer the surface, because more closely connected with daily and hourly practices or ceremonies. From costumes to creed, is an easy transition to an Oriental; and the hats quickly made way for something better.

A crowd soon collected. We stood in the dry gutter, and the great plan of salvation was unfolded, with occasional interruptions, to a circle of listeners. The childishness of the objections urged, and the pertinacity and triumphant manner of the objectors in advancing arguments, which seem too trifling for elaborate answer, but for the reality they have in the mind of the opposer, is the chief trial of the Missionary.



HEADS IN A CROWD.

It strikes a mind accustomed to European audiences, that the people—at least the Hindú portion of them—listen with uncommon calmness to the pointed allegations of the Missionary. It may, in some degree, be the calmness of apathy, but undoubtedly it is often the calmness of courtesy, and sometimes even of reflection and impartiality of mind. If a man were to go in among a crowd of artisans in Liverpool, with strong and cutting arguments against any position in which they were as deeply interested as are these people

about their religion, he would meet with very different treatment from what is generally ours. A crowd of Englishmen, who had been listening to a demagogue on the rights of labour, would behave with by no means Hindú civility to a stranger who should advance arguments in a foreign accent for the rights of capital. The accessibility of the native mind of India should be a great encouragement to those who hope to influence it. Among Mohammedans, especially in towns remote from the influence of

English rule, this is much less so; but, from whatever cause, we have the fact of general accessibility here to a very considerable degree; pointing, in the providence of God, to a wide spreading of the testimony of Jesus in India. Among the most interesting portions of our audiences, though the most troublesome, are the children. Their little delicate upturned faces, often the only lovely things in the crowd, are always encouraging. They will say hereafter, perhaps, "Yes, I heard the 'Sahib log' say so and so, when I was a child." My companion at length turned round and addressed the crowd generally, in earnest words. "You are all drowning sinners," he said, and must be lost without the Saviour. Will you take hold of the rope of salvation held out to you?"

April 20—We went out again about 5 P.M. Crossing the main street, we threaded one or two narrow streets, and came to a large open square, in the centre of which was a high pole, ornamented with flowers, the staying ropes extending over our heads hung with dried leaves, as is usual. We stopped opposite a cobbler's stall, where the cobbler was industriously blowing a small and curiously-formed musical pipe of two reeds, hung with strings of small shells. We asked to examine his instrument, which he gladly showed us. Several men then came round, whose dress told us they were Mohammedans. Their moustaches were closely trimmed in the manner peculiar to the Sunnies.

We took advantage of this to introduce the subject of the distinction between them and the Shiah—the other great division of Mohammedanism. Mr. Matohett said, "Mohammed did not write the Korán: it was taken down, or orally delivered, till the wars between the Khoreishes and others. Bards committed the sayings of Mohammed to memory; but when some of the bards were killed in these wars, Abu Bakr and Osman, fearing all would be lost, collected from all sources the sayings of the prophet, and founded the Korán. What was written on bits of linen, leaves, shoulder-blades of mutton in an old chest, in the keeping of Aysha, were all collected, and copied into one volume. But the Shiahs say the Karis, or public readers, declared that Othman had omitted or forgotten much that Mohammed said. Some Karis said, 'We heard Mohammed say so and so, but we do not find it in the Korán.' The Súnis who had assented up to this point, met this allegation by a simple denial. "It is a lie! a lie!" shouted several around us with vehemence. After some disputing—"How, then, do you think man must be saved?" asked the Mis-

sionary. Various answers, more or less foolish, were returned. At length a well-dressed man, wearing a Secundri cap, interposed—"Why do you not address the learned?" said he: "what can these, or such as these, know about it? Go to the wise, and in quiet: these fools cannot read or argue, and their talk is but noise. "Well, Mohammed could not read. But, stay, these men are not such fools as you think;" and turning round to the least dressed man in the crowd—"Here is a man who is no fool." Several questions were put to the man, who was apparently a mason, on moral perception, which the poor man triumphantly answered. But several demanded that we should go to the Múfti, or Mohammedan doctor of laws, living near, and argue there. "No," said we; "let him come here." "He is too sick," said some. One man then asked, "But what is your drift? what shall we get by becoming Christians?" He was told that peace here, and joy hereafter, would be his reward. The noise now was considerable, for some, who had listened to parts of the discussion, differed among themselves; and a large section of the crowd, which now numbered some hundreds, moved off a few yards, shouting and gesticulating with great violence, and doing every thing but striking each other, their excited countenances demonstrating the intensity of their rage; and all this was on some trifling point of difference, while we were attacking the foundations of their religion; which reminded us of that over zeal in comparative trifles so often displayed among Protestants, while the great truths of the faith are left to themselves.



A MUFTI.

A young fellow then came forward crying vociferously to us to come to the Múfti house; but as "the mountain would not go to Mohammed," the Múfti at length came to us; and with the perverseness of a man who is not sure how it may go with his dignity, asked imperiously, "What is it? what is it?"

He was a man of about forty-five, not remarkably dressed, though his waistcoat had some extra embroidery. His expression was keen, but bitter and dogmatizing; and he twitched at his long beard, as if in defiance of any thing that might be brought against him. He received the respect of the crowd as if he were well used to it, and seemed made up for a battle with the Gospellers.

Missionary. "All men are sinners, and deserve hell. How can they be saved?"

Múfti. "By doing the works of God."

Miss. "True: God's law is perfect, and he who does it shall live; but who does it?"

Múfti. "God is merciful in the Korán, (Here followed a long proof of God's mercy from the Korán.)

Miss. "True: God is merciful, and by his mercy comes forgiveness, if at all; but God is also just, (here followed a proof from scripture and Korán;) and, as a just God, how can He pardon sin?"

Múfti. "The mercy of God is the overcomer of the justice; which, then, is the overcome attribute?" (Substituting the technical statement of a fallacy for its proof.)

Miss. "God's attributes are not hostile to each other. God is one: his character must be intact?"

Múfti. (quotes Korán in confirmation of it, and denies the inference). "But what in the Ingeel (Gospel) of this?"

Miss. (quotes Rom. iii., and expounds the harmony of divine attributes in Christ.)

Múfti. "How could Jesus Christ satisfy God's justice?"

Miss. "By his death, &c."

Múfti. "But in your Gospel it is said He did not really die."

The Múfti was here referring to an apocryphal Gospel which was much circulated in Arabia formerly, in which the heresy of the Docetæ in relation to the death of Christ, as having been in appearance only, is put forth.

Missionary corrects the error with some difficulty.

Múfti. "How do you know He ever died and rose again?"

The *Missionary* refers to witnesses—Peter, John, Mary Magdalene, &c. (Múfti objects to the testimony of the women. The Mohammedan theory about Mary is that she was then in another place.)

The *Missionary* gives a history of the resurrection from the Gospel narratives in brief.

Múfti. (contemptuously), "How could Jesus Christ save others? He could not save Himself!" (The scribes' objection almost verbatim.)

Missionary (Amid many interruptions and much scornful incredulity, gives the explanation of this in the *voluntariness* of Christ's death, and the agreement of God to it.)

Múfti. "Oh! he *willed* to die: then He had no right to do so: that was the sin of self-murder."

Missionary proceeds with explanation, but is stopped at a declaration that Jesus is ascended into heaven.

Múfti. "Into heaven! which is the door, and where is the road? You call on us for proof that Mohammed is gone to heaven, but you can show no proof of Christ's having gone there. Heaven has no door."

Missionary adduces proof, those witnesses who stood on Olivet, and saw Him ascend: "But you have no such proof in the case of Mohammed."

Múfti. "The Korán is the proof: it says so. But if Christ is ascended, where is He now? how could He go?"

Miss. "There is no question as to whether He *could* go, for He *did* go, and is on the right hand of God."

Múfti. "Right hand! how can that be? God is a spirit." (Great triumphing among the crowd.)

Missionary explains the figurative use of the word, while clearly declaring that God is free from parts or passions. This took some time. (The Mussulman is strong on the *pak*, or purity of God.)

Múfti. "Heaven is the peculiar place where the glory is revealed; but your heaven, *where* is it?"

Miss. "I do not know." (Great triumphing among the people.)

Some, supposing the *Missionary* had lied in first saying, "Christ is gone to the right hand of God," and then saying, he did not know where, called out loudly "Liar, liar!"

Miss. (proceeding with difficulty), "But a king may be really reigning, though I know not exactly where."

Múfti. "We will now adjourn, and resume some other night." (On this the whole crowd took up a signal, and far and near resounded the cry, "*La-allah, ill allah, Mohammed Rusul Allah*;" and with salaams we left the excited multitude, who had kept pretty quiet since their doctor has appeared, but now burst forth again. However, some of them may have carried away the precious seed of everlasting life.

This is but a disjointed sketch of a very long and intricate argument, which branched off now and again very promiscuously. The strong point on our side was the evidently plain point of the harmony of the Divine attributes. The Múfti made no profession of calmness, but gesticulated and screamed with abundant oriental energy. One episode was as follows:—



Múfti. "Was Christ God's servant?" *Missionary.* "His human nature was."* *Múfti.* "And his other nature—what?" *Miss.* "God himself." (Indignant movement of people.) *Múfti.* "Well, we'll argue that another time."

April 21—In the process of discussion last night, the man in the Secundrí cap asked us to continue the discussion with

him on the morrow: this we now proceeded to do. We rode to the great tombs, where he lived as keeper of them. On approaching, he came out to welcome us, and put a chair for us. We preferred adjourning to the interior of the enclosure of the tomb, where, sitting upon a painted corner of the low wall, we engaged in discussion with him and his two coadjutors. It was a scene in contrast with that of last night.

Then, in a central crowded square we argued amid many violent interruptions till it was quite dark, and might have been dangerous. Here, in the calm evening air, amid the quiet tombs, the white domes and coloured pinnacles of which, stood up all around us in relief against the tinted sky, we sat before only three courteous listeners.

But though the plan of salvation was declared, and little opposition made, it was listened to with apathy, perhaps concealed contempt; and the paucity of argument against it only proved the weakness of the interest felt in that word which is the savour of life or of death to all who hear it. The fact was, our friends were reduced to the freezing point of universal religious toleration by the liberal Government grants towards beautifying their tombs. These tombs are the glory of Hyderabad, pure white domes surmounting elegant edifices ornamented with many coloured tiles, which glitter in the sun, standing in enclosed court-yards among little gardens.

They are of several sizes (the largest about 150 feet high, and fifty feet square), and of

various shapes; those for the women being long and lower than those for the men. Inside the graves the bodies lie under the centre of the dome, generally marked by several sarcophagi, alongside of each other, on a raised platform of carved marble, surrounded by an elaborate terrace of fret-work. The inner sides of the tombs are richly ornamented and painted in arabesques of some beauty, in the same style, (though much inferior) as the Alcazar of Seville, or the Alhambra of Granada. The sarcophagus is of carved marble covered with inscriptions in Arabic, over which



TOMB OF THE AMIRS.

* Coequal with the Father in his divine person, on his assumption of humanity, he voluntarily subordinated himself to an inferiority of official position in the great covenanted work of redemption. Agree John x. 30 with John xiv. 28.

is often thrown a brightly coloured pall of silk or kimcob of gold and silver. Many withered flowers, chiefly roses and jessamines, are scattered about the shrines and terraces, the smell of the decay of which mingles with that of incense, such as is used in Roman-Catholic churches. On the glassy marble floors are generally seated some fakirs or "kalandars," singing out the Korán with a peculiar in-

flexion of voice, which is a part of their education. They sway to and fro as they read, as do Jews in a synagogue; and their unintelligible Arabic, in murmurs rising and falling, wanders among the echoes of the fretted dome far above, till lost in the dark corners and carved caves of the roof.

The annexed cut represents some



HINDU BUNNIAHS.

These men are the shopkeepers of India, and rival the Parsis in their habits of business. They hold in pawn two-thirds of the harvests of Sindh before they are reaped, and are griev-

ous extortioners. They use the Gurmucki character, but their literary powers seldom extend beyond a rude system of accounts.

Annexed is a picture of a



SHOP BELONGING TO A BUNNIAH,

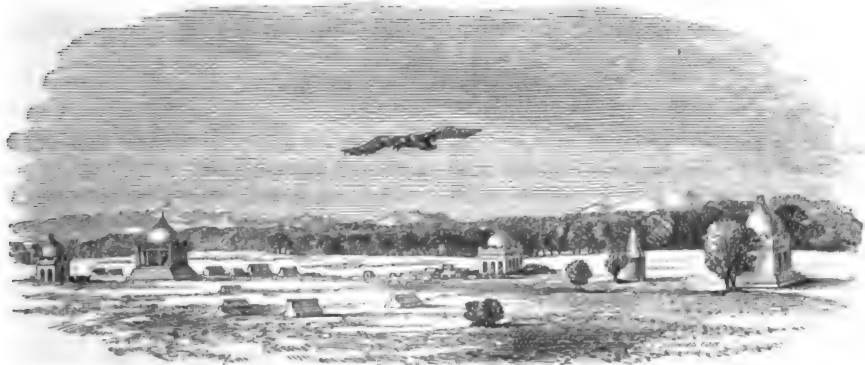
an argumentative one, who sells the bright-coloured muslins and calicos used by the natives. The level of the shop-front is seen

to be much above that of the street. A mat verandah hangs over the shop-front. The Missionary is represented conversing from it.



PARSI TOWER.

The Parsis build a tower for their cemetery, open, covered only by an iron grating at the top: they put their dead into it by the iron door facing us in the sketch, and allow the vultures, crows, &c., to devour the bodies. This tower is one mile from Kurrachi.



TOMBS IN THE MUSSULMAN CEMETRY AT HYDRABAD.



VIEW FROM THE WINDOWS OF THE MISSION HOUSE AT KURRACHI.

Camels are proceeding through the dry bed of the river Learri: beyond is a group of domed tombs amid the trees; and in the distance the hills round Mugger Pir. The

Mussulman Cemetry, represented above, is near the Indus, which runs, in that place, through a belt of green trees and gardens.

Our native catechist, Abdullah Athim, is here represented in

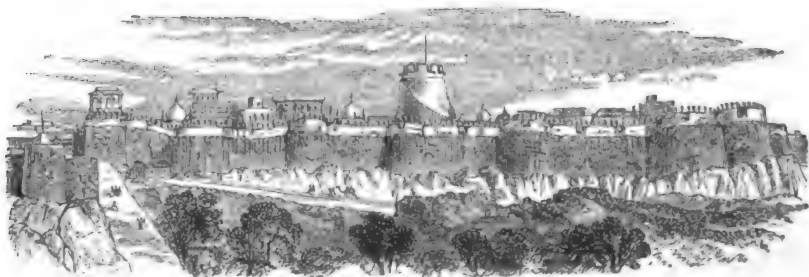


AN ARGUMENT WITH A MUFTI.

The Múfti got into a violent rage, in consequence of the calmness and rapidity with which Abdullah exposed his ignorance to his followers. He commanded them not to listen to us, and especially to avoid Abdullah. We do not think he will ever try argument

again, as he observes that *our* ends only are answered by discussion.

Abdullah is tall, somewhat taller than the Múfti, but was standing on lower ground: the streets and squares not being paved, are very uneven.



FORT OF HYDRABAD.

The subjoined view is the fort, inclosing the palace of Hydrabad. To the left of the tower, surmounted by a small pavilion, is the great gate tower: to the right of it, one of the chief musjids, or mosques: then a tall pavilion is the painted chamber where the great councils of the Amirs were held: then to the right again, the south palace, always, since the capture, the residence of the chaplain; then another mosque; to the right of that the great tower, surmounted by some guns, commanding the whole fort and city; then, amid the new buildings of the arsenal, two small musjids and the engineer's house. To the left of the

sketch lies the city: to the right of the fort a glimpse is obtained of the Maidan, or large plain beyond and to the south of the city.

In this fort the ladies and Europeans found refuge when the mutiny of the artillery, and the supposed disaffection of the 13th Bengal Native Infantry, rendered the camp and city unsafe on the 9th of September 1857. The Mission house is a small house (formerly belonging to the Amir's blacksmith), beautifully situated on the edge of the cliff: a very little to the left of the sketch; from it, is a remarkably fine view of the lower city and country down to the Indus.



SCENE IN THE FOCHUN HILLS, PROVINCE OF CHE KEANG.

JOURNAL OF A VISIT TO NINGPO AND HANGCHOW, AND THE ADJACENT PARTS OF CHE KEANG.

BY THE BISHOP OF VICTORIA.

On *September 21st*, 1858, having recently returned from a visit and confirmation in the city of Canton, I embarked at Hong Kong, in the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer 'Formosa,' for Shanghai. During the night which followed, there were all the indications of a typhoon at no great distance. We passed along the outer edge of the storm-circle; but the newspapers afterwards made us acquainted with the fact of all the native and European shipping (except two vessels) being wrecked, and some of the crews totally lost at Swatow, 200 miles above Hong Kong. We were only thirty miles from Swatow at the hour when the great and almost unprecedented storm-wave entered that harbour, and carried devastation and death to many vessels and crews, suddenly overwhelmed in destruction.

I landed at Woosung, at the mouth of the river branching off from the Yang-tze keang, at sunset on *September 25th*; and, after a three hours' ride across the country in a chair borne by Chinese peasants, I reached the city of Shanghai at 11 p.m. A fortnight previously I had sent my wife and daughter by steamer to Shanghai, on account of the failing health of the latter during the more than ordinarily intense heat of the summer. On my arrival, I found her laid up with severe fever, and her precarious state was, for some days, an occasion of great anxiety to both her parents.

During my stay of more than five weeks at Shanghai, I had frequent intercourse with the British and American Plenipotentiaries; and had opportunities of watching the course of diplomacy in the negociation of the supplemental articles of treaty concluded by Lord Elgin and the representatives of the other Powers.

It was my privilege, also, to hold a confirmation of about twenty young men, and to undertake the ministrations to the foreign community, in Trinity Church at Shanghai, during the transitional period between the termination of the Rev. J. S. Burdon's connexion with the duties of the acting chaplaincy, and the arrival, on October 31st, of the Rev. John Hobson, the British consular Chaplain, from his visit to England.

I made also a visit of four days, in a native boat, unaccompanied by any other European, to the hill-country about thirty miles to the south of Shanghai in the interior.

On *November 4th*, I embarked, with my family, for Ningpo, in a native boat, manned by Chinese sailors, and commanded by a Swede (kindly lent to me by a mercantile friend); and, after two days and nights in sailing down the Yang-tze keang, and crossing the bay of Hangchow, we arrived off the district city of Chinhae, at the mouth of the river leading to Ningpo. As we were under the necessity of waiting for the flood-tide, we took the opportunity of landing, and ascending the hill, which, covered with temples and rude fortifications, is supposed to guard the entrance of the river. We lay at anchor among the numerous trading junks, and the equally numerous piratical vessels in the reach, where the weakness of the local Government, and the frequency of the practice of buying powerful pirate-leaders into the service of the mandarins, have served to confound all the usual distinctions between legal trader and freebooter. At the hour of midnight we weighed anchor, and reached the city of Ningpo three hours after. Soon after daylight, on Sunday morning, *November 7th*, we landed outside the north gate of the city, and, in another half hour, were domiciled with our kind friends, the Rev. F. F. and Mrs. Gough, in their Mission house, abutting on the smaller military parade-ground in the centre of the city.

Later in the day I attended at the Mission church, and joined in the holy communion administered to twenty Chinese males and eleven females (exclusive of the few Europeans present), most of whom I recognised as among the Chinese converts confirmed by me in the same church during my last visit, eight months previously.

The next day, being the first Monday in the month, I attended at one of the two smaller Mission chapels at the monthly Chinese prayer-meeting. After an exposition by Rev. W. A. Russell, Baou and Kwang, two of the oldest converts and catechists, offered up an extempore prayer. The hymn sung on the occasion was a Chinese version of the words, "There is a fountain filled with blood," &c. The next two or three days were occupied in making calls on the various foreign residents, missionary and mercantile; and in receiving visits of ceremony and respect from the native converts. Among the latter was a Chinese teacher, of about thirty-five years of age, Tsa seen-sang, with whom I became acquainted on a journey from Shanghai to Ningpo by

way of Chapoo, in the year 1852. He was formerly connected with the Roman Catholics, but, more recently, has joined himself to our communion. Although for a time subjected to the discipline of the Missionaries for a fault in which he had at least not avoided the appearance of evil, he evinced much constancy in his desire and endeavour to be reinstated in the good opinion of the Missionaries and the native church. On my former visit, he was very earnest in requesting my interposition with my Missionary brethren, dwelling on the moral disadvantage of being out off from church membership, and pleading his innocence, and the hardship of being punished for mere suspicion. During my present visit he was restored to the communion, and he came over from the neighbouring city of Tzechee to pay his respects to me, and to offer for publication some treatises of his own composition on various doctrines of the Gospel. One of these was on the doctrine of sacrifice. He brought, also, a carefully-penned document on the best method of propagating Christianity, illustrating the success of Buddhism in invading the whole of China, and laying down various plans for availing ourselves to the utmost of the new order of things under the recent treaty, and the unchecked advances of foreign Missionaries into the interior.

The Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society now at Ningpo are the Rev. W. A. Russell, B.A., who has been more than ten years zealously labouring at this station, without any change beyond one or two visits to Shanghai; the Rev. F. F. Gough, M.A., his equally zealous and devoted fellow-labourer, who left England with me in 1849, and has been nearly nine years at his station, with the exception of his visit to England in 1853, rendered necessary by his severe illness; and the Rev. G. E. Moule, M.A., a likeminded and devoted Missionary, who has but lately entered upon this work, and of whom I cannot avoid expressing my earnest hope that his feeble health may not prematurely interrupt his Missionary career in China, for which he has intellectual and moral qualifications of the highest order. This Church Missionary station enjoys the advantage of possessing three clergy of the highest mental and spiritual stamp. Their wives, too, are more than ordinarily fitted for their vocation. The inconveniences of Mission families are likely to prove a serious impediment to Missionaries settling down in the interior in the first and earliest stages of our extended intercourse. But as long as such women as Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Gough, Mrs. Fearnley (at Fuh-

chau), and others, are sent out to strengthen the hands and refresh the spirits of our brethren, the balance of advantage preponderates on the side of married Missionaries in our settled stations, and the loss of one kind is outweighed by the gain in another point of view. I nevertheless strongly feel the importance of new Missionaries well considering this question, and exercising a little prudential forethought in entering upon our China Mission in the cities of the interior, amid the exigencies of a "present necessity." I know that this is a question on which it is likely that many may dissent from my conclusions. If I were disposed to enter further into details, and record some of my observations and experience, and especially some of the scenes in crowded Chinese cities, and excited Chinese crowds, together with some of the histories of individual Missionaries, I believe I could carry with me all but universal conviction. If any considerable extension of our work abroad, and especially in China, is to take place, the young and newly-ordained Missionary should be more fully impressed with the need of coming out, in the first place, without the drawback of family cares absorbing a large portion of his time on the very threshold of his Missionary career; and with the expediency of his being in a position to assure himself, by personal experience abroad, of his own adaptation to such a vocation and sphere of labour before he be irrevocably committed, by the necessity of his increased liabilities and wants, to continue in a post which he may be found, when too late, to be physically, intellectually, or morally unfitted. My full reasons for such a view will readily recur to some who may peruse these remarks; but I forbear from further reference to this important question.

I shall, in my daily record of occurrences, jot down a few particulars, unimportant in themselves, but, perhaps, calculated to afford our friends in England a better insight into the condition of native society, and the position of our Missionary brethren and sisters.

This week (Monday *November 8th*) Mr. Moule took a trip into the outlying district for thirty or forty miles, with the catechist, Baoa See-sang, for the purpose of improving his own acquaintance with the local district, by throwing himself among persons unacquainted with English, and giving the additional moral support of the presence of a foreign teacher to his brother and companion in Christ. On this day, in the open space of ground covering two or three acres before Mr. Gough's house, the military exercises frequently observable of late were renewed in

the presence of Twan-ta-jin, the Criminal Judge of the province, lately delegated in a special mission from Hangchow, the capital of Che Keang, and entrusted with the special work of quelling the insurrection of the eastern villagers, whose rising has grown to a revolt of serious magnitude, and who threaten daily to assault and capture the city of Ningpo itself. This high functionary was formerly Taou-tas of Ningpo and the adjoining departments of the province; and in that official capacity acquired a high reputation for his administrative ability, whence he has been commissioned with the task of reducing the insurgent villages to submission. Armed with the powers of his independent office as Provincial Criminal Judge, he has lately been enacting scenes of bloodshed on a large scale; and decapitations, without reference to the central, provincial, or imperial authorities, have almost daily taken place under his stern and vigorous *régime*. As I witnessed the practising of musketry and firelocks, with their jingals, or small portable artillery, borne by two or three men, it was difficult not to institute comparisons with the armies of the West, and to speculate on the ease with which any unprincipled European power might overcome and subdue this weak and almost defenceless race. Old Twan himself possesses a physiognomy not suggesting any marked expression of cruelty; and has the usual impassibility, and even the stolidity of his class. He has, however, rendered his name terrible to the citizens of Ningpo; and his hiring a body of Cantonese pirates for the purpose of exterminating the local insurgents has rendered him odious to even the most orderly and loyal of the natives of the city. On this occasion there was the usual succession of firing at a target, of running in marches and counter-marches, of clattering of swords, beating of gongs, and shouting yells of defiance, which form so large a part of Chinese military art. At the close, Twan-ta-jin descended from the eminence on which he had been seated under a raised shed for watching the exercises, and, attended by a little posse of petty military mandarins, with their respective cap-buttons of divers colours, and their appropriate decorations of peacocks'-feathers, and fox-tails, following him on foot, he returned on a small pony, in plain costume, to his official residence at the Yamun.

This rising of the eastern villagers is a matter unconnected with the Nankin rebellion, and the many independent bands of rebels increasing in different parts of the empire, except as part of a common disease, and the marks of one wide-spread contagion, preying

on the vitals of the whole political body. Corruption of the officers, the weakness of the central Government, and the sufferings of the misgoverned, oppressed population, drive into open sedition and insurrection the most peaceable and orderly race in this eastern world.

I have been long enough in China to witness three local rebellions at Ningpo. The first was the rising of the scholars of the district city of Fung-hwa, in the year 1845, mentioned at page 250 of my volume on China. The second was a revolt, in 1852, of these same eastern villages, through the grievous oppression of the farmers of the salt monopoly, when a Missionary friend and myself, in passing through the disturbed localities, had to submit to the examination of our boat by both the opposed parties in turn, to prevent the illicit conveyance of fire-arms and ammunition to their opponents—an examination conducted with a courtesy and absence of vexatious espionage that would be a pattern well worth the imitation of nations boasting a higher civilization. This third and last outbreak has taken place in the same locality, a series of rural villages and hamlets spread over some twenty miles of country, protected by the natural defence of hills and mountain-fastnesses, and approaching to within four or five English miles of the city itself. The principal occasion of grievance, and cause of the revolt, arose from some affair of monetary exchange, and a forced interposition of the city authorities in regulating the price of copper cash, and the inconvertibility of the paper-currency. The poor villagers, engaged in agriculture, fishing on the lakes and canals, and in petty traffic, received all their payments at one rate, and had to make their contributions of taxes in silver to the Government at another rate; a derangement in the relative value of their earnings and disbursements which led first to complaints, and finally drove to open rebellion the peasant population of a district possessing some of the finest and most picturesque scenery, and the most interesting and well-behaved population in China. The people of the city, at first commiserating and sympathizing with them, were gradually estranged by the growing boldness and carelessness of their pillaging raids. For a time the village rebels abstained from plunder; but the gradual cessation of tillage, the disturbance of their usual trade, the insecurity of fishing amid their exposure to capture by soldiers from the city, and the general prevalence of success among these rustic insurgents, gradually drove them into a petty warfare and incursions upon the ad-

joining country. Hence the city population, vexed by these predatory troubles, now earnestly desired a termination of the revolt, and were ready to assist with their pecuniary contributions the *Criminal Judge* in his vigorous measures of repression, and in the necessary collection of funds for remunerating the piratical mercenaries from the prowling, marauding junks from Canton.

Nov. 9.—In my walk through the city with Mr. Gough to-day, we had continual proofs of the growing prevalence of opium-smoking amongst the people, and the connivance of the native authorities. Within the last few years the Missionaries estimate that the increase of opium-smoking shops has been sixfold; and I noticed three contiguous houses close to the north gate, and in the route of the officers on their egress from the city, placarded with a notice that "opium was sold by retail within." The exposure of opium-pipes, and the other apparatus for smoking, in the shops of every quarter, indicated the universal toleration of the evil. For several months past the drug has been admitted openly through the Chinese custom-house, and an English opium-vessel has been lying securely at anchor within two or three hundred yards of the official establishment, at which a certain fixed sum has been paid of late as duty upon every chest of opium; a practice lately introduced also at Amoy, and regularly communicated to the foreign community in a circular from the acting British Consul.

The demoralizing influence of the Cantonese in Ningpo is beginning to be seriously felt in the increased number of gambling-houses, and all the usual disturbances and crimes produced by that exciting vice. Hired into the temporary service of the local authorities, in order to quell the insurrection of the eastern lake district, they have combined with their military duties a secret free-booting business on the adjoining river, on their own account, and are suspected of adding largely to their military pay by levying black mail on the native junks.

Among the instances of superstition in the multitude, may be mentioned the recent case of a remarkable dream of a Tsin-sze graduate, lately deceased, who was led thereby to predict a heavy descent of poisonous rain, which should involve large multitudes in the destruction of a common pestilence. Various written characters were attached to the fronts of many of the houses, which were supposed to possess a secret charm, and the power of averting the threatened calamity. The wide extent to which these written charms were

observed on the exterior of Chinese dwellings formed some index of the prevalence of superstition among the masses, and the success of the Buddhist priests in exacting money as their fee for furnishing the written symbols of incantation.

The employment of the press as a means of influencing the popular mind is a system long known, and extensively practised among the Chinese. On all the places of public resort, and especially in the vicinity of the city gates, there were handbills and broadsheets, the composition of some public-spirited and loyal citizen, calling upon the people to remember the present scarcity of food, and exhorting them meritoriously to avoid the wasteful practice of using rice-starch for their garments. Side by side with this placard we occasionally noticed a brief tract-sheet of Mr. Cobbold's, on the prominent truths of Christianity, entitled "Teen-taou'yaou lun" — "An important discourse on Celestial Doctrines." In close proximity to these again, was the advertisement of a medical Missionary, informing the people of the day and hour at which gratuitous attention would be given to the sick at the Mission hospital; and sometimes, on the same wall, might be seen, a printed invitation from the foreign physician, and from the native quacks, undertaking to prescribe remedies for the cure of opium-smoking. Mr. Gough had, on this day, an application from a casual attendant at one of his Mission-chapel services, requesting a medical remedy for curing him of the effects of opium-indulgence.

With all the mixed prevalence of good and unfavourable traits in the character of this people, it is sometimes strange and difficult to reconcile their utter want of bigoted attachment to their religion with the contemporaneous prevalence of superstitious observances widely diffused among the masses. In our rambles through the streets, we entered one shop, where, amid the distracting hum and din of business, one of the partners was making up the regulated number of bowings, genuflections, and prostrations before an image of *Tsae-shin*, "the god of wealth," accompanied from time to time by others of the establishment, and followed by a setting-out of food and the materials of a feast for the spirits. These last serve afterwards as dishes and courses for a private entertainment among themselves; for the Chinese idolaters, like the Homeric heroes of old, contrive to apportion to their own festive uses no inconsiderable part of the sacrifices professedly offered to the gods. These offerings to the "god of wealth" they stated to

be optional, and dependent for their frequency on the will of the individual; but four times in each year seem to be the generally received measure of reverence to this universally worshipped idol—the most potential divinity in the daily thoughts and transactions of this thrifty and trading people.

At a short distance from this scene a grotesque procession of some local militia and mercenaries in training for an irruption upon the rebel villages, seemed to attract the mingled contempt and curiosity of the helpless, hopeless crowds of gazers. Reverence, however, for prescriptive law, seems to have survived all feelings of respect for their rulers. On this popular deference to established maxims of custom and right, more than on any inherent strength in itself, depends at the present time the continued stability and security of the Manchow Tartar dynasty.

In some parts, official placards, bearing the united signatures of the Taou tae, the Chefoo, and the Cheheen, warned native plunderers from taking advantage of fires, and practising their pillaging arts in such times of calamity and disorder upon the unfortunate sufferers from conflagrations. The handbill of some Taoist lay-brother was hung out in another part, specifying his skill in the art of necromancy, and offering his services for hire in repeating incantations in the houses of the sick and mourning. In another quarter, a public notification on the outside of a shop announced that the proprietors of the establishment were about to inaugurate their entrance into its business by a feast to their customers. The priests of some temple advertised, in another direction, the day and the hour on which the tutelary divinity of the shrine would come forth into public, and the idol be carried in its annually renovated brightness in procession through the streets of the city. In other parts, the usual manifestations of the mandarins were again observable, fixing the exchange of coin, and threatening punishment on those who, in their monetary dealings, violated the enjoined standard. In some crowded street, close by, the plaintive sound of wailing issued from the interior of a dwelling; and, amidst frantic ebullitions of violent grief, we beheld a poor mother giving vent to nature's bitter sufferings at the loss of her daughter. The usual noises of bells and chanting of heathen monks chimed in upon the gloomy scene, amid the unconcerned looks and demeanour of the busy, heedless throng of wayfarers.

In a shop not far distant from this scene, near the southern gate of the city, the sign-

board on high bore the inscription of its owner—"She shih-sin, i.e. 'Kept by Mr. She, a true believer.'" He is a Christian convert attached to the Church of England Mission; and has taken this method of proclaiming his adoption of the Christian religion.

In the neighbourhood of the "Hoo-se" lake, in the city, we visited the residence and garden of the Kang family, only partly rebuilt from its ruins. Thirteen years ago I was acquainted with the grandfather of the present occupant, when the dwelling was in fine order; but having gained his wealth by the salt monopoly, he became obnoxious to the eastern village rebels in 1852, and his house was then burnt down by the enraged people during a popular tumult. The family and their mansion now lie in the common decay incident to many of their class throughout this district of the country.

Nov. 13.—To-day, Loh, a gentleman of the district city of Tzechee, for many years well known to foreigners, and accustomed to transact for the mandarins any matters of secret and confidential diplomacy, came to the Rev. W. A. Russell, with a message from Twan ta-jin, the Provincial Judge, requesting his aid as a mediator and negotiator of peace with the eastern village or lake rebels. There were many difficulties connected with such a mission; although the proposal was a high compliment to the benevolent disinterestedness and moral influence of Missionaries. My own view was, that as the stopping of bloodshed was a vocation becoming the Christian, and especially the Christian minister, under all circumstances, and in every part of the world, my brother Russell, and the American Missionary proposed to be associated with him in the pacific mission, should not lightly decline such advances on the part of the authorities. The chief difficulty seemed to us to be the habitual insincerity and treachery of the mandarins, and the fear lest, gaining a temporary advantage through the intervention of the Missionaries, they should afterwards wreak their vengeance on the insurgents, brought by these means under their power, and thus, also, a serious injury be inflicted upon the moral standing of the Missionary body, by a suspected collusion with the Chinese officials in their schemes. I advised the demand of a plain, distinct promise, in writing, of an amnesty to the insurgents, and a full authority to our two friends to proclaim these terms of a mutual compromise. The reluctance of the Taou tae to commit himself by any written terms, and the various other signs of the hollow duplicity

of the authorities, induced our two brethren to break off the overture, and to leave matters to take their own course.

The same messenger, Loh, in conversation, alluded to the Provincial Judge's dissatisfaction with an unfavourable criticism of his official conduct, which had lately appeared in a Chinese periodical, edited by an American Missionary, and extensively circulated as a messenger among the natives. I am happy to state that our own Missionaries, and the Missionaries generally as a body, do not join in such a course, nor sympathize in a disposition to depreciate the character and office of those bearing authority in a land in which we dwell as strangers and guests, and have only the great work to fulfil of spreading Christian ideas and the truths of the Gospel among its unenlightened population. We, on several occasions, observed the usual European custom of showing respect by lifting our hats in the streets when passing the retinue of the local high officers. On any other terms than an abstinence from political affairs, we are not likely to receive, and we deserve not to obtain, any consideration at the hands of the gentry, scholars, and magistrates in the cities of China.

The two Chinese teachers of Messrs. Russell and Gough are already graduates of the first degree, called *seu-tae*; and have lately gone to the triennial examinations held at the provincial capital, Hangchow, in order to compete for advancing to the second step of *keu-jin*. They are still heathen; that is, they are, like most of the educated Chinese long associated with Missionaries, intellectually convinced of the truth of Christianity, and almost prepared to make a public profession of the Gospel; but the grand difficulty of ancestral worship offers a serious impediment.

A letter received by Mr. Gough from his teacher, Luh seen-sang, upon his arrival at Hangchow, will show the friendly spirit towards foreigners prevalent among his class, and also afford me an opportunity of illustrating the use and value of the printed Roman and the common Italian writing employed in English books and letters, when adapted to the spoken sounds of the vulgar colloquial dialect of the Chinese. The great difficulty of the usual symbolical written character of the Chinese race is, that it is an *ideographic* system, suggesting merely the meaning, and connected in various parts of the country with different spoken sounds. In short, Chinese composition is brief, terse, and independent of any alphabetic combination of sounds, and as difficult to an ordinary

Chinese, as rendering English or any modern European language into the prevalent literary medium of the Latin tongue during the middle ages. Hence Chinese writing is to the greater portion of the Chinese population, and especially to the uneducated, or even the moderately educated part of the lower orders, a sealed character—a closed up avenue of mutual correspondence, except by a cumbrous and tedious change in terms and ideas unfamiliar to the mass. The Protestant Missionaries—and among them we must assign a very high place to those of the Church Missionary Society at Ningpo—have succeeded in reducing the spoken dialect of this place to the letters of the Roman alphabet, and in instructing all their teachers, pupils, and servants, and most of their converts, in the European method of *spelling* words according to their mere *sounds*, thus enabling them to commit to paper the simplest ideas of common life. The colloquial version of the New Testament has been printed in this alphabetic form of words by hand, through moveable types worked by a mere stamp in Roman letters; and messages and notes are constantly received, in the common English writing, in the most common topics of daily business. All the Missionaries have combined in fixing the received powers of individual consonants, double consonants, vowels, and diphthongs, with the various diacritical marks and breathings; and thus—a desideratum unhappily not yet realized among the Protestant Missions in South Africa and elsewhere—books printed by one Mission are available for the use of their fellow-labourers and the converts of other Christian bodies at Ningpo, capable of being understood as far as the local dialect extends, *i.e.* probably over some eight or ten millions of people in this province.

As an exemplification of this mode of written intercourse, and of the talent and skill perceptible in the able men who were among the first to enter upon this station, and to comprehend and provide for the necessities of their catechumens and converts, I shall append the original letter of Luh seen-sang, and the translation thereof into English.

Z vong Ngòh-sin-sang, Ngòh-s-meo dò-kò k'en, Ngò dzong kyu-yüih nyien-loh keh-nyih dong-sing, seen-jih-nyih tao O'ng-tsin, mong Jing-ming pao-yiu, ih-lu t'a-t'a hing-bing, liang-we loe oh-li, pih-ding yia mong Jing-ming pao-yiu, en en ten-ten, OE-liang yia pih-ding mong jing-ming pao yiu, p'a-p'a la-la. Kyin toh tao Nying-po, ngò p'oang

feh dzòh, ts'in-ding teng-ngò dœ mong-mong.
k'ao go nyih-ts ding-kwe jih-yüih t'su-pah,
teng k'ao hao, da-iah nyien-dœn-ti hao
cün-lœ.

Jih-yüih ts'u-ng jih.

LOH-ME-VEENG, z.

"I respectfully present this communication to Mr. and Mrs. Gough. I started on the 26th day of the ninth month, and reached Hangchow on the 30th day. Through the protection of God, I accomplished the whole journey in peace and security. I trust, also, that, through God's protection, both of you are also enjoying peace. I hope that little Ellen, by God's protection, is quite well. When the Bishop arrives at Ningpo, I shall not meet him. I earnestly beg you to present for me my respects to him. The literary examinations are fixed to commence on the 8th day of the tenth month. After the examinations are concluded, which will be about the 20th day of the month, I hope to return to Ningpo.

"Dated the tenth month and 5th day. Loh Me-veeng writes this letter."

Nov. 14—I was present at the usual Church Missionary Society's Saturday-evening prayer meeting at Mr. Gough's, attended by Messrs. Gough, Russell, and Moule, and their wives.

Nov. 14, *Lord's-day*: I held a service at 3 P.M. at the British Consulate across the river. Mr. Russell read prayers, and I preached, from 1 Tim. iv. 8., to about forty Europeans. At 6 P.M. I administered the holy communion at a service held for the English members of the Mission at Mr. Russell's house.

I was struck to-day with the more than ordinarily observable number of advertisements of Buddhist and Taouist charms, probably caused by the prevalent panic among the citizens in the menacing attacks of the lake insurgents, and their alarm at the prospect of the city being captured and sacked. Various placards on the temples and shrines announced the propitious influences derivable from a recitation of the "Kaou wang king" Buddhist classic, and the desirableness of employing (and of course paying) the priests for exerting this potential charm in averting evils.

Monumental arches, and handsome stone erections, elaborately carved with images in bas-relief, survived the frequent conflagrations in the city and ruin in the outskirts, as an illustration of the value everywhere set in China on these imperially-sanctioned monuments to the filial piety, or the virtuous widowhood of departed worthies enshrined in the traditional reminiscences of each district.

A curious advertisement announced the readiness of a Chinese quack to undertake "cures by contract," and to promise a successful practice of the healing art, on the condition of withholding the fee on the failure of the remedy.

In a Buddhist nunnery there stood pre-eminent among the objects of idolatrous worship, the "Wan-suy" tablet, the sacred symbol of the imperial name, universally recognised in the temple-services of the whole empire, and embodying the national principle of tolerating every form of established superstition on the foundation of a common, recognised, and universally-enforced religious obedience to the imperial delegate of heaven, *Teen-tze*, the "Son of Heaven," the mighty Potentate, who, amid the wreck of China's waning civilization, boasts the ascendancy of his rule over one-third of the whole population of our planet.

Nov. 15—At 6 P.M., Mr. Gough and myself set out for a five days' trip to the Seen-poh district, the tract of level country which lies to the north of the line of hills which encircle Ningpo to the north and west, at the distance of thirty miles from the city. We embarked in a native boat outside the north gate; and after sailing a few miles up the river, we turned aside into a lesser and more circuitous stream, in order to avoid the risk of an attack from the Canton pirate-boats in the main river. We anchored for a portion of the night near the city of Tzechee.

Our boat-captain, termed the *Lowda*, was questioned by Mr. Gough as to his reason for not becoming a convert to the Christian religion, as he often heard the doctrines preached by the Missionaries. He replied that the Gospel was very good, but he thought he was not prepared, and assigned the two following as his chief reasons; "first, when (as often happened) there was a collision between his own and another boat, he indulged in sins of the *tongue*, and used bad language; and secondly, whenever he was idle and had nothing to do, he was unable to resist the temptation of joining at play with a crowd of *gamblers*."

Nov. 16—The wind from the north-west was very cold and piercing, and the thermometer fell to 50°. We anchored at noon near to the district-city of Yu-yaou, about forty British miles from Ningpo, situated amid an amphitheatre of magnificent hills and romantic scenery, and containing an interesting and well-disposed class of population, apparently enjoying most of the material comforts of a high degree of civilization. After taking our mid-day meal, we landed at the foot of a hill

covered with temples, which we ascended; visiting afterwards a neighbouring hamlet near the suburbs, and engaging the people in conversation with Mr. Gough. They listened to his instructions with attention, and asked many appropriate questions, showing special anxiety, by their inquiries, to know something about the famous *Ma-li koo-neang* (Miss Mary), i.e. Miss Aldersey, the well-known female Protestant Missionary at Ningpo, who, after twenty years of labour on her own independent means in the cause of female Christian education in the East, has now, at the age of about sixty years, devolved the chief portion of her educational work upon another Mission, and continues to sustain, by her pecuniary means and by occasional visits to the Seen-poh district, a Missionary out-station, through native catechists, to some of the villages of these parts. They were assured that *Ma-li koo-neang* was neither a female military heroine, nor had any designs of territorial conquest upon this part of China; that she laboured only to extend the conquests of the Gospel, and to benefit the souls and bodies of the people. At the very time of our visits Miss Aldersey herself made a journey, unattended by any other foreigner, to her station in the Seen-poh district; no slight proof of her own personal energy and courage in the work of Christ, and of the harmlessness of this Chinese hill population. She resides with Mr. and Mrs. Russell, the latter being her pupil, and like an adopted daughter; and in a green ripe age, and in a sunny evening of life, she awaits her Lord's summons to "depart in peace," and to enter upon her rest.

In one of the temples in the suburbs of Yu-yaou we saw a man hastily counting his beads on a Buddhist rosary, as he recited his "*O-me-to-fu-h*," which sounds he had to repeat 2000 times a day, and had continued to repeat at this rate for four years, to expiate some crime of his former life! There was no devoutness in his manner, but he persevered listlessly in the prescribed routine. Some of the priests, who were bought for the temple service in infancy, seemed to have more prepossessing looks than the others, who, at a later age, were driven, by abject want of food, or compelled by outlawry for their crimes, to shave their head and assume the monastic garb. Two of the younger priests laughed heartily before the crowd when we questioned them about strict abstinence from animal diet, and showed plainly that they were not over strict vegetarians according to the rigid diet prescribed by the laws of Buddhism.

Some of the people gave a remarkable

account of the idol, *Tsae-shin*, the "god of wealth," so universally worshipped in these parts. They stated that he lived a few hundred years ago in the Sung dynasty; that he was a native of the province, who, during the time of public calamity from inundations of floods, sacrificed himself for the good of his country, by casting his body into the sea, and thus stopping the breach in the embankments; and that for this national service he was raised by the emperor to the rank of a god, and registered among the objects of popular idolatry in the Chinese pantheon. They gave a similar account of *Kwan-te*, the "god of war," a divinity more widely worshipped in other parts.

We entered the south gate of the old city of Yu-yaou, and passed a mile along its streets until we came to the foot of a lofty hill which we ascended, and from which we obtained a fine view of the city and neighbourhood. We also visited the office of the chief magistrate of the district, and listened to the explanations of the people respecting the machine of public torture exposed to view, in which two pirates were a short time before confined in a standing position, with supports to the head and neck, and left in a kind of cage to perish from slow starvation.

Robbers and pirates appear to be the scourge of the Chinese coast; and, even in these parts more in the interior, the evil seems at no distant date to have been the great obstacle to the prosperity of the people. Across the river to the south we saw the new city of Yu-yaou, built about 300 years ago to protect the suburbs from piratical assaults, and now lying, with its walls, in a semi-dilapidated state.

We re-embarked in our boat at sunset, and leaving the tidal river, we entered a canal. Passing over a few inclined planes, or locks, we arrived at our destination, Kwan-ha-wei, above twenty miles further onwards, early on the following morning. Here we passed two nights at the little dwelling which forms the Church Missionary Society's out-station, under the pastoral charge of the Rev. W. A. Russell, and left, in the interval of his periodical visits, to the care of the native catechists, A-loh and Jing sên-sang. The former, hearing of my arrival at Ningpo, had gone thither to conduct me back to his station; but finding that we had already departed from Ningpo, he speedily returned, and arrived at Kwan-ha-wei an hour after our own arrival. A-loh and Jing were our constant companions in the busy movements of the two following days of our stay.

Nov. 17 — We passed from the vicinity

of the Mission house into the south gate of Kwan-ha-wei, which, although surrounded by a wall, does not belong to the regular class of Chinese cities. It is estimated to contain 15,000 people: the streets are wide, and it contains some good private residences and neat shops, with its usual proportion of temples. The people are the descendants of a military colony from Fokeen province, formed about 200 years ago; and the inhabitants speak a peculiar dialect of their own, compounded of the local *patois* and a large admixture of the dialect of Amoy, whence they originally came. Like the people of the whole surrounding district, they raise cotton, wheat, cabbages, turnips, mustard, and other rural produce; and many devote themselves to fishing and trading pursuits, while a few also devote themselves to the chances of promotion through a literary career.

In the afternoon we went in our boat to Singko, a large town, containing 20,000 people, a few miles distant. We arrived there at two P.M., and passed through some of its streets. The inhabitants have the character of being somewhat less civilized than their neighbours in this plain-country; but on this occasion their demeanour happily belied their usual reputation of wildness. They gathered around us in the large ancestral temple of the town, bringing us chairs, and inviting Mr. Gough to preach to them. After an address, Mr. Gough questioned them as to the common origin of the town population; and they, in reply, led us to examine the various ancestral tablets enshrined within a recess, and inscribed, in ornamental golden characters, with the names of the founders of the settlement. They especially drew attention to the pedigree of their clan, and their descent from their first ancestor, who emigrated to these parts during the Sung dynasty, and had his name recorded as the 308th of his lineage. From this cause a whole village or town often has but one surname prevailing among the inhabitants; and the different villages take great pride in their common descent, and inherit a spirit of clanship. The custom of ancestral worship is a matter of grave difficulty to a convert to Christianity; and it is an obstacle much more hard to surmount to a man of good Chinese family-descent, than to those who, in popular estimate, are of less illustrious and more ignoble origin. To withhold the customary offerings is not only deemed a transgression of the law of filial piety, but also an offence against the common honour of the family, or village clan. The remark of one of its oldest converts at Ningpo on this subject was characteristic. He

expressed, before some of his fellow-Christian Chinese, the opinion, that the highest honour which he could show to his ancestors was a virtuous life.

Near the chief ancestral temple there were several large boards, incised with a statement of the literary honours and civic rewards which had fallen to different members of the owners of the mansion; and which emblems indicated, like the custom of heraldic escutcheons in Europe, the rank and consequence of the family. These occupy the place and use of armorial bearings in western countries, and are much valued by the fortunate possessors of such public testimonials of family consequence and distinction. They remain from generation to generation, and confer a kind of conventional rank on the inmates of the dwelling.

In the evening, after our return to the Mission house, we assembled a few neighbours in the small room used as a chapel, where I said a few words to them on the chapter which Mr. Gough had read. They afterwards put some questions to me. Alooh particularly inquired of me the date of the destruction of Jerusalem; and also whether we had any means of knowing the precise date of the last day.

The next morning, *November 18*, we went to a small city named Ming-guo-tseang, some five or six miles distant by canal, but nearer by the direct route over the fields. On our way we stopped to examine a very magnificent tomb erected to the memory of a man of the family name of Yuen. This man, who died only a few years ago, had become wealthy, and had purchased some nominal rank from the Government. His children had attracted the cupidity of the mandarins by the costliness of the tomb; and, on the pretence of their having transgressed some sumptuary law in the matter of monumental expenditure, and assumed certain decorations which of right belonged only to members of the imperial family, they were involved in a law-suit, and were by degrees mulcted of their whole fortune, and reduced to comparative want.

We arrived at noon at the city, estimated to contain 30,000 people; and visited, in the course of our rambles, some of the principal Buddhist monasteries. In one of these we witnessed the details of a Buddhist mass performed for the benefit of a native gentleman and official, who died ten years previously. In one of the inner courts of the temple, and before a shrine, above which was suspended a picture of the deceased, there were assembled all the members of the family, brothers, sisters, children, nephews and nieces, in their

holiday attire. A number of priests performed their mummeries, and marched in procession around a table decked out with incense jars, sacrificial emblems, and the materials of a feast, the eldest son bringing up the rear. About a dozen ladies of the family were present, being most elegantly dressed, and evidently belonging to the highest class of native society. This was the anniversary of the decease of the head of the family.

In an adjoining room large numbers of ancestral tablets were observed, which were explained to us as belonging to various private individuals, who consigned them to the care of the temple, and paid the priesthood an annual fee for their safe custody, in order to ensure themselves against the possible risk of the future poverty or decay of their descendants, and the consequent cessation of sacrificial rites to their memory.

In some of the courts there were the usual representations by pictures and images of the tortures of the Buddhist place of torment, intended to strike terror into the multitude. Every form of inventive cruelty seemed to be represented, in order to terrify the beholder; a practice which afforded Mr. Gough an opportunity of addressing the surrounding crowd on the characteristic feature of the Gospel, as a revelation of mercy and deliverance offered by a God of love to those who turn to Him through Christ Jesus.

Mr. Gough having turned to Aloh, the catechist who accompanied us, and adverted to the sure arrival of the blessed period when these abodes of superstition shall become the temples of the true God, the latter, of his own accord, mentioned the interesting incident recorded in some Indian Missions, of a village idol-temple being converted into a Christian church, and the image of the false god, formerly worshipped therein being thrown down, and made a stepping-stone at the entrance to the building.

In the evening, in the chapel of the little humble abode which I have called the Mission house, and which is a small native house, containing, besides the catechist's quarters, only one little spare room, which served both as a sitting room and dormitory to Mr. Gough and myself in common, I attended a gathering of converts and neighbours, seventy-four in number. After Mr. Gough's prayer, I addressed them through him, and made many suggestions to them as to their course of duty in the peculiar circumstance of their situation in this out-station, especially dwelling on the desirableness of each believer endeavouring to bring ten others to a knowledge of the truth before my next visit. Be-

fore we separated, I gratified their curiosity by letting them question me on the various parts of the world which I had visited. They wished to know to which country I gave the preference, and what place I assigned to China in comparison with other countries. They asked whether I had visited Japan, and manifested especial interest when I informed them of my intention (D.V.) to make an exploratory visit to the newly-opened cities on the Japanese coast during the ensuing summer. Some of them also asked me how many years it was after Christ that Britain was evangelized and became a Christian instead of a heathen land. I was much struck with the unsophisticated character of this population, and noticed, with great satisfaction and thankfulness, the proofs of the moral influence of our Missionary brethren in the kindly welcome which the Chinese in this neighbourhood gave to Mr. Gough, and in the hearty goodwill and interest with which they inquired when Mr. Russell would pay his next visit to them.

Aloh, the catechist in charge, was formerly an adherent of the Woo-wei sect, a kind of eclectic creed formed of Buddhist and the general principles of Confucian morality. The followers of this sect profess to be reformers of the national avarice, pride, and sensuality of the Chinese. They rigorously abstain from animal food, and have a kind of ecclesiastical discipline exercised by a priesthood over the sect. One of the American Missionaries at Ningpo mentioned to me the suggestive fact of a Chinese of his acquaintance having been thoroughly reformed in morals, and having abandoned a profligate course for a respectable mode of life, professedly under the influence and motives of this religion. Aloh, for a long time after his baptism, continued rigidly to abstain from animal food; and this proved an occasion of frequent discussion and argument between himself and his father-in-law, the old catechist, Baou sseu-sang, whose daughter he had lately married. Aloh stated his unwillingness to eat flesh, lest it should shut him out from the hope of exerting influence over his former co-religionists. Baou, on the other hand, expressed his fear to Aloh lest he should be leaning upon this abstinence from animal food as a meritorious act with God, and as interfering with his entire reliance upon Christ alone for acceptance and salvation. On these occasions each party quoted Romans xiv., and claimed the advantage of being considered the weak brother in the matter, to whose scruples the opposite party should give way. At last, to the great satisfaction of the whole

Mission, on their return from some journey, Aloh deferred to his father-in-law's wishes, and partook of a meal of animal food, as a proof that he had abandoned all trust in the meritorious efficacy of his former abstinence.

As I had to leave early the next morning on our return over the hill-country, by a different route, to Ningpo, the native members of the Mission took the opportunity of saying farewell this evening.

I subjoin a translation of some notes, written by Aloh (or Liu) and his wife, and also the Chinese servant who took charge of the house, as an exemplification of the advantages of a Romanized system of writing, and the readiness with which unlearned persons, and, even Chinese women can, after a few weeks' instruction by the Missionaries in the European alphabet, easily express their thoughts on the commonest topics of daily life.

Aloh (Liu dao-teh) expressed himself as follows—

"MY DEAR MR. GOUGH—I am much delighted at your coming with the lord Bishop. Since I met Bishop Smith in the early part of this year, I have cherished the desire that, through God's protecting care, he might pay a visit to Seen poh. Now my wish is literally fulfilled. For this favour I return thanks to God. There is one thing, however, which distresses me—I fear I am excessively deficient in my mode of entertaining him. On his lordship's arrival it was incumbent upon me to purchase some articles of superior food, especially as it is his first visit. Even if the Bishop were to come every year, such an act of attention would be nothing extraordinary. Besides, such hospitality is due, not to the Bishop only, but also to the presbyters; for the apostle says, 'Who goeth a warfare at any time at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? Say I these things as a man, or saith not the law the same also? Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel.' Besides, the apostle Peter says, 'Use hospitality one towards another, without grudging.'"

"However, my deficiency lies as heavy as a mountain upon me, in that I cannot act as I would desire. I am truly wretched on this account.

"I earnestly desire that God may enable me to perform all that is right and well-pleasing in His sight. This is my constant aim and endeavour.

"There is another matter about which I have

not made inquiries. How is her venerable ladyship (the Bishop's wife) in health? How old is she? And how many children has she? I beg you, Mr. Gough, to present these my respects and inquiries for me. When the Bishop and yourself start to-day, on your journey back to Ningpo, I earnestly pray that God may preserve you both in personal security and bodily health, so that you may reach home in comfort.

"Liu Dao-teh writes this."

Aloh's wife, Mrs. Liu, also wrote a note; and I cannot refrain from appending the original in her own handwriting, as well as the translation of her note.

"Ngôh sin-sang ngô yiu ih-ying ez-ken iao tsing ng teng ngô s-me Da-jing u sen uô-wô, zui-z ng kyin-toh mæn-mæn kyi. Dæn-nyin Ting-ming pao-yiu ng Da-jing kyi-sing kông-gyin ming-nyin tsæ tao sæn-poh læ ah lah tong-tsong neng-keo tsæ jii we long læ ting ng Da jing k'æ-dao ahlah. Keh-z nyô sing-nyin jih.dzæ z-ka i-s.

"Liu Ae-jing sia go z."

"MR. GOUGH,

"I have a matter which I wish you to say to Bishop Smith for me. Please to say, 'good-bye' to the Bishop for me. May God preserve your lordship in bodily health, and enable you to visit us again at Seen-poh next year; and may we all again assemble together to hear your lordship's instruction!

"This is my heart's earnest desire.

"Liu Ae-jing writes this."

The brief note of the Chinese servant, Tsing-ih, was similarly written in English vowels and consonants; and though his writing is inferior in neatness to the others, the sentiments are appropriate and becoming his Christian profession

"His lordship the Bishop's words are very good. God, who is the Father of my spirit; occupies the first place, and to Him I render thanks for his word. I also thank his lordship for his words. It is through God's purpose that we enjoy this blessing. I am the chief of sinners. I trust in the name of Jesus. I beg you, Mr. Gough, to convey the thanks which I, Tsing-ih, am unable to express."

Early the next morning, *November 19*, we set out in chairs on our return over the mountain-pass Zgeang-gi-ling, forty miles to Ningpo, through a rural population of a very friendly character, and among scenery of the finest order. At 3 p.m., we reached the city of Tzechee, where we engaged a fresh relay of bearers. Five miles further onward, at Do-se-poh, we crossed the river, and hired a boat on the canal, by which, in two hours

we arrived at the city. We were detained at the west gate, where, at the early hour of 8 P.M., we found ourselves debarred from entrance. Some military guards on the battlements informed us of the strict orders not to open the city gates, which (as we afterwards learnt) was caused by an attack of the Lake insurgents, on the eastern suburbs, during the preceding night, and a general panic of the people in the fear of the city itself being captured during this night. Soon afterwards, a tseen-chung, or commandant of a thousand men, appeared on the walls, and, after inquiring our names, residence, and place of departure, he gave us permission to enter, warning off the Chinese crowd to stand at a distance while the ponderous gate was opened. As we entered gate within gate, we found a line of Cantonese soldiers drawn up in the inner court, before a guard-house, with spears, swords, and matchlocks, in readiness to repel any irruption of the crowd, or to avenge any act of treachery. Half an hour after, we were safely and comfortably domiciled in the bosom of our family circles.

Nov. 20—At 2 A.M. we were awoke by fierce yells and savage shouts, as from men fighting at no great distance. The sounds suddenly ceased, and all was quiet again. My first impression was, that the city was captured by the Lake rebels, and that the work of bloodshed was in progress. At daylight, however, the real cause of our disturbance was explained. Mr. Gough, during an early walk into the adjoining military parade-ground, saw the body of an old villager, who had been captured near the eastern lakes, and hurried to execution in the dead of night. His mutilated remains were seen by Mr. Gough. The body was hastily thrown into a rude coffin, and the head tossed in separately. An hour afterwards a pool of blood was the only thing which remained to tell of the sanguinary deed which had occurred. It partook partly of Lynch law, and partly of a regular execution, intended to satiate the bloodthirstiness of the Cantonese, who had left several of their number in some recent skirmishes; and, at the same time, performed during the night, in order to ensure certainty, and to avoid the indications of popular displeasure manifested at this the first precedent of an execution within the city.

Later in the day, seventeen men were executed at the large military exercising-ground outside the east gate, having been convicted of the crime of robbing a pawn-broker's establishment.

Lord's-day: Nov. 21—In the forenoon I attended the Chinese service in the church, in the centre of the city, where Mr. Russell officiated in reading the Liturgy. Afterwards I addressed the congregation—amounting, with the day-scholars attending our Mission schools, to about 150 persons—on the former half of Matt. v., including the Beatitudes, Mr. Russell interpreting for me into the Ningpo dialect. I had again the privilege of attending the English service in the evening, at Mr. Russell's house, where I gave an address from 2 Tim. iv. 1—7.

As we left the Chinese church ("Grace Church") in the forenoon an interesting occurrence took place, which may be taken as an instance of the good result of religious instruction, patiently and perseveringly imparted, even where, for a long time, no evidence existed to encourage the hope of a spiritual blessing arising therefrom. A boy named Song Dziang-seng, aged seventeen, had, a few years previously, been taken by one of the Missionaries from the streets in a state of destitution, and placed in one of the schools. More recently he had been apprenticed to a native Christian, a tailor, named Mei-eze-foo. His instructors were discouraged at seeing no perceptible fruits in his conversion to Christ. On this day, however, on leaving the church, I saw him place in Mr. Gough's hands a note, written in English writing, but containing the spoken sounds of the local dialect (according to the system which I have already explained), accompanied by a short text, written in Chinese characters on a separate piece of paper. The text was 2 Cor. v. 17: "Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new."

The following are the terms in which he expressed himself respecting his state of mind when proffering the request to be admitted to Christian baptism—

"Many thanks to you, Mr. Gough, for the kind care you have shown towards me. This, your good wishes for me, is a thing which is acceptable to God. At present my heart is very much troubled, and feeling continual sorrow. I pray very earnestly to God, and earnestly long for his Holy Spirit. The last year or two, about this season, I was full of life and merriment: how is it that now I should be so afflicted with sorrow? I know not whether to regard this sorrow as good or bad. David, in the 13th Psalm, says, 'How long shall I take counsel in my soul, having sorrow in my heart daily? But I will trust in Thy mercy, I will rejoice in Thy salvation.'

As far as I can understand myself, I am very different from what I used to be; yet I cannot say in what light others may regard me. My grief, too, does not merely extend to myself, but also to all my own relatives and all mankind. My desire before God is, that the whole world should become one in Christ Jesus. I sincerely wish to be baptized. May I hope that God will impart to me His Holy Spirit?

"This is presented to you from your scholar, Dziang-seng."

Nov. 22—I paid a short visit to the *Teen-choo tang*, "the hall of the Lord of heaven," where I was received very courteously by M. Guearres, a French padre, and conducted to see the Roman-Catholic cathedral, now in ruins from the falling in of the building through a sinking of the foundation three years ago. There are, in all, five European priests in Ningpo and the Bishop of the province, the last now temporarily absent in Chusan.

I directed my steps thence to the large camp, established in the large military parade-ground outside the east gate. Two or three thousand men were lodged in tents, and the whole was enclosed with a line of mud-defences, with watch towers aloft to guard against an irruption of the insurgents.

Close by a public building, which had been recently burnt by the insurgents, a body of Canton braves were stationed in a kind of temple. They were a fierce piratical-looking race, and received high wages in return for their services against the insurgent villagers. They said they received as much as thirty dollars a month as their pay. They appeared greatly pleased at hearing me say a few words to them in their own southern dialect.

The next day we visited the Roman-Catholic Foundling Hospital, outside the south gate, where seven French Sisters of Charity have under their care 100 infants, brought to the entrance gate, and there dropped into a drawer and passed inward, in close imitation of the details observable among similar institutions of native origin among the Chinese. These, with the same number of inmates in a similar establishment in another part of the city, are trained in the strictest forms and tenets of the Roman-Catholic religion, and are expected hereafter to grow up, unfettered by family ties, and exempted from all the difficulties of ancestral worship, as the nucleus and materials of a native Roman-Catholic community. Such establishments, named Yuh-ying-tang, are common among the Chinese; but the poor little inmates, rescued

from starvation, are only spared from an early death, to be consigned, in after years, to the harem of some rich purchaser, or to be bought into a Buddhist or Taoist nunnery, or even into a worse means of livelihood.

Nov. 24—We went to see the Protestant cemetery, at the distance of about a mile from the city, on the northern bank of the river. Our friends, Mr. and Mrs. Gough, had lately laid their only child in this spot; but God has mercifully given them another little girl, recently born, as a substitute for the little one taken to rest before them. There were other solemn associations in that spot connected with my own reminiscences. One tomb enclosed the remains of the late Rev. John Lowder, consular chaplain at Shanghai, who was drowned while bathing in the sea at the island of Pootoo, in the year 1849. His body was recovered by some fishermen a month afterwards, and brought to Ningpo for interment. I had myself been a principal party in selecting him for the post, and, previous to his appointment, had visited him at his country-parsonage in Wiltshire.

Another friend's name was inscribed on a cenotaph in the cemetery, at a little distance, recording the death of the late Walter Lowrie, an American Presbyterian Missionary, with whom I was associated in terms of the closest friendship in the years 1844 and 1845. Spared from the dangers of shipwreck, and reaching land at 800 miles distance from his foundered ship, in an open boat, he had, in the earlier part of his Missionary course, been wonderfully preserved in life. But now the great Lord of the harvest, beholding his own image reflected in his servant's holy life and disposition, and having no longer need of him as a labourer in the church below, summoned him in early years to higher employment among the redeemed in heaven, and took him, in the morning of his career, to his heavenly rest. He was returning in a native boat from Shanghai to Ningpo, in the year 1848, from his work as joint-translator (in the Delegates' Committee) of the Holy Scriptures, when he fell by the hands of violent and wicked men. He was attacked by Chinese pirates in the neighbouring bay of Hangchow, and his body was thrown into the sea, in which he immediately sunk, to rise no more.

Later in this day I witnessed a scene of horror, the remembrance of which will never fail to raise an involuntary shudder in my mind, and which I am almost tempted to forbear from describing. After an early dinner, Mr. Gough and myself had our attention attracted to the open space of the parade-

ground, in front of our house, by the more than usual loud hum of voices, and a concourse of people. Walking out upon the grass, we mixed with the crowd to ascertain the cause of the excitement. The scene which I am about to relate was the work of a few moments. A gun fired at a little distance from a neighbouring *yamun* or mandarin's office—increasing excitement among the crowd—the arrival of a train of sword-bearers—the flourishing aloft of knives—and the falling back of the people—were the occurrence of a few seconds. A solitary sedan-chair was borne in the midst of the soldiers, on the appearance of which a few crackers were fired, and a savage yell was raised by a portion of the crowd. A middle-aged man, apparently in humble circumstances of life, was suddenly made to descend from the chair, at the distance of about a dozen yards from where we stood. Thereupon there was a rush from the soldiers which baffles description, each man endeavouring to satiate his delight in cruelty, and all of them hacking with their knives and broadswords at the poor wretch's neck. The mob meanwhile, anxious to get a sight, and to carry off a portion of the blood on handkerchiefs and towels as a charm against evil spirits, crowded in upon the mangled corpse. One of the soldiers, seizing the severed head, threw it aloft a distance of several yards in the air. The head, which, a few moments before I had seen on the shoulders of a living man, I saw rolling along the ground, and at length deposited in a wooden vessel, with an inscription of the crime for which he suffered, to be borne from the scene of decapitation to the eastern gate, for exposure on the battlements of the city-wall. Popular rumour stated him to be connected with the eastern village insurgents; and to have been seized early on the same day, in an adjoining street, while engaged at a table, in the practice of his art as a fortune-teller, on the accusation of a boy, aged 14, placed under torture. Another account represented him to be the captain of a boat which had been engaged in assisting the insurgents, and was captured during a raid of the Cantonese mercenaries on the preceding day.

Much odium has been excited by these unprecedented executions within the city, in the minds of the respectable and loyal citizens against Twan-ta-jin, the provincial Criminal Judge, who is adopting these stern and vigorous measures for the suppression of the revolt.

Some of the wealthy inhabitants about this time visited both Mr. Russell and Mr. Gough,

with the request that, in the event of the capture and sack of the city, they would allow them to bring their families and moveable property to the Mission houses, as a safe place of custody. The sequel showed that these precautions were needless.

In taking leave of the misfortunes and conflicts of these local insurgents, I may insert at this point an extract soon after published in the "North China Herald," from which it will be seen that the revolt was speedily quelled, with its usual attendant measure of unavailing suffering, and the restoration of the power of the mandarins. The writer of the letter appeared to have been an American citizen, although the communication was published anonymously.

"The following extract from a private letter dated Ningpo, December 13th, has been kindly handed to us—

'The Lake opposition to the authorities has been crushed. After their dwellings were burnt by the magistrates and their Canton bloodhounds, they delivered up Sze che-fun, their leader, for 2000 taels. This led to the capture of several others who may have been active with him. Sze-che-fun said that he delivered himself up, but he was doubtless compelled to do so. Yesterday morning, he, with six others, among whom was a boy and a Buddhist priest, were beheaded on the great parade-ground. The six were simply beheaded, but he was honoured, as their leader, with having his arms and legs cut off, his body ripped open, his eyes dug out, &c. The number of dwellings burnt is said by Sze-che-fun, whom I saw, and with whom I conversed on Saturday afternoon, to have been some six or seven thousand rooms. My indignation is boiling at the wrongs and outrages with which this place is filled. When such men as Twan can be so *diabolical* what mercy or justice can be expected from the common herd of officers? I sincerely hope there will be no more attempts made by the people to resist the injustice of their rulers, as they gain nothing but cruelty and death.'

The camp has been removed from the parade ground, and there is some prospect of a quieter state of affairs there."

Nov. 26—This evening about forty of the native converts accepted my invitation to a feast, given in the large schoolroom adjoining Mr. Russell's house. Afterwards, an hour or two was spent in friendly discussion on the prospects of the Mission, and the various means likely to promote the progress of the Gospel among their fellow-countrymen.

In the early part of this year, during my former visit, my Church Missionary brethren

and myself had taken consultation together respecting a native-Christian ministry, and the suitableness of any among the native teachers or catechists for the ministerial office. Five persons had been designated as affording the hope of eventually attaining the standard deemed requisite for their future admission to deacons' orders. These were Baou, the well-known and long-tried catechist, almost the senior in age and standing among the converts, and a man peculiarly qualified, by his talents as a preacher, for a more public and recognised position in the native church. The others were Hwang and Jing, two of the teachers; Sing, formerly an artist; and Aloh, the son-in-law of Baou, and now in charge of the Seen-poh out-station. It had been my expectation and hope that, during my present visit, Baou, and possibly Hwang, the two seniors, might have been ordained deacons. Every thing seemed to promise favourably for such a result, in the case of Baou at least; and it was hoped that the public setting apart to the office of a deacon of one who had been long foremost in every good work, and in holy boldness in testifying to the Gospel of the grace of God, would have proved an event of no ordinary interest and edification to the native flock, and have inaugurated a satisfactory precedent as to the character and qualifications of the first Chinese deacon of our church. Unfortunately, a few weeks before my arrival at Ningpo, Baou, a man of quick temper, strongly opposed to the vegetarian principles of his son-in-law, Aloh, and having apprehensions lest his daughter (Aloh's wife) should be stinted in her supply of animal food, frequently attempted to interpose his authority as father-in-law, by acts of interference displeasing to Aloh, and on one occasion administered to the latter a rebuke in terms of strong and intemperate language. This had for a time considerably diminished his influence over his fellow-Christian natives; and although nothing had occurred to shake our confidence in his Christian character, we nevertheless felt that the present time was inopportune for elevating him to a prominent position of honour and authority in the church. We deemed it desirable that at least three months should elapse, in order that nothing of unpleasant reminiscences might survive to detract from their general interest and common congratulations. Baou himself received a delicate intimation of the cause of the delay, which he received in a very humble spirit, expressing his desire that the will of God might be done in the final issue of the matter of his ordination.

Our little assembling together this evening seemed to be attended with a good influence in restoring full confidence. Baou, in his address, adverted to the fact, that since my visit, eight months ago, there had been twelve new converts (including two adults and two children in the Seen-poh district. He spoke, also, of the increased spirit of inquiry perceptible among the Chinese; the encouraging prospects of extending the Mission under the greater privileges of itinerancy and toleration secured by the new treaty; and the evident proofs of the pending political troubles and civil convulsions of China having directed the attention of many of his fellow-countrymen to the Gospel as a means of comfort and support under their trials. He especially noticed the incident of a Hangchow gentleman lately, in one of the chapels, rising, after Baou's address, and publicly telling the people present, "Now the Emperor permits you all to become believers."

Hwang also made a short speech, and dwelt especially on some of the prejudices which existed in the native mind against Christianity; such as the foolish belief that the Missionaries took away human entrails, and drank human blood! This led to a general discussion, from which it appeared that some former prejudices, still operated unfavourably against Protestant Missionaries. Both the catechists suggested that great caution should be exercised by medical Missionaries, so as not to give currency to this absurd prejudice.

Tsew, an aged school-teacher, spoke with the weight of very advanced age, and gave some very appropriate exhortations on "letting their light shine before men." How, a basket-maker, dwelt with special thankfulness on the fact, that there was no division in his household, his whole family being believers. Sing, the artist, spoke from a portion of Ephesians v., and made some observations on the raiment and ornament conferred on the prodigal son in the parable. Tseang, a cotton-worker, dwelt on the duty of "love to the brethren;" and Sing-an, a convert from Seen-poh, and now an assistant in Dr. Parker's Missionary Hospital, contributed his item of advice to the brethren, in the suggestion that they should refer all cases of difference, as early as possible, to the Missionary clergy. Mr. Russell interpreted for me an address; after which Baou offered up a prayer, and the meeting terminated.

On Sunday, November 28, I preached on board H.M.S. "Nimrod," lying in the river, to the officers and crew, and a few of the English residents who came to the service from the shore.

The next day, November 29th, was the last of my pleasant stay in this interesting station. The reports of the Church Missionary Society give full accounts of the statistics of the station; and I will only add my testimony to the singlemindedness, diligence, and efficiency of the Missionary brethren in

their pastoral work, and of their wives in the daily routine of girls'-schools. Such visits are a real refreshment to my body and mind, after the weariness and anxieties attendant on a residence in a colonial community, and in a trying climate like that of Hong Kong.

(To be continued.)

GOVERNMENTAL EDUCATION IN INDIA—ITS PAST HISTORY AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

We are free to acknowledge, that, from the retrospection of history which has been requisite in order to the review of a subject so extended as the question of Indian education, we have derived much of comfort and encouragement. Our position at the present moment, when compared with the past, is one of decided advancement. One after another, mistaken and illiberal positions have been taken up by those who have been charged with administering the affairs of our Indian dependencies. In these they have entrenched themselves, and, regarding each successive conclusion as a fixed point of settled policy, from whence there could be no departure, have sternly denounced all suggestions, and proposed amendments as innovations. Yet, step by step, before the increasing pressure of public opinion, as men have acquired information and interest on the question, they have been forced to give way. Thus they have been, first, Orientalists, then Anglicists, next Vernacularists, and now one step more remains to be taken—that they become Scripturalists; a step from which many shrink, and pronounce it impracticable and hazardous: but they are not more indisposed to this consummation, than were the early administrators of India to the initiative of giving any instruction at all.

“For more than fifty years after the battle of Plassey, India was regarded as a dependency to be administered, primarily, for the benefit of the East-India Company; and, secondarily, for the advantage of England. The exclusive enjoyment of its commerce and government by the East-India Company for so long a period, had imperceptibly led to its being considered rather the domain of a corporation than a national possession. Every attempt to throw open the country to national enterprise was regarded as an encroachment on vested rights. The narrow, and, to a certain extent, selfish views which appear inseparable from the privileges of a close corporation, came thus to be applied to the government of sixty millions of people.

The trade was conducted on the principle of Queen Elizabeth's monopolies, who gave the Company its first charter, and it was the last remaining vestige of that ancient policy. All offices of any value were bestowed exclusively on the covenanted servants of the Company, who, after amassing fortunes in India, came home and obtained seats in the Direction, and sent out another generation of relatives to make fortunes in their turn. None but the servants and dependants of the corporation could enter the country without a licence, and every independent European was regarded as an interloper, liable to be deported whenever his presence became in any measure obnoxious. The Government was administered by Britons and Christians; and, as might have been expected, there was the most laudable desire to protect the people from oppression; but there was, at the same time, an invincible repugnance to the communication of any knowledge which might promote moral and intellectual elevation, or create aspirations which were considered dangerous.”*

Let us touch on a few salient points which may serve to bring this onward, although reluctant movement of our administrative policy clearly before our readers. In their time of infancy, when struggling for existence on the coast of India, the Court of Directors appears to have taken much interest in the propagation of Christianity among the natives. Missionaries were permitted to proceed to India, and direct encouragement was given them in the prosecution of their labours; but when a position of decided ascendancy was attained, and the merchants of Leadenhall Street became invested with sovereign power, their policy retrograded. Prosperity had corrupted the resident European population, and Christianity, and its wholesome restraints, being cast off as embarrassing and inconvenient, left its nominal religionists like salt

* Marshman's "History of the Serampur Missions," vol. ii. pp. 44, 45.

which had lost its savour. Then came the crisis of 1793. The House of Commons, in the prospect of being called upon to renew the charter of the East-India Company, had passed the two following resolutions—

“Resolved—That it is the opinion of this House, that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their *religious and moral* improvement. . . .

“Resolved—That sufficient means of religious worship and instruction be provided for all persons of the Protestant Communion in the service or under the protection of the East-India Company in Asia, proper ministers being from time to time sent out from Great Britain for those purposes; and that a chaplain be maintained on board every ship of 500 tons burthen and upwards in the East-India Company's employ; and, moreover, that no such ministers or chaplains shall be sent out, or appointed, until they first shall have been approved of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London, for the time being.”

Principles so distasteful to the old Indians, by whom the Directory was at that time crowded, aroused a storm of opposition. In April 1793, a discussion took place in the General Court of Proprietors of East-India stock, on the subject of these resolutions. The idea of sending Missionaries into our East-Indian possessions was denounced as the most wild, extravagant, expensive, unjustifiable project that ever was suggested by the most visionary speculator: it would endanger our security: the principle of proselytizing was impolitic and unworthy to be proposed in so enlightened a period as the eighteenth century: it would be a most serious and fatal disaster, if natives of character, even a hundred thousand of them, were converted to Christianity. The minister of the day bowed his head to the violence of the storm, and the principle embodied in the resolutions was omitted from the charter. In vain Wilberforce, with powerful eloquence, pleaded the rights of Christianity and the urgent necessities of the heathen. His journal records the issue—“The East-India Directors and Proprietors have triumphed: all my clauses struck out last night on the third reading of the bill.” It was not an advanced question, such as the admission of the Christian Scriptures into Government schools, which then agitated the public mind; but

whether any attempt, of whatever kind, should be permitted, to extend to the natives the knowledge of Christianity; and it was decided by the British House of Commons in the negative. Happily for the interests of truth, there was one spot in the vicinity of Calcutta where there was a resting-place for the harrassed Missionary, and, under the protection of the Danish flag at Serampur, the Baptist brethren were enabled to enter on their great translational labours, and prepare for and await the dawn of better days.

Twenty years passed over—twenty years of violated responsibilities, so far as England was concerned, and of continued darkness to the millions of India. Again, in 1813, the charter had to be renewed. So far as secular matters were concerned, the ministry of the day had decided to relax the restrictive policy of the Company, and to throw India open to convenient intercourse with England; but, on the great question of Missions, to legislate nothing, but leave with the Directors the exercise, in that respect, of an irresponsible authority. But the time was past when such indifference could be permitted. The year 1812 had witnessed the deportation of several Missionaries from our British territories in India. The public mind was alive on the subject: “Churchmen, Methodists, Dissenters, and almost every party in Scotland,” all combined to pour in such a flood of petitions as was scarcely ever seen. The struggle was one of intense severity. But the resolution sanctioning the admission of Missionaries was adopted in the House of Commons by a majority of fifty-three; and although, at the last stage of the bill, an attempt was made to omit the clause, only twenty-four voted in favour of it, and forty-eight against it.

In the India Bill of 1813, it was “provided that a sum of not less than one lac of rupees (10,000*l.*) a year, should be applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives in India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.”

But education in India was at this time in its earliest stage of Orientalism, and in the application of the money, nothing was contemplated beyond the “patronage of Hindú philosophy, science, ethics and mythology. In the opinion of the Directors and the Board, Parliament had voted 10,000*l.* a year to stereotype Hindúism, and they issued orders to carry this object into effect.”*

Let us consider what had been done up to

* “History of the Serampur Mission,” vol. ii. p. 86.

this period to extend the benefits of education to the natives of India.

The first native educational establishments founded in India by the British Government were the Mohammedan College at Calcutta, and the Sanskrit College at Benares, established respectively in 1781 and 1792. The object of these institutions was instruction in the *classical* languages of the East. English literature was to be translated into Arabic, and Sanskrit; and these languages being thus enriched by the learning of the West, accomplished Oriental scholars were to be the expected fruit. Native co-operation, it was thought, would thus be more easily secured, national predilections being gratified by the preference given to the learned languages of the East; and the *alumni*, having reached high attainments both in eastern and western languages, might be expected to go forth among their countrymen as authors, translators, and teachers, until knowledge, becoming more and more diffused, all classes should participate in the advantages of education. Thus the principle was conceded, that, in order to its improvement, the knowledge of the West needed to be grafted on the Oriental mind, but the channel by which this result was to be attained was the narrow and exclusive one of classical Orientalism.

A brief sketch of the Madrusseh, or Mohammedan College at Calcutta, the phases through which it has passed, and the vain attempts which have been made to render that healthful in its workings, which, in its original principle and constitution, was vicious and unsound, may not be uninteresting. The materials for such a condensed view, will be found in *extenso* in a minute by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated September 15, 1858, published in the General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for the year 1857-58.

"The Madrusseh, or Mohammedan college of Calcutta, was founded by Governor-General Warren Hastings in 1781, in order to give to Mohammedan students 'a considerable degree of erudition in the Persian and Arabic languages, and in the complicated system of laws founded on the tenets of their religion;' so as to enable them 'to discharge with credit the functions and duties of the Criminal Courts of Judicature, and many of the most important branches of the police, which it had (in 1781) been deemed expedient to continue in the hands of Mohammedan officers.'

"For this end a scheme of study was laid down, which, *excluding poetry, history, geography, and general literature*, professed to teach theology and law according to the

Korán, the commentators, and the traditionalists; and science according to the Græco-Arabic system of Bagdad and Bokhara.

"This college was, however, consigned to the uncontrolled management of Mohammedan professors, and the consequence was, that 'the studies of the college became nominal, and its ample resources (about 30,000 rupees per annum) were dissipated among the superior and subordinate drones of the establishment.' And this seems to have been, with little variation, the condition of the institution for nearly forty years after its establishment. In 1820, the college was placed under immediate English superintendence, and, after that change, the abuses, though not wholly eradicated, were less gross and flagrant than in previous years."

The original necessity for the establishment of the college, viz. "the administration of the Criminal Courts of Judicature by Mohammedan officers, had passed away within a few years after its formation, when the courts in question were confided to English Judges." On other considerations, however, it had been decided that "the ancient seminaries of oriental learning should be amply maintained," and the Madrusseh continued to be so dealt with," the religious element of the teaching becoming more and more developed every year, to the great pride and satisfaction of the learned and *quasi* learned Mohammedans who ruled over the institution, teaching Arabic in their own peculiarly dawdling, irrational, and inefficient manner, and varying the scholastic pursuits of the students by periodical assemblages of the neighbourhood for public prayer and exhortation, as well as by the frequent funerals of deceased Mohammedans, whose relatives were encouraged to bring their bodies to the college at all times of the day, for the performance of the prescribed rites and ceremonies, for which, of course, the work of teaching was always suspended.

On the change in the educational system of the Government, in 1835, which substituted instruction through the medium of the English, instead of the oriental classical languages, an English department was superadded to the original constitution. But in 1850, the English superintendent, finding himself powerless to prevent fictitious muster-rolls of students, and nominal professors, a qualified European was appointed Principal. He found the system of instruction to be "precisely the same as the one which was in vogue in Europe during the darkest ages," and productive of the same results. "The sophistries of dialectics learned in a sacred language, puff up the professors with conceit

render them hostile to every thing practical and founded on experience, and extinguish in them the sense of art and beauty, and blunt the sentiment of equity and morals"—such being the result of seventy years of patronage, during the greater part of which time, down to 1835, the students had all received stipends, "being, in fact, hired to learn the Theology of Mohammed, and the Physics of Aristotle," which on other terms few of them would have learned.

In 1850, the Principal attempted some ameliorations in the institution, disallowing the injurious and unsuitable practices to which reference has been made, and introducing improvements in the mode of tuition.

"This was equally resented by pupils and teachers, and it caused a general rebellion within the college walls, with which almost all the respectable Mohammedans of Calcutta displayed a hearty sympathy, and which was sufficiently violent and outrageous to require the intervention of the police.

"Upon this it was determined by the Government, that the system at the college should be thoroughly reformed. There were already two departments of the college, the Arabic, which was mainly a seminary for the indifferent teaching of obsolete inutilities, and a nest of abuses; and the English department, which was, up to that time, 'a costly failure.'

"The latter was to be separated from the former, so far as that those who prosecuted the study of Arabic were to eschew English; and those who studied English were to learn no Arabic. The English department was to be invigorated and improved, and Persian was added to it: the Arabic department was to be made clear of public prayers and funerals; obsolete science was no longer to be taught in the Arabic language; but the students of Arabic were in future to study nothing but Mohammedan law and general Arabic literature, upon an improved and modernized plan.

"Four years have elapsed since this new system was inaugurated, and Principal Lees now reports on the result.

"In the English, or Anglo-Persian department, there has been a decided advance and improvement. A class of Mohammedans has begun to resort to it, which never before sought for a knowledge of English; the number of pupils steadily increases, and the teaching is sedulous and effective."*

But with respect to the Arabic department, the attempt has been a failure, and that from the unsuitableness and impracticability of the agency which we are compelled to employ.

Any European in India, acquainted with Arabic, is now a *rara avis in terris*; so much so, that if the present Principal (Mr. Lees) were removed, the authorities are not aware of a single individual competent in knowledge of Arabic to supply his place. We are therefore limited to the employment of learned Mohammedans. Now, "a learned Mohammedan in Bengal means a man of extremely narrow, prejudiced, and bigoted views, even on the subject of Arabic learning itself. He neither knows nor cares for literature, as we understand the word. He has never read any Arabic poetry, and never means to read any. He probably could not understand it if he were to try. He is profoundly ignorant of all history, and geography, even as connected with his favourite language, with his nation, and with his religion. Of science he knows nothing, and does not believe in it when it is explained to him. But (if he be not a pretender, as is very often the case) our mulwi in Bengal is a skilful grammarian, a verbal logician, a technical rhetorician, and a profound and painful metaphysician. As a lawyer, he grounds his knowledge on no general principles, but knows certain formal treaties by heart; as a politician, he abhors with consistent zeal the domination of infidels; and as a theologian he is barren, credulous, and casuistical."*

Difficulties ought never to discourage us from the prosecution of a really useful object; but when the result is worthless, why persevere in its pursuit? and such the Lieutenant-Governor pronounces a knowledge of Arabic to be to an ignorant Asiatic.

"To encourage our Mohammedan subjects to learn English is undoubtedly of the very highest importance, and will be the first step towards removing their prejudices, and mitigating their religious bigotry. And a Mohammedan, possessed of a sound and equal knowledge of English and Arabic, would have received a really liberal and useful education, which, in proportion as it was extended over any considerable number of persons of that religion, could not fail to produce humanizing and elevating results among an important body of our subjects in India. But to encourage Arabic, and nothing else but Arabic, (which is what we are now doing in the Arabic department of the Mohammedan college,) is to foster against ourselves the old Mohammedan hostility, and to prolong, at our own expense, and to our own continual disadvantage, the bitter sentiments of religious and political hatred, of which we have but lately reaped some of the natural fruit.

* Report on Public Instruction, pp. 11, 12.

* Ibid. p. 13.

"It is important to remember the fact, twice emphatically alluded to by Principal Lees, that the Mohammedan college has produced, and is producing, *extensive political evil*. It is, in fact, a nursery of disaffection. And, for reasons, plainly intimated by the Principal, and familiar even to those who know but a little of the subject, it can never be otherwise in an exclusive school of Mohammedan learning. If this be so, the sedulous dissemination of this exclusive learning by the Government itself has in it something suicidal. It would perhaps have been better for us if we had never meddled with the matter at all; but having meddled with it, we ought not to act so as to make things worse than they need be."*

What is now to be done with this choice specimen of educational wisdom, avowedly kept up at a cost to Government of 158 rupees per student monthly, awaits decision. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks it desirable to abolish the Madruseh, and to teach Arabic in the best possible way, by means of a Professor or Professors attached to the University; or, if it must be still maintained, to restrict it to its original purpose of law teaching, and for that only.

Such, then, was the first phase of Governmental education in relation to India, that of Orientalism. During its ascendancy, the patronage of "the State was given to the cultivation of Hindú and Mohammedan literature, and English learning was encouraged only to the extent necessary to save appearances. Large sums were lavished on the printing of the oriental classics, and two thousand pounds were appropriated to an edition of Avicenna! The public funds were employed in teaching the young Brahmin how the soul was absorbed in the Deity, and how the slayer of a goat became sinless on pronouncing holy texts; what was the number of ideal classes into which the objects in the universe were divided, and what were the virtues of the holy sacrificial grass called Koosa. The pundits and mulwis enjoyed an earthly paradise; and hymns were composed, after the model of the Vedas, in honour of those who were thus pouring the wealth of the State into the lap of the Brahmins."†

But, happily for India, the reign of this system, one so barren of all beneficial results, was terminable; and the rival theory rose to view by which it was to be superseded. A movement commenced in favour of English education: it originated with the natives themselves. "Benares, 'the city of temples

and citadel of idolatry,' the Athens for Hindú students from various parts of India, was one of the first places in India where a Hindú came forward to offer an English education to his countrymen, and to connect it also with the Holy Scriptures."

"Jay Narayan was a native of Calcutta, and lived on the spot where Fort William now stands: he was superintendant of the Calcutta police, and acquired much wealth by trade, part of which he spent on Hindú temples, and part for Christian purposes. He subscribed 500 rupees to the Old Cathedral at Calcutta, and gave 100 rupees to the Bible Society. He was induced to do so by the recommendation of Ramcharan Tal of Ghospara, the head of the Karta Bhojas there, who told Jay Narayan that 'Jesus Christ was the true one, and came out of God.' He also presented four silver hands to the temple of Kali, in Calcutta, and built several temples to Siva."*

The steps which decided him to endow a place in which an English education on Scripture principles should be afforded to his countrymen will be found in the following letter, addressed by him to the Church Missionary Society:—

"It is now many years since I fell very ill, and, leaving Calcutta, came to reside at Benares, where I used every possible means known to Hindús in order to get well. Mr. Jonathan Duncan, who was at that time resident at Benares, and was my particular friend, procured for me also the assistance of several European surgeons, who were not able to afford me relief. At length a Hindú, who had been very ill, procured some medical advice from a merchant, Mr. G. Wheatly, by which he obtained a cure. On this I also sought acquaintance with Mr. Wheatly. He gave me a New Testament, and I bought of him a Book of Common Prayer. He often passed much time with me, in explaining the meaning of these books, and wrote many letters also to me on the subject of the Christian religion. In respect to my complaint, he recommended some simple medicines, but advised, above all, that I should apply myself to God in prayer, to lead my mind into the truth, and to grant me bodily healing. I complied with his advice, and obtained a perfect cure. I then asked him what I should do for the name of Jesus Christ. He advised that, as I had felt the benefit of the advice which he had given, I ought to consult the benefit of my countrymen, and with this view to found a school for education in English, Ben-

* Report on Public Instruction, pp. 14, 15.

† Marshman's "History of the Serampur Mission," vol. ii., pp. 488, 50.

* Long's "Hand-Book of Bengal Missions," pp. 68, 70, 71.

gals, Persian, and Hindú. In compliance with Mr. Wheatly's advice, I set about establishing such a school, and, with the help of my friends, raised a fund to supply 200 rupees a month for the endowment of it. Afterwards, Mr. Wheatly, failing in business, became himself the first schoolmaster. Mr. Wheatly's method was, first to instruct my family in Christianity and pray with them, and then teach the English language to the scholars who attended. He continually taught me that from joining in prayer and reading the Scriptures no loss of caste was involved, but piety would be increased.

"After a short time, Mr. Wheatly died, and since then I have had much trouble to accomplish my wishes respecting this school. In 1814, when Lord Moira came up the country, I applied, through Mr. John Shakespear, to his Lordship for assistance. His Lordship approved of the design, and left the settlement of it to his agent at Benares, Mr. W. A. Brooke. Mr. Brooke told me, that when all disputes respecting the settlement of the estate I intended to endow the school with were ended, he would report my wishes to the Governor-General; but until now these differences have not been adjusted. I became very anxious for the settlement of my school. Several masters I had employed proved unsuitable, and the children who came to school received no profit. I had heard through Mr. Wheatly of the Rev. Mr. Corrie, and, through him, had sent in 100 rupees, a small donation, with a letter to the British and Foreign Bible Society. I often prayed that he might come to Benares, and at length he came to reside at this place. From the information communicated by him respecting the Church Missionary Society, and from a perusal of one of that Society's Reports which he gave me, I determined upon making the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society the trustees of my school, and assigning to them the property which I had appropriated for the endowment of it. Accordingly, I have requested them to undertake the trust, and legal measures are in progress for transferring the school endowment permanently into their hands. In the mean time my house in Bengali Tolah, which cost me in building 48,000 rupees, has been appropriated for a school-house, and Mr. Adlington has begun to give instructions in the English tongue. Thus, what I have been for many years desiring begins to be accomplished. But I long greatly that the most effectual means may be used for enlightening the minds of my countrymen. I am therefore anxious to have a printing press also established at Benares, by which school-books might be speedily multiplied, and treatises on different subjects

might be printed and generally dispersed throughout the country. Without this, the progress of knowledge must be very slow, and the Hindús long remain in their very fallen state, which is a very painful consideration to a benevolent mind."

It is painful to think that this Hindú gentleman, to whom his countrymen owe so large a debt of obligation, died without any decided avowal of his belief in the Gospel of Christ as the alone true faith. His dying declaration was, that he was "long in search of truth, but had not found it;" and to this he added these memorable words—"Had the Christian religion been true, the Company Bahadur, which had in other respects benefited his country, would not have withheld from at least commending this religion to their notice." That we believe to be the duty of a Christian Government. Without compelling any, it is under an obligation to avow its own convictions on the subject; and this, we rejoice to say, Her Majesty has done in her late proclamation.

The conviction that it was for their interest they should be acquainted with the English language had been silently gaining ground amongst the more influential Hindús at Calcutta, and, early in 1816, "some of the most opulent and influential natives, both of the orthodox and liberal party, expressed a strong desire to establish a college in Calcutta for the education of their children in the English language, and in European science. This proposal, which was spontaneous on their part, was warmly encouraged by Sir Edward Hyde East, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Lord Moira's policy. In the month of May, a meeting of the leading men in Hindú society was held at his house, to found an institution for giving a generous and liberal education to native youths. Lord Moira accepted the office of President, and Sir Edward and Mr. Harington became Vice-Presidents. It was the first national movement in the cause of improvement. Natives, eminent in rank and station, hastened to support it by their contributions, and the sum of 11,318*l.* was immediately raised. Such was the origin of the Hindú college, which has produced the most memorable results among the upper ten thousand of Bengal. For a period of forty years it has been instrumental in diffusing among the aristocracy of the province that sound knowledge which has tended to raise them above the puerilities of their hereditary creed, and rudely shaken the fabric of Hindú superstition."*

* Marshman, vol. ii. p. 118.

Wilkinson, in his "Sketches of Christianity in North India," gives a version of these facts different from that which we have just transcribed from the pages of Mr. Marshman's history of the Serampur Mission.

"The formation of the Hindú college was sudden and unexpected. The plan of the college was submitted to, and finally adopted by, a General Committee, formed principally from among the rich natives, on an application from them to Sir E. East, entreating him to assist them. Secretaries were chosen, Sir Edward was desired to be President, and Mr. Harington to be Vice-President. They accepted the offer. The Governor-General fearing that this was a movement towards Christianity, requested that the latter would withdraw. He did so, and Sir E. East withdrew also, to the surprise and regret of those who had embarked in the work."*

His estimate of the practical working of this institution contrasts as strongly with the impression conveyed by the language of the historian of the Serampur Mission, when he says—"For a period of forty years it has been instrumental in diffusing among the aristocracy of the province that sound knowledge which has tended to raise them above the puerilities of their hereditary creed." Wilkinson writes—

"Notwithstanding this unpropitious circumstance, the matter went on, subscriptions to the amount of 10,000*l* were spontaneously raised, and more soon flowed in. Such was the origin and commencement of the present Hindú college, which has been so productive of infidels, some of whom have been caught in the Missionary net spread for them on the other side of the tank, in front of its college and elsewhere, and entered the Christian church through the laver of baptism, we trust to be finally saved. . . . One is episcopally ordained, and now preaching in a beautiful and substantially built church in Calcutta."*

That such would prove to be its practical working, and that its issues would be in favour of scepticism, rather than of sound knowledge, might have been foreseen from the character of those Hindú gentlemen who were most active in its formation. Amongst the most prominent of them was Rammohun Roy.

"He was at the time about thirty-six years of age, of Brahminical lineage, of noble presence, and of rare attainments. He had successfully cultivated the Persian, the Arabic and Sanskrit languages, and was better read in Hindú theology and philosophy than the majority of pundits in Bengal. His family

was possessed of some ancestral property, which, by the death of his brothers, eventually devolved on him; but it was not of such value as to place him above the acceptance of a public office. He became the chief officer of the collector of Rungpur, and, being thus brought into European associations, cultivated the English language with such assiduity, as in a few years to be able to comprehend the most profound treatises in metaphysics and divinity.

"He did not renounce the distinctions of caste, and continued to associate with the most orthodox Hindú families, but he rose superior to the prejudices of his countrymen, and invited European gentlemen to breakfast with him, while he sat at a separate table. He repudiated the popular system of idolatry, and formed the bold design of reforming the creed and practice of his countrymen, and inviting them to unite with him in the worship of one God. With this view he published, in the first instance, a work against the 'idolatry of all religions,' and then an 'abridgement of the Vedant establishing the unity of the Supreme Being, and that he alone is the object of propitiation and worship.' This treatise was compiled more than 2000 years before, by the great Vyasa, and presented a complete and compendious abstract of all the Vedas.

"A translation of this work in English, which he published in 1816, brought him and his doctrines of reform under the notice of the European community, and placed him in that conspicuous position which he occupied during the remainder of his life. In the introduction to this work he attacked with unsparing severity that system of popular idolatry, on which Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Lushington, and Mr. Marsh had bestowed the highest eulogium three years before in the presence of the British Parliament. He said he had observed some Europeans exhibit a wish to palliate and soften the features of Hindú idolatry, and to show that all objects of worship were considered by their votaries as emblematical representations of the Supreme Being.

"He affirmed that the Hindús of the present day had no such views, but firmly believed in the real existence of innumerable gods and goddesses, who possessed full and independent power in their own departments. He further remarked that "the injurious rites introduced by the peculiar practice of Hindú idolatry, more than any other pagan worship, destroyed the texture of society. At the beginning of this year he visited the Serampur Missionaries for the first time, and entered into a long and interesting discussion of re-

* Wilkinson's Sketches, &c., p. 218.

ligious questions, in the course of which he observed that the god Krishna had, on the showing of the Hindú Shastras, been guilty of a petty theft, of which the sweeper of his house would be ashamed. 'How, then,' said he, 'can I worship him as a God?' For several years after this visit, and down to the period of his discussions with Dr. Marshman on the divinity of Christ, he maintained a friendly intercourse with the Missionaries, whose zealous efforts in the cause of Christian benevolence he fully appreciated.

"The opposition of Rammohun Roy to the current superstition of the country created a spirit of the most bitter hostility on the part of the orthodox; but some of the most eminent Hindús in and around the metropolis enrolled themselves among his disciples, the

most illustrious of whom was the late Dwarkanath Tagore, who made so favourable an impression on the public mind in England during his visit to this country. In the month of March, during the saturnalia of the Húlt festival, Rammohun Roy and his friends convened a meeting in Calcutta, and held their first religious service. Chapters were read from the Vedas, which inculcated the unity of the Godhead; hymns were chanted in which the power and glory were ascribed to the one Omnipresent and all-powerful Being. This was the origin of that religious movement among the intelligent Hindús of Calcutta and its vicinity, which resulted in the establishment of the Bramhasubha, or Society of Vedantists.*"

* Marshman's "History of Serampur Mission," vol. ii. pp. 127—130.

THE PUNJAB MISSION.

IN a recent Number we presented a sketch of the Indus territories, and their importance as a field of Missionary labour. A Mission in that region, if suitably dealt with and effectively sustained, must necessarily be of a commanding character. It presents a most attractive sphere of usefulness to faithful men, who, won by the Lord's merciful dealings with their souls, desire to engage themselves in his service, and are on their watch-tower to know what is the particular work in which it is his pleasure they should engage. Indeed the enthroned Saviour seems at the present moment to be dealing with his church in an especial manner. He would draw his people forth to service by the grandeur and magnificence of the openings which He puts before them. Everywhere, in every possible direction, regions, hitherto inaccessible, lie wide before us. Difficulties have been removed, the strongly-barred gates thrown open. The man who is an aspirant for Missionary labour may have his choice of work, and select, according to his suitableness, the rude Africans along the banks of the Niger; the busy swarms of densely-populated China, whose utter stagnation as to every thing of a spiritual nature contrasts so strongly with the intensity of their interest and action in secular matters; or else the Mohammedans of Oude, now wondrously broken down under the pressure of recent calamities, and disposed, nay, anxious, to hear the instruction of Christian Missionaries; or the Sikhs, amongst whom may be discerned a tendency to a great national movement in favour of Christianity. If there be in the church of Christ a heart for Missions, it can no longer remain hidden and kept down like a smouldering fire: it must

needs break forth; and indeed already we think we see the enkindling of such a spirit.

Meanwhile, we would desire to add something which would help to warm the hearts of Christian men towards that great work of Missions to the heathen, which reacts on the home-centre with as large a blessing as that which it dispenses abroad. One of our Punjab Missionaries, after a brief stay in Europe, has returned to his station. We have just heard from him. He has lost no time in communicating with friends at home. He reached Peshawur on Jan. 7, and his letter bears date Jan. 24, 1859. In this brief letter there is much that is heart-stirring. On his way up, he visited Lucknow. Our esteemed Missionary, the Rev. C. B. Leupolt, is now in England, and many of our friends will have an opportunity of hearing from himself, the subduing of spirit, the willingness to hear, and the promise of great usefulness, which he witnessed when preaching the Gospel in the bazaars of Lucknow. All that we have heard from him is corroborated by the Rev. R. Clark. He says—"The Missionary openings there are indeed wonderful. There appears to be, since the mutinies, a spirit among Europeans ready and willing to make almost any sacrifices, and to do any thing, if so be the Gospel may be preached to the poor heathen amongst whom they live. The contributions and subscriptions at Lucknow are very large indeed. Any amount of assistance, of almost any kind, may be had. The people, too, appear willing to listen to the Gospel, and Missionaries may preach without let or hindrance wherever they will. This could not have been said respecting Lucknow at any previous time. I went with Mr. Leu-

polt to the bazaar. I heard Christ preached with earnestness for more than an hour, the people listening the whole time with marked attention. The Lucknow brethren need much the constant prayers of our friends at home, that great wisdom and much grace may be bestowed in laying the foundation of so important a Mission, and that they may be enabled to make use of the great opportunities which are everywhere around them."

The letter then carries us onward to the Punjab; and the information it conveys is corroborative of all that we have advanced as to the interesting aspect of this field of labour, and the necessity of increased exertion. Mr. Clark was just in time to join the conference of Missionaries at Amritsar, and his notices of that meeting are full of hope. We feel more and more how essential to a growing and prosperous work is a spirit of earnest union amongst the Missionaries; and that where disunion prevails, the dew of divine recognition is withheld or feebly imparted. Let Missionaries who permit variance to have place among them, reflect how grievously they are injuring the very work, to the promotion of which they have consecrated themselves. We do thank God that no such root of bitterness is permitted to spring up amongst our Punjab Missionaries. Our Missionary brother says — "Our Amritsar conference was much enjoyed by us all. We felt it to be a privilege to meet together, and to talk over, both privately and together in conference, many subjects respecting our Punjab Missions. . . . The union of purpose and heart, and the cordiality manifested amongst our Missionaries, were very delightful, and were a token of God's presence amongst us. May our Punjab Missions ever be characterized by the same spirit of love and earnestness which have so strikingly appeared at both of the Amritsar conferences!

"Amongst other subjects, one seemed especially to fill the minds of all the assembled Missionaries, namely, the importance of the present openings for Missionary work in the Punjab, and our utter inability to do ourselves even a small part of what there is to be done. Our Amritsar Mission is, as regards its number of labourers, not what such a Mission should be. It requires more help; and we need also itinerating Missionaries, able and ready to move regularly about the country, or to go to any place wherever an awakening may occur. Such an opening is even now before us, but for lack of men we cannot make use of it. A whole regiment of Muzibi Sikhs is said to be most willing and anxious to receive Christian instruction. One man has been already baptized, and their officers say that many more are willing to

become inquirers, and they offer of themselves every facility of access to their men Then, again, Múltan may be said to be nearly quite unoccupied, and every one agrees that, next to Amritsar, Lahore, and Peshawur, it is, both politically and numerically, the greatest centre of influence that the Punjab has.

"At Peshawur we are stronger than at either of the two other of our sister stations, or rather, we shall be when we are joined by our whole number. But we have three languages to labour in, and we have to do with two countries hitherto untouched—Afghanistan and Persia. Mr. M'Carthy's school is a first-rate one, and the progress of the scholars such as quite to surprise, a few days ago, both Sir J. Lawrence and Col. Edwardes. Mr. M'Carthy will still, I hope, give the greatest part of his time to this most important part of our Missionary work at Peshawur. I have begun myself again to preach, with our catechist, Peter Wuzir, in the bazars, in Hindústání, and I hope many days will not elapse before I shall be able to do the same in Pushtú. This latter language will be the one to which I shall devote my greatest attention. Mr. M'Carthy has taken up Persian, and already preaches very well in Hindústání. Mr. Tuting will probably commence Pushtú. Dr. Trumpp will find plenty to occupy his time in all three languages. We shall thus have four ordained Missionaries, and also Col. Martin.

"The expense of this Mission, although it has five Missionaries, will not, I hope, be great. Our Mission here defrays the salary of one Missionary; the Juvenile Association of St. John's Wood gives 180*l.* a year towards that of a second; and a gentleman in England gives 100*l.* a year for a third. Our Mission here pays all local expenses. Thank God, the interest in the Mission remains unabated. The collections here, after two sermons, were 1000 rupees; and those after two sermons a fortnight ago, at Rawul Pindí, were 720 rupees. So you see that we need only more grace, more blessing from on high in our spiritual work. We need, also, more native helpers. We ask for your prayers, and those of Christian friends."

Such, then, is the Punjab Mission, and the Peshawur Mission in particular. What an inviting field is here before us—one worthy of the best and highest energies of a Christian man. Let such men in this country—men who have come under conscious obligation to the Lord Jesus Christ—say whether they do not hear the voice of that Lord summoning them to *his* work, and whether they do not see the hand of his providence pointing to the Mission fields of India, Africa, and China.

THE BISHOP OF VICTORIA'S JOURNAL.—MISSIONARY PROSPECTS IN CHINA.

THE portion of the Bishop of Victoria's journal which we published in our last Number had reference to Ningpo and its immediate vicinity. The latter part, which we now introduce, carries us further into the Che keang province. The importance of explorations such as these can scarcely be estimated. At a moment like the present, when, China being at length opened, we stand on the threshold of new and enlarged efforts for the evangelization of its millions, it is of primary consequence that we should be furnished with reliable information as to the best mode of enlargement, and the localities to which our attention should be specially directed. Promptly and resolutely, and yet, we trust, wisely and discreetly, our Mission work in China shall be expanded. The opportunity is now largely afforded us: let us, then, haste without delay to communicate truth in its illuminating influence to this interesting, and yet benighted population, from which the Macedonian cry is now heard, "Come over, and help us." Help they need, and help, with the blessing of God, they shall have.

May all the force of the Greek word be felt by us—*Βοηθησον ἡμῖν*! The Church Missionary Society has designated two additional Missionaries to proceed to this vast field; but what are they amongst so many? We trust that the perusal of the Bishop of Victoria's journal will exercise a powerful influence on many a heart, and arouse men duly qualified for the work to offer themselves, without delay, with a special reference to the wants of China.

Before leaving Ningpo the Bishop availed himself of an informal opportunity of consulting with the Missionaries as to the best principles of extending the Mission. He has communicated to us the result in the following

General conclusions.

1. In the prospect of the wider opening of China in the ensuing year to the labours of Christian Missionaries, the principle of concentrating our Missionary force upon one province of this vast empire, and the occupation of one large tract of country having a population of homogeneous dialects, with an adequate number of labourers, seems preferable to a dispersion of our number over widely-remote provinces, in untried localities, and amid a population of dissimilar vernacular tongues.

2. That the province of Che keang, occupying a central position in respect to the rest

of China, and numbering a population of twenty millions, among one-third of whom the Ningpo dialect is spoken, with slight modifications, forms a vast field of labour, likely to absorb all the present available labours of the Church Missionary Society; and that therefore, it seems expedient that the efforts of the Society should now be mainly directed towards planting a strong Mission over this extensive region.

3. That Ningpo appears to present many advantages as a convenient basis of operations, in conjunction with Hangchow, the provincial capital, distant about 100 British miles to the north-west, for the extension of Mission work into the interior. The former city is the most advanced of the present stations of the Society in the number of the Missionary clergy, native converts, catechists, and probationists for the Christian ministry, in the publication of books of Christian doctrine in the Roman character adapted to the local dialect, and in the tried friendliness and accessibility of the remote rural populations. The latter city enjoys a repute and influence second in a literary point of view to none in the empire. Its population is estimated at above two millions; its dialect is not greatly different from that of Ningpo, nor likely to be found greatly different from that of Shanghai, being situated at an intermediate point between the two places. Hangchow, also, not being included among the newly-opened ports, and being shut out by its difficult navigation from all prospect of a foreign mercantile community, is likely to retain its present isolation from the disturbing influences of mercantile positions on the sea coast.

4. That in view of the abovementioned reasons, we consider the immediate occupation of Hangchow as a second basis of Missionary operations as very expedient. From Hangchow a course of systematic co-operation might be carried on with the brethren at Ningpo in a common and united advance upon the interior of the empire.

5. That the subsequent gradual occupation of the several *foo* or departmental cities, by one or more European Missionaries, and the location in the several *heen*, or district cities, of each department, of a native deacon or catechist, under the supervision of an itinerant superintending European Missionary, commends itself to our judgment, as a plan of operations which affords the best prospect (under the divine blessing) of fully evangelizing the native population, and of securing paramount Missionary results.

JOURNAL OF A VISIT TO NINGPO AND HANGCHOW, AND THE ADJACENT PARTS OF CHE KEANG.

(Continued from our last Number.)

Nov. 29, 1858.—I took my departure from Ningpo with Mrs. Smith and our little girl. On our return to Shanghai, in order to avoid the strong northerly winds of this season, especially in the delicate state of our child's health, we determined on making the overland trip to Shanghai, *via* Hangchow, the capital of this province (Che keang), a route but partially tried, and never hitherto accomplished by a foreign lady or child. Deeming it expedient to obtain the sanction of the local Chinese authorities at Ningpo, I opened communications with the Twan ta-jin, the acting Taoutae and Provincial Judge, indirectly through Mr. Russell. The intermediate native official agent intimated the readiness of the Taoutae, but suggested the expediency of the British Vice-Consul writing out my name and office. After various consultations, I acted on the Vice-Consul's suggestion of sparing all parties the necessity of formalities, and to assume the perfect feasibility of the undertaking, although, amid the transitional state of affairs before the ratification of interchange of treaties, no formal passport could be obtained by me.

Under this informal sanction, I set out, with Mr. Russell as our fellow-traveller as far as Hangchow, which, by the circuitous route of the inland water communication, was about 150 miles distant from Ningpo, and about half the distance to Shanghai. Mr. Russell's boat kept near to our own. Each boat was covered with a semi-circular roof of matting; and, by means of canvas curtains, and paper stuffed into the crevices, we contrived to render our boats tolerably comfortable.

We embarked at 3 p.m. outside the north gate of the city. We had not proceeded three miles up the river before a trifling hindrance occurred. Two Cantonese boats, bearing aloft large red flags, and professing to have authority from the Taoutae, were proceeding to board our little craft, in order to levy a contribution; in other words, to demand black mail for our safe conduct and exemption from pillage. Mr. Russell managed them with exquisite tact; and what might, to Europeans unacquainted with the language, and possessed of less prudence, have proved a sanguinary collision, was quietly adjusted without any difficulty. He asked them what might be their pleasure. They replied that they merely came to levy the toll authorised by His Excellency the Taoutae. He begged that they would be kind enough to name the

amount, and to bear a written order for the sum to be presented by them the next morning for payment at Mr. Russell's house in the city. They said that they could not think of allowing a foreign gentleman to pay any contribution, and that it was unnecessary to detain us a moment longer. Our boats passed on, but all the others in our train paid the accustomed mail, about 200 copper cash, equal to about one shilling.

During the night, the cold wind was very piercing, and, even with the aid of pans of charcoal, it was difficult to exclude the frosty air. The next morning, November 30, we passed the district city of Yu-yaou, already described by me during my trip with Mr. Gough. (*Vide* p. 104.) We left the previous route at this point. One of the first persons whom we accidentally met, as we walked along the river-bank through the suburbs, was a native colporteur, employed by our Mission, in the pay of the British and Foreign Bible Society. At a place called Tow-mung, a dozen miles further on, our boats stuck for a time under a bridge, through the shallowness of its water after the long drought and the prevalence of neap-tides. After passing a large village called Mochoo, we reached a lock called the Mo-choo po-dow, where we were detained for twenty hours by the impossibility of getting our boat transported over the inclined plane or sluice into another canal. The tidal river terminates at this point, and its shallowness at this time was a serious inconvenience to about a hundred other boats besides our own. Some of these contained a number of native scholars, fresh from the literary examinations at the provincial capital, and the detention here for four or five days, until the spring tides, was a sore disappointment to them, amid their other causes of excitement at this anxious season of their lives.

Many of them had been for two months absent from their families and homes, and now they were returning, most of them necessarily with disappointed hopes. We did not experience any marked advances of friendship from these literary gentry, nor (it is but justice to add) did we receive any indications of discourtesy. Still, there was a something in their bearing which, together with what we had learnt from independent testimony, led us to the conclusion that we ought to be satisfied with ordinary interchanges of politeness, and not to accept a more familiar acquaintance. From the report of Mr.

Russell's teacher, on his return from the examinations, it appeared that the recent treaty, and especially the rumoured legalization of opium as an article of foreign import, had been made the subject of an anonymous placard at Hangchow, which had produced great excitement among the scholars assembled at the examinations. The native pamphleteer called upon his fellow-countrymen and fellow-literati to mark well the boldness and shamelessness of foreigners, who, he said, had compelled the Emperor to abandon the policy of his dynasty, and to recede from his prohibition of the noxious drug. The placard contained, too, a reflection on the inconsistency of foreigners in trying to force opium into China, and at the same time endeavouring to induce the Chinese to embrace the religion of foreigners. The anonymous writer then proceeded to criticize some recent Christian publications issued from the American Presbyterian press at Ningpo, dwelling on certain passages containing sentiments at variance with Chinese moral maxims on the social relations of life. He remarked, too, on the absurdity of the Missionaries writing in these tracts severe censures on the vice of drunkenness, when their own countrymen, at the same time, introduced opium among the Chinese. The irate author of this anonymous manifesto concluded by suggesting to his literary brethren the propriety of making a public demonstration of their displeasure against the Missionaries propagating the religion of foreigners, and of seizing any European distributors of Christian books, and "dropping them into the river." Under these circumstances, Mr. Russell deemed it expedient to open no conversation with them on the subject of our religion, nor to distribute among them any Christian books.

We had frequent and painful evidence to suggest the belief that opium-smoking is a prevalent sensual indulgence, which has spread over nearly the whole population of the sea-board of this province, and has especially penetrated with its ensnaring power the literary class of native scholars, so that, probably, in the last few years the destructive habit has been doubled, trebled, or even quadrupled in the number of persons overcome by its allurements. Although this fact proves that the people themselves, and the scholars especially, willingly co-operate with the foreign smuggler in their own self-degradation, by the use of opium, yet it furnished, at this time, a convenient outlet for the offended pride of these native patriots, keenly sensitive to the humiliations recently inflicted by foreign powers on the national prestige of their race. Of one thing there

can be no reasonable doubt—that *the public sentiment and the moral sense of the Chinese nation* (if such an expression be allowable respecting a heathen people) *are unequivocally arrayed against opium-smoking and opium-smuggling.* The Missionaries at Ningpo assert that this question is one which greatly militates against the moral influence of foreigners, and the consequent success of foreign Missionaries; and nothing has occurred within my sphere of observation to make me believe that they have over-rated this drawback to Missionary success. On the present occasion there existed a palpable instance of this form of obstacle to the progress of Christianity in China.

We spent a portion of the afternoon in ascending a lofty hill close to our boat. On the top was a temple erected to Shing-moo, "Holy Mother," a maritime goddess. A beautiful country lay at our feet, and the view extended to a great distance on every side; plains of a highly-cultivated region, being in every direction, intersected by hills rising to 1000 or 2000 feet in height. As we descended, some of the neighbouring villagers were much disconcerted at seeing me pick up some geological specimens, and evidently viewed the stones which I collected as possible proofs of the fertility of the soil likely to tempt the territorial cupidity of foreigners. At last I deemed it advisable to forget Sir R. Murchison and geological museums, and to humour their prejudices and fears by coming away empty-handed.

Dec. 1.—This morning the thermometer at 9 A.M. stood at 40°, and during the night it must have been much lower, as we saw pieces of ice three inches in length in shady parts of the water side. Even an hour or two later, the cold wind was so piercing as to render an outer fur-coat indispensable to our comfort, although at the same time the rays of the sun were so powerful as to necessitate the wearing of a light ventilator-hat, and the carrying of a thick white canvas-lined umbrella, to protect us from its scorching and morbid influences.

Our boat could not possibly get to the lock to secure its turn of being hauled by a windlass up its inclined plane until after the lapse of four or five days, and the commencement of the spring-tides. We therefore made an exchange of boats with some wayfarers, bound in the opposite direction, and set off soon after breakfast in a larger native boat for our next point, Pak-quan, along the "Western canal." After twenty miles through a fine country, with villages and towns dotted about in every direction, and with the thrifty industrious peasantry pursuing their toil in

the fields, we arrived at our destination about sunset. We walked a couple of miles into the town, to a point where we obtained some rude sedan-chairs, in which we proceeded at a brisk rate along a succession of streets, to the bank of a broad river, the Tsaou-ho. Here Sing, one of the native catechists sent on previously from Ningpo to expedite our means of conveyance, met us, and joined our company. Two or three furlongs across the river, in a large ferry-boat, crowded with native fellow-passengers, and another three miles on the opposite side in sedan-chairs, brought us to a considerable town on the terminus of our next canal.

We had to remain half an hour in the house of a public guild, entrusted with commissions by travellers, such as hiring boats, purchasing provisions, and engaging luggage-bearers. We were taken at last on board a large hired flower-boat, which made some pretensions to beauty in the gaudy pictures and gilded mouldings which prevailed in the interior. It was, however, an occasion of intense discomfort amid a cheerless night and a frosty atmosphere, with our bedding and cooking apparatus long detained by some unexpected delay in our rear. At length, at 9 P.M., our luggage-bearers, under the good management and superintendence of Sing seen-sang, duly arrived, and we prepared to make ourselves at home for the night. In this, however, we were for some time disappointed. Police agents and runners came to make inquiries, and offer assistance; in other words, to insinuate themselves into our confidence, and to gain opportunities of making some extortions through our necessities, or the fears of our native conductors. It very soon appeared that our international intercourse has reached a new era, and that we only need a prudent and courteous demeanour on the part of foreign visitors, and fair play on the part of European officials, in giving effect to the new passport regulations, to secure for Missionary travellers every facility which they can reasonably require for the prosecution of their work amongst the Chinese people of the interior.

Our friend Sing, and other native companions from Ningpo, were in no way disconcerted. A civil mandarin, and afterwards a military officer, came to our boat to pay their respects. Sing had apparently volunteered some information as to my official rank, with possibly a few additions of his own, arising probably from his own misconceptions, or a desire to secure full respect for us on our route. Both the officials inquired when the *Ta-jin*, ("his lordship") would start again on his journey? "Was there any thing

which they could procure for the *Ta-jin*? Would the *Ta-jin* pardon their incivility and discourtesy in their not having provided for him a feast?" They proceeded to occupy Mr. Russell's time for half an hour in conversation on various topics from the Kwang-see rebellion, now spreading in the adjoining province of Keang-see, to the subject of opium. I was sorry, both on this and other occasions, to observe the diminution of the usefulness of our Church Missionary brethren at Ningpo, through their inability to comply with the request of their visitors and hearers to prescribe for their diseases, which baffle the skill of native physicians. At the close of their interview, they took leave in polite terms, and soon after sent a messenger with four candles, which they begged us to accept as a poor compensation from the more valuable present which they said they ought to have prepared.

During the night we set out again on our route towards Hangchow. On the noon of the following day we approached the city of Shaou-hing, the capital of the department of that name, and estimated to contain one million of souls. This rapid sketch of our daily movements prevents me from entering into a detailed description of this city and its environs, as it came upon our view when we approached its southern suburb. Mr. Russell and myself walked for two miles along the bank of the fine spacious canal, lined with streets containing a busy, well-clad, and apparently thriving population, and abounding with corroborative evidence to support its claim to celebrity as among the most beautiful and the most literary departmental cities of the empire. A view from the top of the city-wall, which we entered by the eastern gate, afforded us an opportunity of surveying with the eye its extensive line of wall extending forty-two Chinese *li*, or above fourteen English miles in circuit, running over the sides of hills, and enclosing their well-wooded undulations in its girth. Here there is a vast population, of friendly demeanour and high intellectual refinement, accessible to the instruction of the foreign Missionary. As we mingled with a group of well-dressed people on the parapet, listening to the words of my companion, and readily volunteering information on the city and its inhabitants, I could not but feel the wish that our highly-educated British youth at the great seats of academic learning could behold this noble sphere for their dedication of the highest talents of ability, energy, and zeal, to the honourable endeavour of making known the Saviour's name among this highly-interesting but pagan district. Shaou-hing enjoys no

mean celebrity for the intellectual character of its citizens and scholars; and its proof is seen in the fact, that the proctors and learned civilians employed in the law-courts are supplied in great numbers from Shaou-hing for the whole empire. A few fishing cormorants, boats laden with agricultural produce, or conveying passengers from the country, and the usual proportion of flower-boats adapted for the aquatic residence of rich men, were dispersed over the spacious surface of the canals. Some of the boat-people asked us for a prescription against opium, alluding to a printed method of cure issued by the Ningpo Mission press. We entered about noon, through a water-gate under an arch in the city-wall; and for nearly three hours our little vessel, slowly skulled along, made its way through the closely-packed throng of boats. The excitement in the streets which abutted on the canal was immense; and the bridges under which we passed were crowded with hundreds of curious gazers, who probably beheld a foreign lady for the first time. Sometimes the expression *quei-tze*, "devil," or *peh-quei*, "white devil" was to be heard, equivalent in their idea to the name of "foreigner." Special interest was excited by the sight of our little girl; and the term *seaou-quei*, "little devil," equivalent to "foreign child," flew from mouth to mouth. Still it was apparent that many knew that it was not a respectful epithet, for they used the term *hung-maou-gmin*, "red-haired man," the designation for Englishman. Mr. Russell had often to remind them, by way of gentle proof, of the Confucian sentiment, "All men within the four seas are as brethren." The stagnant putrid waters of the canals in the city, with no current, and with the daily accumulating sewerage of so vast a population, must often be a prolific source of disease and pestilence. The stench at this time was nearly intolerable.

We slowly emerged under an arched water-gate into the western suburb, where we waited a couple of hours while our servants went to purchase some provisions. Mr. Russell and myself landed amid a long avenue of monumental arches, forming one of the most remarkable localities ever visited by me in China. Exquisitely elaborate and ornate specimens of carved bas-relief pillars and monuments, bearing the date of every dynasty, and commemorating the public virtues of various individuals, succeeded one another in close contiguity, and formed a fine vista of architectural beauty. Everywhere the two characters, *Shing Chee*, "the sacred imperial

will," emblazoned at the head of the commemorative inscriptions, afforded an indication of the wide-spread reverence for that sacred fount of honour, universally revered and worshipped by the Chinese race, as well as of the old and peculiar phase of civilization, which has long prevailed from immemorial age amid this people. These highly-prized and imperially-bestowed escutcheons are among the national characteristics that seem to bind this huge population in one bond of national cohesion, and appear likely to survive all revolutionary or dynastic changes. The people everywhere seemed to possess a fair average, and, indeed, a more than ordinary portion of material comfort, as seen in the general absence of squalid poverty, and the prevalence of the usual signs of external plenty, and abundance of the means of subsistence.

In some parts of the city there were open spaces covered with crops of vegetables. In one open field I saw quantities of native cloth spread over the ground for drying, and dyed with a deep natural green. The tree which produces this pure green dye (without the usual method of mixing orange and blue) was described to us as abounding in the neighbouring district, especially outside the southern gate. Silk and green tea are among the local products of Shaou-hing, and the different kinds of cereals and grain seem to be raised in great abundance.

An interesting incident occurred before we left our moorings in the suburb. An elderly man among the crowd came forward to put some questions to Mr. Russell, stating that he had received, some months ago, a copy of the New Testament from some Missionary itinerating in these parts, and that he desired to know more about Jesus, the great subject of the sacred volume. A hundred persons remained for a quarter of an hour as attentive listeners to the sermon which my friend addressed to them on the main doctrines of the Christian religion.

About sunset we passed the district city of Seaou-san; and early next morning, December the 3d, we reached the canal-terminus at a large straggling town named Se-hing. Here we procured luggage-bearers and chairs; and, as the tide was low, we had to proceed for three miles over an estuary of the sea, covered at high-water with the violent and raging flood of this armlet of the bay, and now consisting of one vast expanse of mud-flat, over which buffalo-carts were plying their slow, ponderous, and weary course. We embarked in a Chinese passenger-boat, and, after a mile in crossing the waters of the celebrated river,

the Tseu-tang keang, we landed near the south-eastern suburb of the provincial capital, Hangchow. Here some caution was needed, and the next stage of our journey was the critical period of our whole undertaking. Some rude sedans were hastily procured; our native companions followed on foot; no signs of mutual recognition were exchanged. In silent mood, and in somewhat anxious thought, we sped onward, uncertain as to the issue of our adventure through the city; and soon we found ourselves fairly launched upon the stream of ceaseless traffic and locomotion, which poured along the suburban approaches, and bore us onward to the increasingly busy and animated throng of wayfarers pressing into the city.

The city-wall was reached: fortunately no military sentries were then pacing under the huge archway; the guard-houses were passed; and various police-stations and mandarins' offices were left behind us. The people showed signs of curiosity and excitement, but no symptoms of unfriendly displeasure were apparent. Onward we pressed at a rapid rate, and the collected crowds were fairly distanced in the race, and left to their meditations far in our rear. The nimble-footed juvenile population of Hangchow were the most troublesome, accumulating in increased numbers at every turn of the streets, and vociferating in boisterous clamours, which effectually summoned every straggling idler to swell the throng.

At last we arrived at a public guildhall, situated on the bank of a canal, at which point we expected to find agents ready to secure us a boat, and willing to bargain for our further transit onward to Shanghae. But here we were seriously foiled in every attempt to devise means of proceeding on our route. The crowds meanwhile increased. As we sat in our sedan-chairs at the entrance of the building, the rapidly-increasing crowd pressed upon us to such a degree that we were nearly upset; and as we were on the brink of the canal, such a casualty would have precipitated us into the water. We were told that there was a great scarcity of boats, and that there was no prospect of our proceeding for some time towards Shanghae. Mr. Russell departed to the office of the Che-heen, the district magistrate; and Mrs. Smith and our little girl were conveyed, with me, to a large open area between some temples, to avoid the pressure of the multitude. Here we were soon surrounded by about a thousand people, anxious to gratify their curiosity. The chair-bearers proposed to us that we should alight, and retreat into a temple; but fearing lest

they should in the mean time decamp with the chairs, and expose us also to the more serious inconvenience of losing our supply of food for twenty-four hours, which we had providently placed in a basket under one of the sedans, I resolutely declined. As the most hopeful resource in gaining the goodwill of the crowd, and preserving their friendly humour, I held up our little daughter, four years old, to public gaze. The loud acclamations and applause which followed this act proved that such a little hostage for our pacific intentions was attended with no small advantage. Old mothers, young wives, and children, pressed around me to handle and caress the "foreign child;" and we had in her a full security against any mischievous proceedings. We were, however, compelled to migrate once more, in the hope of getting into some narrow lane, by the entreaties of our chair-bearers, who bore us to the entrance of a Buddhist nunnery. At their earnest solicitation, we entered the temple-court, and resigned ourselves to the hospitality of an old abbess and her attendant nuns. The scene which, for nearly three hours, awaited us—the uproar of the crowd who forced an entrance into the court—the anxious suspense concerning our friend Mr. Russell, and the result of his interview with the Che-heen's agents—the many efforts made to propitiate the thousands who came and went—and the good conduct and polite demeanour which were sustained throughout this exciting juncture, at last came to an end; and we were rejoiced to see Mr. Russell return from his successful diplomacy. It proved a correct statement that no boats were to be procured, on account of the local provincial government having impressed all the available native vessels into their service for the transport of troops against the rebels on the Yang-tze-keang. The officers offered to send a messenger to assist in hiring a suitable boat on the See-woo, the great western lake, to serve as our lodging during our stay; and in the course of a few days the authorities promised to secure for us a native boat for our continued passage to Shanghae. A police-runner was deputed to attend us. At his suggestion, the curtain in front of our sedans was closed, in order to attract less attention in the city; and in this way we were borne nearly two miles through some very finest streets, abounding with well-stored shops, into the suburb which formed the shore of the magnificent lake. Once or twice, when our chairs were set down, the people again crowded around us, and the women especially manifested their kindly interest. They all seemed

to assume it as a matter of course that foreigners should understand and speak the Chinese language, and many were the inquiries whether we were about to visit the sacred localities on the shores of the far-famed lake, in order, "*shaou-heang*," to "burn incense," before the shrines, and to worship the gods.

We were at length comfortably lodged in a spacious kind of ornamented flat-bottomed pleasure-boat, with glass windows at the sides, containing a large sitting-room and an inner bed-room, with a place for cooking our meals. The head-boatman had a little tender alongside, in which he lodged, and from which he was ready at any time to come to our large boat, and to skulk or punt it to any part of the lake. The western lake is about three or four miles at its greatest length, and a little less in breadth. The great line of the western city-wall comes down to within a few yards of the waters, for a mile or more in extent. Beautiful temples, dilapidated pagodas, the country-houses of the wealthy, a few pack-houses and stores of the more opulent merchants, ancestral temples, ancient tombs and monumental arches, long rows of temporary resting-places for depositing the coffins containing the bodies of individuals who had died at a distance from their own native district, villages and gardens scattered over the undulating hill-sides, and coppices of luxuriant vegetation, now shedding their sere leaves in the autumnal breeze, formed a fine panorama of picturesque scenery, which has gained for these classic spots a wide-spread celebrity in the traditionary legends of the nation, and has linked their fame with the most cherished historic associations of the Chinese empire. This provincial capital of Che keang province shares with Soochow, the capital of Keangsoo, the implied commendation of the following hyperbolic saying, current throughout China—"Heaven is above, and Soochow and Hangchow are below!"

The next four days were spent in daily excursions to the lovely spots within easy reach of our boat, which, for the sake of convenience, we moored on the northern or further side, opposite to the city of Hangchow, of which we had a continual view every time we landed on the shore, and walked upon the neighbouring eminences. The city gentry and wealthy traders were continually meeting us on the shore, or passing us in their boats, attracted hither by the romantic beauty of the scenery, or influenced by a pious reverence for the tutelary deities

of the various shrines. It was an interesting, yet painfully affecting sight, to behold numerous family groups of men, women, and children, clad in gay holiday attire, and laden with incense-sticks and tin-foil offerings for the dead, wending their way over the hills, and visiting, with tokens of affectionate sorrow and regard, the tombs of their fathers, and the last resting-place of their clan. Commodiously-paved broad causeways of stone flags lined the shore, or intersected the groves, in every direction; and the carefully-preserved monuments and shrines bespoke the wealth of the visitors, and the popularity of these haunts of solitude and sanctity. One species of tree was singularly beautiful, combining the sombre evergreen appearance of the yew with the tall height of the poplar. Every second person whom we met was a priest. Above one thousand monks, exclusively belonging to the Buddhist sect of idolaters, were attached to the numerous temples which abounded in their classic groves and valleys. The hills and glades were everywhere occupied by shrines and grottos dedicated to Buddha; and no efforts of art or lavish expenditure of pecuniary offerings were wanting to combine with the superstitious veneration of past ages in giving *éclat* and sanctity to these favourite abodes of Buddhism.

On the day after our arrival, *December 4th*, we made a lengthened trip of seven miles in chairs over the hills and through various sequestered groves, having all the lovely scenery and many of the pleasant associations of a fine English park, with its green vegetation and flocks of game and wild-fowl. The immense numbers of wild geese, with other smaller kinds of game, will probably prove a great temptation to the sporting foreigner with his gun; and an occasional source of offence to the priesthood and idolatrous worshipper in these quiet haunts, consecrated to a religion which views as criminal and sacrilegious the shedding of blood, and the eating of animals. The inhabitants of these parts are already becoming familiar, either by their ocular experience, or by the testimony of others, with the general pursuits of foreigners; and they have already divided European visitors into two classes, the *tang-se-teaou*, the "bird shooting" foreigner, and the *fun-shoo*, the "book-distributing" foreigner. The latter term describes the Missionary by his most marked peculiarity to their minds. The former term is based on the most commonly-observable occupation and amusement of those who visit the remote districts on excursions of a sporting nature. It were a pity, if by

gratifying their love of the gun, foreign gentlemen should hereafter render their visits disagreeable and unwelcome to the residents in these quiet retreats, or needlessly shock the prejudices of a class, one of whose most amiable traits is a scrupulous unwillingness to take the life of the inferior animals. It is right, however, to mention, that in some of its suburban villages, at no great distance from these monastic retreats, I witnessed, on a few occasions; young Chinese bearing a kind of matchlock for shooting wild ducks and geese, and that we purchased some pheasants from a public market within the city. The strict tenets of Buddhism are not commonly relished or practised by any others than those bound by the monastic vows.

One range of monasteries which we visited bore the Chinese name for "India," *Teen-chuh*, being supposed to be the first centre of the newly-imported religion from India on the mainland of China, or from some similar reason of being the metropolis of Buddhism in these parts. One series of temples was denominated, the *Seen-teen*, "the anterior heaven;" and one of the monks pointed to a hole in the lofty arched rocky interior, through which the light poured a few glimmering rays, as a proof of its being the vestibule to the first heavens. Our catechist Sing and this monk had a long and earnest argument on the subject of Christianity; the latter giving utterance to the usual latitudinarian sentiment of the Chinese, that every nation had its own peculiar faith and system of religion; and that Christianity was the best religion for western nations, and Buddhism the most suitable for China. Sing retorted by reminding him, that on that ground, Buddhism being a foreign importation from India, was not the religion best adapted for the Chinese. The monk now turned to Mr. Russell, and brought forward the matter of the recent manifesto, which had proved an occasion of so much excitement to the literati at the Hangchow examinations, and which (more correctly speaking) appears to have been the joint production of several authors, issued unitedly and in common. In pursuance of his fancied advantage, he asked Mr. Russell to explain this course of conduct on the part of foreigners in connexion with opium, which had formed the subject of the placard, and had incurred the severe censure of the native critics. On three or four different occasions this matter was mooted, and doubtless will for some time exert a prejudicial influence in the way of our Missions.

Mulberry-groves for the culture of the silkworm, and gardens planted with the tea-

shrub, abounded on all sides. Long rows of beggars lined the principal avenues to the monasteries, and seemed to enjoy a privileged exemption from the usual disappointments of their class; for every Chinaman who passed onward to fulfil his pilgrimage to the shrines deemed it a part of his religious duties to give alms indiscriminately to all who asked.

A young girl, who had worked upon our feelings, and excited our deep commiseration by uttering the usual inarticulate moans of a deaf and dumb person, beating her head in great apparent distress on the stones, rose from her abject posture after receiving the gift of a few coins, and put herself at no further trouble to conceal her assumed dumbness and successful imposture. Some very devout aged people seemed to linger in these parts, principally attracted by superstition; and they might be frequently seen counting their Buddhist "Aves," on a bundle of small reeds as a substitute for the usual rosary of beads. They continued counting the number of prescribed sentences in the midst of conversation, and sometimes between little intervals of merriment and glee.

In an enclosed square court we visited one of the largest and most-renowned mausoleums in China, the tomb of the redoubted general *Gno-laou-yay*, who, during the reign of one of the Emperors of the Sung dynasty, after performing various acts of patriotism in defence of his country, at last fell a sacrifice to his zeal for the national welfare, and was put to death through the unjust accusations of the corrupt ministers of the emperor. But a few years elapsed before his public integrity was discovered and acknowledged by the emperor, who, by an edict, ennobled him with the posthumous title of *wang* "prince," and enrolled him among the canonized deities of the empire. On this occasion we saw incense sticks burning around his tomb, and various written slips of paper containing prayers of devotees affixed to the sides of the spacious circular vaulted tomb, with all the attendant marks of demonolatry. On the next morning we saw the lieutenant-governor of the province himself passing by the head of our boat as we lay moored near the entrance to the tomb, and followed by the usual train of runners, lictors, and red umbrellas, as he approached to pay the periodical and customary official homage at the shrine of one of China's most cherished national heroes and demigods.

Near this spot our chair-bearers, on our first crossing the entrance to some old imperial palace now in ruins, took no heed to the written inscription carved on a stone pillar,

ordering "all gentry, scholars, and public officers to dismount at this point." On our return, we found our bearers deemed it expedient to give heed to the rebukes which they had incurred for their negligence of this written command from various passers-by; and we had to dismount and to walk on foot, as we crossed the space of ground on which the remains of the palace abutted. We noticed that the lieutenant-governor, on the next day, carefully performed the prescribed act of deference to the memory of the past-imperial glories of this site.

As we slept in our boat, near the shore, we were often disturbed by the midnight vigils or the early matins of the Buddhist priests, chaunting their monotonous hymns, accompanied by the tinkling of bells. During the day a boat, full of mendicant friars, and rowed by priests, skimmed over the surface of the lake, singing hymns in honour of Buddha, and soliciting rice and alms from the visitors in the neighbouring boats.

Occasionally some gentry from the city entered into conversation, and seemed to evince some anxiety in ascertaining the probable period of our stay, and our intentions as to effecting a permanent domicile in these parts. Some of the Buddhist monks entered into lengthened conversations with Mr. Russell, whose perfect knowledge of the Ningpo dialect seemed a ready passport to their attention, and rendered him apparently all but universally intelligible as he spoke. A few weeks of study in ascertaining the various modifications and changes of sounds, and in learning the peculiarities in the current phraseology of the city (which approximates very nearly to the mandarin dialect), would in all likelihood enable our Ningpo brethren easily to accommodate themselves to this new station, especially as there are some myriads of Ningpo people resident at Hangchow, engaged in labour or trade. Not a few of the priests were very ignorant, and showed a vacant listlessness of manner. Others again, and especially one or two abbots, appeared superior to the general class of monks, both in the refined polish of their manners, and in the culture of their minds.

Signs of scepticism occasionally manifested themselves, and one superior of a monastery, when alone, readily volunteered the statement that he did not believe in the foolish legends of the popular idolatry; but that the minds of the multitude were so brutish and debased that they would not practise virtue for its own sake, and therefore needed the terrors of angry idols, and a series of Buddhist hells, to deter them from vice. Another abbot, to

whom Mr. Russell hinted this existence of secret unbelief in Buddhism, affected great surprise, and loudly protested that no single priest could be found who was thus insincere in the profession of the Buddhist creed. This priest said that mankind were divided into three classes and orders of merit: the first after death, went to *Se-pang*, the "Western quarter," or Buddha's Elysium; the second class of ordinary good people went to heaven; and the third class, the wicked portion of mankind, wandered about in the bodies of inferior animals, and were subject to all the penalties of the Buddhist metempsychosis.

The most cursory reflection on the exoteric popular creed of Buddhists is sufficient to show that this belief in the transmigration of souls (which, in some form or other, has pervaded most oriental mythologies and false religions) is the invention of man in his state of ignorance and destitution of a written revelation, harrassed, tempted, and baffled by the perplexing view of prospering vice and unpunished iniquity in this world, and his vague blind guesses at the doctrine of a future state as the only mode of rectifying the anomalies of this imperfect state of existence. Disencumbered of its grossness and superstition, there is nothing peculiarly obstructive in this article of Buddhist belief to the conversion of an idolater to the Christian faith; and on this account we may regard this poor, pitiable class of monks as a not uninteresting or unpromising sphere of Missionary labour for those who shall enter upon this newly-opened field of evangelistic existence.

It was a spectacle of no ordinary interest to gaze down from a neighbouring hill-top upon this vast city, with its fourteen miles of city wall, enclosing its two millions of people, and to ponder on all the mighty scenes which have been enacted upon this spot, the conspicuous part it has filled in Chinese history, and the prominent consideration which it still enjoys as an emporium of wealth, of art, of literature, of commerce, and of political power. It was difficult, also, not to speculate on the future of this provincial capital, the probable effects of extended intercourse with foreigners, and its claims to become a basis of Missionary operations. No probable or possible concurrence of events can ever bring a large foreign mercantile community to Hangchow; and thus it is likely to enjoy the advantage of a continued exemption from the disturbing and (I fear it must in candour be confessed also, in many respects,) the demoralizing influences of a foreign settlement in its suburbs. The difficult navigation of its outer waters, and its

distance from the other consular ports, are likely to render it a place of only occasional resort to European merchants, whose native factors and agents can permanently reside at Hangchow, and transact, with equal advantage to their constituents, all the ordinary mercantile business of their foreign employers. Missionaries are likely here to have a fair field for their work, and a favourable sphere for the unostentatious exercise of the meek example and charitable dispositions of the Christian character and the public preaching of the message of salvation.

But where are the men? What are the present prospects of an increase of labourers? And when is our own Church, the national Church of our own highly-favoured Protestant land, likely to take her proper place, and to rise to her due height of obligation and of privilege in becoming the herald of peace and the ambassadress of Christ to this pagan land?

I await the reply of Christians at home with all the sickness of hope long deferred, and with all the fervent longings of one deeply interested in the condition and prospects of this remarkable people.

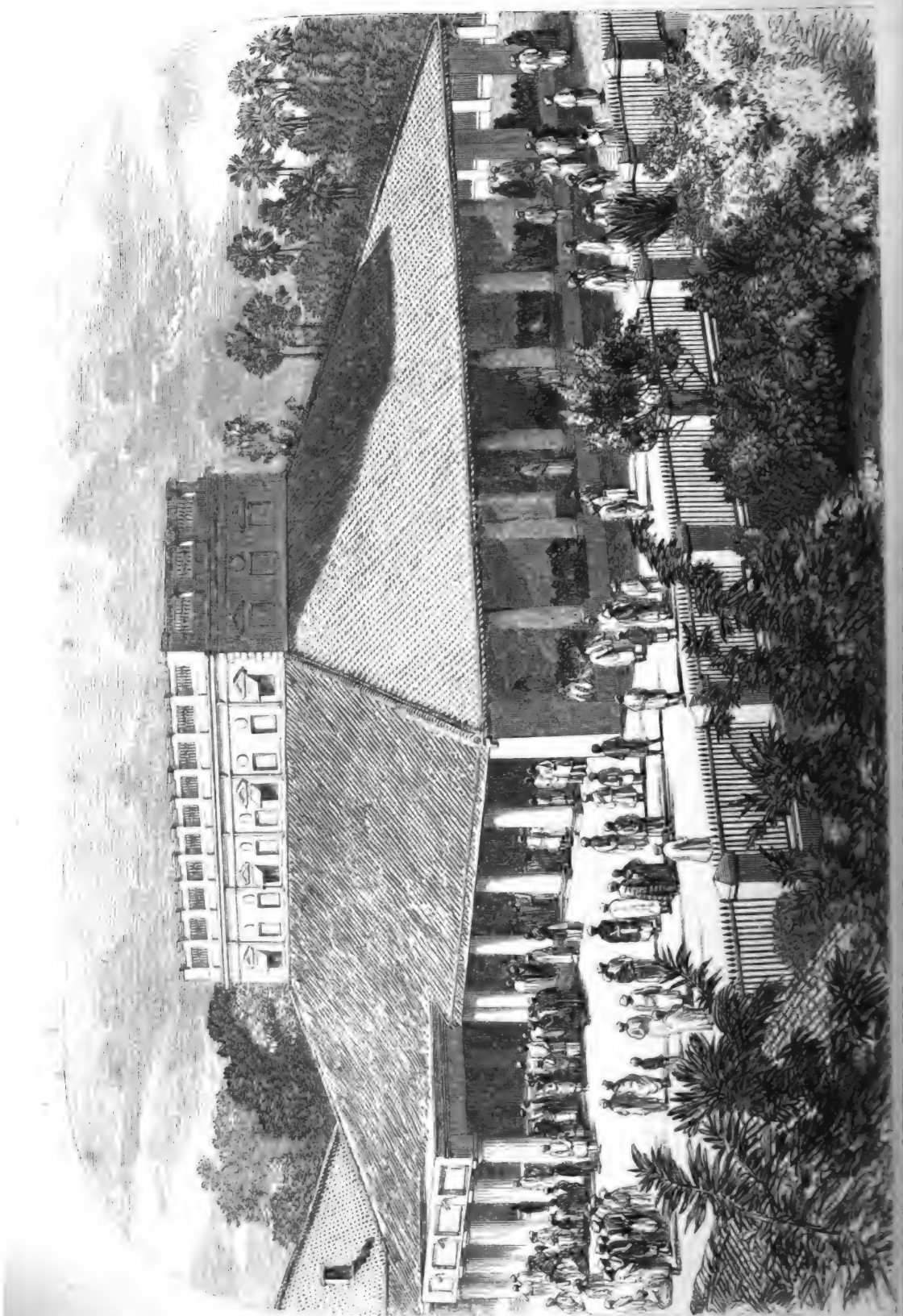
Either Hangchow or Seaou-hing, in this province, affords a magnificent prospect of Missionary usefulness as a new Church Missionary Society's station. Let us concentrate our efforts on one definite region, and not fritter and disperse our feeble and restricted operations over the whole expanse of this vast world of eastern races, dialects, and countries. Let the various Missionary Committees well consider the question of a friendly partition of their several spheres of Missionary exertion. It would be a happy day for evangelical Christians throughout the world—it would be a result eminently full of promise, and prolific of advantage to Christian Missionaries in China, in this new era of extended means of intercourse with the interior—if the words of Abraham to Lot of old were followed in spirit by Christian Missionary Societies in the present day—“Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen, for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left. (Gen. xiii. 8, 9.)

I must no longer linger among these delightful scenes, nor ramble in the fields of imagination respecting the prospect of Christian Missions on this inviting and ever to be remembered spot.

After various delays, caused by the military impressment of boats for the Yang-tze-keang, on *December 7th* we hired a boat secreted in a little nook of a canal some miles from the city. Eight miles in sedan chairs and in boats brought us at last to the place of concealment, and we had scarcely been ten minutes on board before soldiers, bearing flags, attempted to board and capture our vessel. Seeing foreigners in the boat, they forthwith desisted, and we were left at liberty to return towards the city. We re-entered, after an hour or two of skulling and hauling by line, the main stream of the grand canal, one of the wonders of the world, and an enduring monument of the industry and perseverance of former Chinese monarchs. This magnificent artery of inland-navigation possesses the advantages of clear limpid water, great breadth of space, and a remarkable depth of three or four fathoms in some parts nearly close to the banks. We beheld many hundreds of native boats seized by the mandarins, and with the imperial banners floating aloft, their owners looking disconsolate, and endeavouring to reconcile themselves to the hard necessity of transporting their load of rude soldiers, with little pay and hard toil, over a journey of ten days' duration to the city of Chin-keang. Ten or twelve days before this date, Lord Elgin, in sailing with his little fleet of steamers past the city of Nankin, had been provoked, by the fire of the insurgents, to destroy their river batteries, and had been precipitated upon a collision with the Taeping rebels. The intelligence of this collision had doubtless, ere this, been reported at Hangchow, and hopes were probably entertained by the provincial government of their being able to turn this reverse of the rebels to the advantage of the imperialist cause.

Once or twice afterwards, as we lay at anchor in the grand canal, three miles from the city, for the night, parties of soldiers attempted to come on board, but made a hasty retreat on perceiving the presence of foreigners. They manifested a thoroughly sincere good humour at their mistake, and the mob testified, by their loud shouts of laughter, their enjoyment of the unexpected rebuff of the soldiery.

Our friend Russell, and Sing sœen-sang, here left us, and in five days safely reached Ningpo, in time for the duties of the following Sunday. To their kind exertions and invaluable aid we owe, under God's blessing, the successful accomplishment of the most doubtful and difficult portion of our overland journey.



We were now half-way to Shanghai, and the remaining portion of our journey of four days, by way of the departmental cities of Kea-ling and Sung-keang, in the province of Keangsoo, contained in it nothing of remarkable interest or novelty. We sometimes landed, and walked in the villages or towns, and the usual concourse of people followed us on these occasions. Everywhere, however, the popular feeling was friendly and favourable.

On Sunday forenoon, *December* 12th, we arrived at Shanghai, after a journey altogether of thirteen days. Our arrival relieved the anxious expectation of many friends, and was a subject of sincere thankfulness towards the Almighty to ourselves.

In ten days after we embarked in the Peninsular and Oriental steamer "*Formosa*" for Hong Kong, where we arrived the day after Christmas day, after an absence of about three months.

As an item of peculiar interest at the present juncture, and as an additional incentive to Protestant Christians in Britain and the United States to redouble their efforts in the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, we subjoin a recent statement, published by authority in the pages of the "*North China Herald*," of the statistics for the current year of the Roman-Catholic Missions at Shanghai, and the out-lying districts of the united province of Kiangnan (including the two provinces separately known as Keangsoo and Gnan-hwui).

"Statistic of the Catholic Mission in the Province of Kiangnan, made in July 1858."

"74,000 Christians, administered by twenty-eight Missionaries and five Chinese, distributed in 382 stations as follows—

	Missionaries.	Stations.	Christians.
Shanghai	2	2	550
Poutong	5	91	17,172
Tsipao	5	52	11,151

Songkiang	6	111	18,868
Soochow	4	52	13,059
Tsomming	3	38	7,276
Haimen	2	36	6,019

"Tong-ka-do is the head-quarters of the Mission, and the residence of the Apostolic pro-vicar and of his vicar-general: there is also the seminary for native clergymen, where there are twenty-six young men as students, who occasionally are sent out for trial with some experienced Missionary.

"Next comes Zi-ka-wei college, having eighty-two scholars, with ten Chinese teachers, under the direction of one European Missionary. It was built, and is now being enlarged, chiefly by means of the kind offerings of visitors. Chinese literature is the principal study: a few also receive lessons in drawing, music, and French.

"Zi-ka-wei is likewise a place for Missionaries to resort to for study and rest, and here many seek retirement and solitude to end their days.

"Besides the seminary and Zi-ka-wei college, there are 228 country schools, 362 teachers, and 4797 scholars.

"1498 adults have been baptized in the course of the year; and 1580 others are inscribed also to become Christians, after a proper trial of their earnestness.

"7870 children of pagan origin have also received the grace of regeneration, either when dying or when abandoned by their parents. 4000 have been brought up by Christian charity, with the help of about 5000*l.* of alms sent out from Europe for that particular purpose, which is far from half the expense.

"Every Mission is altogether maintained by the Christians, with the exception of Tong-ka-do and Zi-ka-wei, which are partly supported by alms sent from Europe, to the amount of nearly 2000*l.* a-year for the whole Mission."

GOVERNMENTAL EDUCATION IN INDIA—ITS PAST HISTORY AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

(Continued from p. 119.)

WE referred in our last Number to the movement in native society at Calcutta, under the leadership of Rammohun Roy, which resulted in the formation of the Hindú College.*

* In the former portion of this article, also, we referred to the origin of the college at Benares, endowed by Jay Narayan, in favour of the Church Missionary Society, "in which an English educa-

Rammohun Roy may be considered as the first of a new type of Hindú character, and

tion on Scripture principles should be afforded to his countrymen." This month we are able to present our readers with a view of the college, taken by one of our Missionaries since the mutiny. The institution is at present in a flourishing state. At the beginning of 1859 a most satisfactory exami-

foreshadowed in his own person the effects which would be produced on the native mind by an acquaintance with European literature in separation from its religion. The Hindú college, too, may be viewed as the first expression of Vedantism, and alike the result and evidence of the existence of such opinions in the bosom of Hindú society; and it responded with grateful energy to the free-thinking notions in which it had its birth, by supplying throughout a series of years the intellectual element by which the lurid flame might be sustained.

The principle of Anglicism, that the intellectual improvement of the country might best be promoted through the medium of the English language, from this period began to be more distinctively recognised as the foundation of a new and improved system, and to attach to itself numerous adherents. We think we shall be justified in saying that the idea originated with Mr. Charles Grant. In his memorable papers on Indian affairs, he had strongly advocated the use of the English language as the preferable medium of instruction. In chapter iv., entitled, "An inquiry into measures for improving the condition of our Asiatic subjects," he enters largely on this subject—"The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindús err because they are ignorant, and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communicating of our light and knowledge to them would prove the best remedy for their disorders. . . . It is perfectly in the power of this country, by degrees, to impart to the Hindús our language; afterwards, through that medium, to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions upon a variety of subjects; and—let not the idea hastily excite derision—*progressively* with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy and religion."

This eminent man did not contemplate for

nation took place, in the presence of many Europeans. An address was made to the students by a Hindú judge of high standing, not himself, however, a Christian, but in which he commended Christian principles, and hoped that the moral principles inculcated in the Bible might be taught in all the colleges in India. "And to you, my dear boys," said he, "I beg to impress on your tender hearts that you never can expect a better Government than the British; and that, therefore, you ought to be thankful to Almighty God for the preservation of the British authority in India." This was said, not only before the English assembled, but before 400 or 500 natives, of whom some fifty were students of the Government College, their Principal also present.

an instant the withholding of religion: on the contrary, he felt persuaded that this was, of all considerations, the most important.

"But undoubtedly the most important communication which the Hindús could receive through the medium of our language would be the knowledge of our religion, the principles of which are explained in a clear, easy way in various tracts circulating among us, and are completely contained in the inestimable volume of Scripture. Thence they would be instructed in the nature and perfections of the one true God, and in the real history of man, his creation, lapsed state, and the means of his recovery, on all which points they hold false and extravagant opinions; they would see a pure, complete, and perfect system of morals and of duty, enforced by the most awful sanctions, and recommended by the most interesting motives; they would learn the accountableness of man, the final judgment he is to undergo, and the eternal state which is to follow. Wherever this knowledge should be received, idolatry, with all the rabble of its impure deities, its monsters of wood and stone, its false principles and corrupt practices, its delusive hopes and vain fears, its ridiculous ceremonies and degrading superstitions, its lying legends and fraudulent impositions, would fall. The reasonable service of the only and the infinitely perfect God would be established: love to Him, peace and goodwill towards men, would be felt as obligatory principles.

"It is not asserted that such effects would be immediate or universal; but, admitting them to be progressive and partial only, yet how great would the change be, and how happy at length for the outward prosperity and internal peace of society among the Hindús! Men would be restored to the use of their reason; all the advantages of happy soil, climate, and situation, would be observed and improved; the comforts and conveniences of life would be increased; the cultivation of the mind, and rational intercourse, valued; the people would rise in the scale of human beings; and as they found their character, their state, and their comforts improved, they would prize more highly the security and the happiness of a well-ordered society. Such a change would correct those sad disorders which have been described, and for which no other remedy has been proposed, nor is, in the nature of things, to be found." * ✓

After meeting various objections urged in his day to the idea of affording to the native

* Grant's "Observations on the State of Indian Society," &c. 1813. ✓

mind the opportunity of becoming acquainted with Christianity, he proceeds—

“If after all that has been already said of the causes by which the Hindú character is formed, any person should still be willing to believe *that nothing more is necessary for the social peace, order, and happiness of our Asiatic subjects than to enact good laws, and duly to administer them*, such persons may be pleased to consider a maxim which experience has established in the science of legislation, ‘that laws are of no avail without manners.’ Where the general spirit of a community runs counter to particular laws, those laws, instead of overcoming that disposition, more commonly lose their own efficacy, as may be seen in the case of duelling, and many other forbidden practices among ourselves. And it usually happens, that regulations which have the maintenance of good morals for their immediate object, fall sooner into neglect, and are infringed with more impunity, than those made to protect the property of individuals.

“Our Government in India is besides, in this respect, under some peculiar disadvantages. A handful of foreigners presides over a very numerous people, extremely corrupt, and fortified in their corruptions by their own institutions. Out of that mass we must take subordinate instruments of our administration in all departments, particularly in the courts of law, and in the police of very extensive provinces. The number of our courts, and of British judges or officers in them, from the heavy expense which they occasion, can hardly be made equal to what is required for the conveniency of the people, of whom, also, many reside at a distance from the seats of justice, where, moreover, the formalities of procedure, and the accumulation of suits, necessarily produce delays repugnant to the nature and circumstances of that people, who earnestly desire prompt decisions.

“It may easily be seen that these causes, especially the national characteristics attaching to the multitudes whom we are obliged to employ in all the inferior lines of administration, would, notwithstanding the many excellent things done to render the fountains and channels of justice pure, hinder the perfect operation of our legal institutions, even if it were in the nature of such institutions to furnish internal principles of morals, as well as to punish the external violation of right. That it is not, authority and experience concur to assure us. It is the judgment of the great Lord Bacon, a man pre-eminent in jurisprudence as well as in philosophy, ‘that good government and good laws, though they indeed nourish virtue when grown, *do not much mend*

that seed.’ Corruption has destroyed many states where legislation had attained to considerable perfection; and how plainly does it come within our own observation, that, even in countries where the awful sanctions of true religion are added to the wisest laws, uprightly dispensed, all are found little enough to check the progress of depravity? The insufficiency of laws alone to this end cannot, then, be better stated than in the words of another writer of superior order, which may close the discussion of a topic in itself so clear. ‘As for human laws, made to encourage and requite virtue, or to check and chastise vice, it is also manifest that they do extend to cases in comparison very few; and that even as to particulars, which they touch, they are so easily eluded or evaded, that without intrenching upon them, at least without incurring their edge, or coming within the verge of their correction, men may be very bad in themselves, extremely injurious to their neighbours, and hugely troublesome to the world; so that such laws hardly can make tolerable citizens, much less thoroughly good men, even in exterior demeanour and dealing. However, no laws of men can touch internal acts of virtue or vice: they may sometimes bind our hands, or bridle our mouths, or shackle our feet, but they cannot stop our thoughts, they cannot still our passions, they cannot bend or break our inclinations: these things are beyond the reach of their cognizance, of their command, of their compulsion, of their correction: they cannot, therefore, render men truly good, or hinder them from being bad.’”

That very element which Mr. Grant regarded as most important, was, as we shall find, carefully eliminated from the theory. Anglicism could never affect the masses. It could only act influentially upon a selected portion of the native community, the more inquiring, and those, from the circumstances of birth and wealth, occupying a superior position in society. On these, however, it might have told with beneficial influence, had it afforded opportunity of access to the Christian Scriptures, and other sources of Christian information; but of these it has been rigidly exclusive. The student who entered within the precincts of the system might have instruction in all other branches of Western knowledge, but for Christianity no department was provided; and if in that, the most excellent and necessary of all the studies of the West, the native desired information, he had to go and seek it elsewhere. With this grievous defect attached to it, the

* Grant's “Observations on the State of Indian Society,” &c. 1813.

system, in its working on that portion of the native mind which came under its influence, has produced more of evil than of good.

In 1823 the Hindú college was transferred to Government superintendence, and active efforts were put forth to induce a more decided recognition of the new system on the part of those in authority. Mr. Adam, while temporary Governor-General, "sanctioned the formation of a 'Committee of Public Instruction,' and placed on it the men of the greatest intellectual vigour and political experience in the public service at the Presidency—Mr. Holt Mackenzie, Mr. Butterworth Bayley, Mr. Henry Shakspear, Mr. Thoby Prinsep, Mr. Andrew Sterling, and Mr. Horace Wilson. They were instructed to consider and suggest to Government the measures which it might be expedient to adopt for the 'better instruction of the people, and the improvement of their morals.' A similar proposal had been made by Lord Hastings, four years before, but he was informed that it was premature, and that any attempt to make the Parliamentary grant subsidiary to such objects, would prove abortive. Mr. Adam boldly took upon himself to adopt this measure; and without, as it would appear, consulting the wishes of the Court, placed the annual lac of rupees at the disposal of his Education Committee. The subsidy to the Hindú and Mohammedan colleges, was not to be disturbed, but the remainder of the grant was to be devoted to the promotion of useful knowledge. This was the first organization, under the auspices of Government, of a system, the object of which was the communication of Western knowledge to the natives of India: it was the germ of those establishments for the instruction of the natives, which have since been expanded by successive administrations. It was not till seven months after the institution of this Committee in Calcutta that the Court of Directors sent out their memorable despatch of the 18th of February 1824, drafted by the great historian, James Mill, in which it was stated, that 'with respect to the sciences it was worse than a waste of time to employ persons to teach or to learn them, in the state in which they were found in the oriental books Our great end should be, not to teach Hindú learning, but sound learning.'*

This minute, however, was not successful in setting aside the old system. In the Committee of Public Education established by Mr. Adams, the Orientalists "predominated, and

to this liberal injunction from the public authorities in England they replied, that 'tuition in European science was neither among the sensible wants of the people, nor in the power of Government to bestow; that the learned Hindús and Mohammedans were satisfied with their own learning, little inquisitive of any thing beyond it, and did not consider the literature and science of the West as worth the labour of attainment; and that any attempt to enforce an acknowledgment of the superiority of the intellectual productions of the West would only create dissatisfaction.'*

For several years the struggle between the systems was continued, until the two parties in Committee became equally balanced.

"At the head of the English section was Mr., now Sir Charles Trevelyan, who took a prominent part in all the improvements which distinguished the closing years of Lord William Bentinck's administration, and great is the gratitude due to him for the energy with which he pushed forward the liberal policy of introducing the cultivation of English literature. The Committee having thus come to a dead lock, it became necessary to refer it to the Supreme Council to arbitrate between the claims for ascendancy of the Púrāns, the Vedas, and the Korán, on one side, and Bacon, and Milton, and Johnson, on the other. The decision of a Council composed of Lord William Bentinck, Mr. Macaulay, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, on such a question, may be readily supposed."†

It was soon made known. Immediately after the termination of the Charter Act in 1834, the subject again came under consideration, and, on the 7th of March 1835, the Government of India passed a resolution substituting the English for the oriental scheme of education.

The new plan offered to the native student a complete education in European literature, philosophy, and science, through the medium of the English language: it introduced him to the entire range of science and literature, so far as he was able to receive it, the limit being that alone fixed by nature in regard to his own capacity. English became the classical language of India. Colleges and schools were established in the principal cities and towns, and the old Mohammedan and Hindú institutions, though upheld as seminaries of oriental learning, had English classes attached to them. Stipends (formerly paid to pupils without reference to ability,

* Marshman, vol. ii. p. 489.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 490.

* Marshman's "History," vol. ii., pp. 284, 235.

diligence, or acquirements) were abolished, and, in lieu thereof, scholarships were founded, which could be gained only by passing a satisfactory examination. Junior scholarships were also attached to the new schools, tenable at the central college to which the school is subordinate, and where a higher course of instruction was available.

Finally, his Lordship in Council directed, that all the funds which these reforms should leave at the disposal of the Committee were to be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language.

Thus the new educational policy, of education without religion, was inaugurated. Orientalism had been tried, and unsuccessfully. It was impossible it could have succeeded. "There was nothing in the Púrāns or the Korán which an enlightened Government could be desirous of perpetuating." It was now thought "that the intellectual progress of the country would be most effectually promoted by a liberal education through the exclusive medium of the English." An ample field was to be afforded, on which the practical value of this new conviction might be tried. The Húghly, Dacca, and Kishnagurh provincial colleges, with the schools attached to them, were opened, to which was subsequently added a college at Berhampur. In the North-west Provinces similar institutions were commenced, at Benares, Agra, Delhi, and Bareilly. In these, as in the Bengal colleges, education was imparted through the medium both of English and the vernacular, the amount of attainment being such as to qualify the students for the service of Government, to which they were very generally admitted.

So far progress had been made. Orientalism was abandoned: the knowledge of the West was to be the substitute. But there was another lesson yet to be learned—one, indeed, which the rulers of India have not yet fully learned, notwithstanding the severity of the instructive discipline to which the English nation has been subjected in India. It is a great lesson, one of primary importance, that irreligious knowledge can never regenerate the natives. In education irrespective of Christianity, there are no subduing, moderating influences. The reaction of the human mind, when it discovers the falsehood of the religion with which it has been familiarized, without a simultaneous discovery of one which is truthful and reliable, is intense, and the convictions pass from the extreme of dark and degraded superstition to that of chill and freezing scepticism. The man has attained

knowledge, but not that knowledge of himself, without which no man can be a useful member of society. He is no longer torpid, stagnant. His energies have been aroused; but he is without principles to guide them. Instead of pursuing in society a beneficial and consistent course, he becomes a fiery meteor of the moment, moving rapidly, but with such uncertainty, that it is impossible to foresee whither he may be urged, or on what law of society he may impinge. That education without religion produces scepticism cannot be denied. "The citadel of Hindúism, being, from its base to its highest pinnacle, a citadel of error, it can never resist a vigorous onset of true knowledge, however secular. Accordingly, this ancestral faith was completely subverted in the minds of the more advanced *alumni* of the Government college; but nothing better was attempted, or allowed to be substituted in its room. Many had become, or were rapidly becoming, sceptics, and others direct atheists."* Vedantism appears to be the general issue into which the system resolves itself; that which some designate as "the philosophical Theism of the early Hindú sages," but which is in truth a cold Deism, a negation of all revealed truth, devoid of all life-giving influences. Some think that this is a decided gain, and the question continues to be debated, whether Vedantism places the native in an improved position with reference to Christianity, or whether he be rendered less susceptible of its influences than if he had remained under the yoke of heathenism. Strong opinions have been expressed on both sides. It is well to have the mind aroused from the stupid degradation of Hindú idolatry, but this had better be done by christianized education, because then, not only is falsehood searched out, but the true substitute suggested. Where idolatry is renounced from a conviction of its worthlessness and inability to satisfy the deep necessities of the human heart, and in the hope that Christianity may afford to him a resting-place, although as yet profoundly ignorant of what it is, the anxious inquirer comes and submits himself to instruction, that movement is full of hope. But the convictions of a Vedantist lead to very different results. He has discovered, it is true, the absurdities of the popular superstition, but of his individual necessities as an immortal being he knows nothing. He is inflated with self-conceit; he feels no want of revealed religion; and, arguing from the pride of his own heart, pronounces revelation to be nothing more than

* Duff on "India and its Missions," Appendix. The period referred to, 1830.

the device of crafty priests, a dream, or a lie, which, in fact, never had existence. As a believer in the Hindú system, the man admits the necessity of revelation: his error lies in the application of the principle, and the reception of a false system as truth; but as a Vedantist, he utterly denies the necessity of revelation, and is greatly embittered against every thing which is presented to him under such an aspect. In the experience of men the most conversant with the peculiarities of the human character, the Vedantist phase is the more difficult. But why should we, in our mode of action, identify ourselves with either extreme, when a better way is open to us? If we can disabuse the mind of belief in the degrading monstrosities of the Hindú system, without reducing it to a cold negation on the subject of religion, why not adopt the preferable procedure? If, in the course of instruction, we can afford opportunity for God's truth to present itself, and, by its own inherent excellence, commend itself to the attention and acceptance of the student, why should we not do so? Some think, that to introduce the opportunity of obtaining Christian instruction into the educational institutions supported by the Government would be a dangerous experiment. But is the present a safe procedure? "We have no hesitation in declaring, that if it be one main object of Government . . . to preserve inviolate the political connexion with Britain, this resolution to communicate knowledge without religion is a suicidal act."* "We have seen enough with our own eyes, and heard enough with our own ears, to satisfy us that, in the present corrupt state of human nature, the genuine native tendency of any institution which attains to full maturity in the communication of knowledge without religion is inimical, not only to true religion and sound morals, but also to the political peace and well-being of a community. We hesitate not to affirm that every such institution in India will ultimately be found, when perhaps it is too late, nothing better than a manufactory of infidels, as regards all religion—a manufactory of rebels as regards allegiance to the British Government." It will be said that the experience of the late insurrection proves this to be a groundless apprehension. Well, we are quite aware that Mr. Raikes, in his notes on the revolt, bears this strong testimony—"I found it to be a general rule, that where you had an official well educated at our English colleges, and conversant with the English tongue, there you had a friend on

whom reliance could be placed. So few were the English scholars among our enemies, that it was the custom of the mutineers to burn our intercepted despatches, rather than attempt to get them deciphered. They would trust nobody who even knew English."* And why? Because it was an outbreak prompted by the consciousness that the old systems, the old superstitions and false religions of the land, were being rapidly undermined, and must soon collapse. The effort was one to restore to them their ancient prestige, and the English element, in whatever form it presented itself, being viewed as the supplanter, the force and fury of the rebellion were directed against this; and just as much, if not more, against what was Anglically secular, as against what was Anglically religious in its action. There was no room, no opportunity, for the Anglicised Hindú, if he were so disposed, to unite himself with the mutineers: "they would trust nobody who even knew English."

But another crisis may arise in which the infidelized native element shall have full opportunity of playing its part. Assuredly, if we persist in our present educational policy, the time will come when we shall reap the fruits, nor will these be those of peace and subordination. "I have seen," writes Indophilus, "English essays by pupils in the Hindú college upon the character of Washington, which contained what would have been considered 'hanging matter' in more serious times, but at that time it only caused amusement." Now let the question be well considered, for it is a weighty and important one. It is becoming more and more evident that we cannot do without a native agency in secular as well as religious matters. Natives must be employed, whether we desire it or not. The British in India can no more by themselves administer the affairs of India, than the farmer who holds some thousand acres of arable land can dispense, in time of harvest, with the services of the hired labourer. The natives must be advanced to positions of trust in the civil and military service. We must use them; we must confide in them. Is the English nation really of opinion that the cast of character which consists with free-thinking opinions is the one best fitted to respond with fidelity to the trust which may be reposed in it. Can it be thought for an instant that "youths, glorying in the liberty of infidelity, and prepared, in a crisis of revolution, to throw themselves into the whirlpool, that they may find materials for the indulgence of passions which a European education in science has

* Duff on "India and its Missions," p. 450.

* Raikes' Notes, &c. p. 139.

not curbed," are the reliable agents which we need in the future government of India? Can a cold system, in which there is nothing remedial, nothing restorative, suffice to endue a man with that self-control, in the absence of which no reliance can be placed upon him?

But there are some who affect to think, that to afford opportunity of Christian instruction in the Government schools is identical with compulsory interference, forgetting that attendance at such institutions is entirely voluntary, and that in the details of arrangement, care might be taken that there should be no misapprehension on this subject. In matters of religion, every man should be left free to act according to the convictions of his conscience. It is only as the conclusion to which the man comes is the spontaneous act of his own mind, that it is of any value: appearances which are induced by undue influences are only temporary, and soon pass away; and therefore no attempt should be made by force or fraud to precipitate a conclusion, and prevent the mind from following out its own convictions. But to withhold from the man opportunity and access to the means of information, is to inflict upon him a grievous wrong; for how can he come to a right and just conclusion if these be withheld from him? The opportunity of knowing what God would have him to do, is the right of every man. But the Government which excludes the Bible from its schools, takes away this opportunity, and debars the man from that access to the sources of instruction which it is his right to have. This is indeed compulsory interference. Let the man at least have the opportunity. Then the responsibility of using it rests with himself, and not with us. And besides all this, it is an unjustifiable imposition which we practice upon the native, if, while professing to instruct him in Western knowledge, we keep back from him the great secret of its superiority—that in which consists its true vigour and excellence.

We may here appropriately introduce a paragraph in the despatches of Sir John Lawrence on the subject of Christianity in India—

"In doing the best we can for the people we are bound by our conscience, and not by theirs. Believing that the study of the Bible is fraught with the highest blessings, we, of course, do desire to communicate those bless-

ings to them if we can. We desire this, not only as individuals, but as a Government, for Christianity does truly go hand-in-hand with all those subjects for which British rule exists in India. But this can only be effected by moral influences voluntarily received. Any thing like 'proselytism' or 'quiet persecution' of any kind, or the application of secular motives, direct or indirect, are, in the first place, absolutely forbidden by the very religion we profess, and, in the second place, would be worse than useless for the object in view. Therefore we have nothing to do with such means. Neither do we as a Government undertake to found and maintain Christian Missions, because the thing can be done better by private effort, and because our doing so might tend to introduce those secular means for propagation of Christianity which we wish to avoid. But, as we have schools, there arises a fair opportunity of offering the Bible to those who may choose to receive it; and in the Chief Commissioner's opinion it is just, politic, and right that we should avail ourselves of that opportunity. Such, briefly stated, is the real argument for the formation of Bible-classes in Government schools.

"To say that we have no right to offer Christian teaching to Government schools because we do not allow the native religions to be taught there, is to misapprehend the fundamental relation that in this country subsists between the Government and the people. We are to do the best we can for them, according to our lights, and they are to obey us. Mr. Arnold writes, 'What answer am I to give to Hindús and Mohammedans if they say, that after having excluded their religions I have introduced my own? Shall I say that I am master, that I am the officer of a conquering Government, and will do as I please?' That answer, I am to observe, would indeed be arbitrary. The proper answer would be thus—'We offer you the Bible in our Government schools because we believe it to be for your inestimable good, if you choose to listen to it. We do not wish you to study it unless you do so voluntarily. But you cannot expect us to help in teaching your religion, which we do not believe to be true. That you can do for yourselves.'"

* Occasional Papers on India, No. V. Despatches of Sir J. Lawrence.

FRAGMENTARY NOTES OF A VISIT TO ALLAHABAD, CAWNPUR, AND LUCKNOW, IN JANUARY 1859.

BY A BENARES MISSIONARY.

Lucknow, January 11, 1859.

WE are now daily seeing and hearing such wonderful and deeply-interesting sights and sounds, that I must try, as far as my time and powers of description can go, to communicate some of the interest to you. I last wrote to you from Allahabad, and from the house of one of the most-talented men in the civil service, who holds one of the highest positions; and yet, praise to God, he is as distinguished for his piety and love for God's work, as for his talents and high position; and the same devotedness characterizes his wife also. Early in the morning, when I went out for my walk, I saw her and her young daughter in the buggy, coming away from calling at the house of a sick native-Christian servant; and in the evening, when we went to see the settlement of native Christians, they all came flocking round their kind and influential friends as round a father and mother, who seemed to know as much about the sick children, and were as kindly interested about them, as the most devoted parish priest among his flock at home.

This gentleman is burdened with responsibility and duty. Often he has from 100 to 120 cases a-day on which he has to form the final judgment, which must be, of all things, wearying and distracting to the mind. He rises at half-past four; and, except his exercise, his bath, and a short hearty breakfast, and his time for private and family devotion, he is all day long at his desk. And yet this is the man, who, with his secretary, finds time and thought for acting as a nursing-father to the shepherdless flock who have followed the government printing-press from the ruins of Secundra, at Agra, to Allahabad. He gives them a service every Sunday and every Wednesday evening, besides teaching in the Sunday-school, in which there are now about eighty children. I conducted the Wednesday-evening service on this occasion: it was very much like a cottage lecture at home: I suppose we had about fifty present; and hearty and earnest they seemed in the service, singing together with loud and joyful voices, if not according to strict musical taste. The attendance is much larger on Sundays. Dr. F. was there, a very warm friend of Mr. Clark's, of Peshawur, and indeed a friend of all who are, and all that is good; and a second, a captain,

who has really commenced the work of evangelization in some places where there were no Missionaries. Had he not been away from Allahabad, Mr. L. would also have been present, a fine young man, of powerful intellect and ardent zeal. He was quite Mr. French's curate at Agra. When one sees such men, so full of work, and yet so zealous in the cause of God and our dear Saviour, it is surely very inspiring, and shows how much may be done when the heart is really given to Christ. Oh for more of this hearty and complete devotion. Is it not also encouraging, as showing that God is more and more using one of the great means of spreading Christianity in this land, that of the attractive influence and example of His true people planted in it? But then, how melancholy is it to see how the other and the chief instrumentality for spreading the Gospel is wanting, that of a band of preachers and teachers to proclaim it! Most important is it that we should have a Mission at Allahabad. As the seat of government, it will become one of the most important places in India, and God, by His providence, has sent a native-Christian flock already there before us. For them it is not intended to assign a European Missionary, but it is one of the first flocks to which we hope to assign a native pastor. David Mohun is the catechist selected for this post, and is to be ordained (D.V.), together with Solomon—another old friend of mine—at the Bishop's first ordination, on the 25th inst.* Mohun has been here, with Mr. Leupolt, to open the Mission, and has been approving himself, not only as a humble Christian, but as an eloquent and able preacher to the crowds who throng to hear the first public preaching of the Gospel in Lucknow.

There is an American Mission at Allahabad. Our church also ought to be strongly represented there. An able and devoted man there, besides his evangelistic labours, would be influencing the minds that influence all this vast region of India. I have very little doubt that if we had two Missionaries, and a schoolmaster as-

* These have since been ordained by the Bishop of Calcutta. Vide "Recent Intelligence" appended to our last Number.

signed to educational work, at Allahabad, we should soon have a school containing 500 pupils; for there is no Government college there, and I do not think there will be if we come in and take up the work effectively; but Mr. M. said to me, that if we did not take it up, he thought Government must, and at once this splendid field for instilling the Gospel into the minds of hundreds of intelligent aspirants to Government employ would be lost. Surely Cambridge will never allow this; for we can only look at home. So far from having the men to enter in at this open door, and accept the ready aid of our influential friends, we are weaker at Benares than we have been for years. We have no one at Juanpur and Azimgurh, and poor Stern is all alone at Gorruckpur, as chaplain, pastor, and schoolmaster. Cambridge, and Oxford, and Dublin, and England—or rather Britain—what are you doing?

On Thursday morning, January 6th, we left Allahabad, by rail, for Cawnpur. The arrangements are, as yet, very incomplete: not a single station on the road sufficiently advanced to have waiting or refreshment-rooms; and, owing to long delays in taking up troops, and one of the wheels twice catching fire, &c., we did not reach the end of our 120 miles journey till 5 P.M., though we left at 7 A.M. The only matter of special interest was an occasional glance at the road (parallel to the rail), along which Havelock and his noble band advanced to Cawnpur, and of the bungalows of Futtegurh, immortal both for Tucker's final victory and martyrdom, and for Havelock's general engagement and success. At Cawnpur we put up at the house of our friend, Captain B., who entertained us most kindly, and made our visit as pleasant as visit could be. He had not received my note of self-invitation, and therefore we took him by surprise; though, indeed, it is little surprise to a hospitable Indian to see a dāk-gāri loaded with baggage drive into his compound, and a friend, or perhaps a stranger, jump out and ask for bed and board. At once the spare room is opened and prepared for him; or, if it be previously occupied, a tent is pitched for residence, while the table is open for board. There are not all the elegance and refinements of English entertainment, certainly: a bed, a matted floor, a chair, a wash-stand, and if you get a table you are fortunate—usually not more than this; but the room that there is, and a liberal table, are always open.

Early on Friday morning, the 7th, we walked out to visit the sad entrench-

ment. The main building, which sheltered our unfortunate fellow-countrymen from the tempest of iron that was poured in from all sides, is levelled, and the low mud-wall which surrounded the spot is nearly washed down; but they were digging this completely down, and we saw at least a dozen round shot dug out, a token of the iron hail which flew over that little parapet. One tree also stood there, all shattered, and battered, and pierced through with round shot. We carried away two six-pounders, and two fragments of shell, which we picked up there, and a bit of the bark of the tree, as relics. Afterwards we went to *the well*. The houses near have been levelled, and the well is in a plain of ruins. The mouth is bricked over, and a rough palisade surrounds it. It is a spot of sickening associations, and my feelings were of the saddest. Such a scene of ruin and desolation as there is everywhere in that station is sad and pitiable to behold. We went to see the beautiful church, one of the finest I had seen in India; alas! it is roofless, and only a resort for pigeons and bats, except one aisle, where a little native service is conducted by the Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It had been occupied by the rebels of the Gwalior Contingent in their memorable attempt to retake Cawnpur, and the guns of our fort had been turned on it, and in every buttress we saw the deep circular indentations, the pounded and splintered arches, and the masses of broken brick-work which testified to the force and terrible effects of round shot. And such was the roaring, terrifying, wall-shattering tempest which raged against our gentle ladies and timid girls for nearly four weeks in that entrenchment of horrors! It is impossible to realize the accumulation of terrors which must have agonized their tender spirits. But our gracious Father and holy Judge will bring good out of this misery.

In the evening we drove out three miles, to the extremity of the station, to where Mr. Perkins, of the Gospel Propagation Society, used to live, a scene which has long lived in my imagination, and is now sadly realized. Such a well-built house, such a noble Orphan Institution, such well laid-out grounds, and such a promising beginning of a village for native Christians, as told of our dear friend's ingenuity and faith, which had guided and prompted him to prepare so solid and extensive a foundation, in all externals, while he also laboured in his spiritual work. But now all stands void and desolate; the garden is wild, the orphan-house empty. I

thought of the Sunday afternoon, when his girls used to come over to the bungalow, and sing hymns all together; but now there are no sweet voices and gentle faces. However, I had met at Allahabad, as I have also in other places, Christian mothers of families who were once school-girls in Mrs. Perkins's school, and they all speak with such affection and interest of her. In the garden is the tomb of an officer, and in the chapel compound two or three more. These were killed in one of the fights which Havelock had in advancing from Cawnpur against the Nana at Bithúr. Only fancy that the house in which we slept, and in which Captain B. resides, was the residence of that fiend Nana during the siege of the entrenchments! Mr. Wiggins, the Gospel Propagation Society's present Missionary, came to dine at Captain B's. He has, at present, chaplain's duties in that important place, as well as those of sole Missionary. The Mission has been much broken up by the fearful disturbances. May God have mercy on the people of the place where our dear friend sowed with so much labour and so many prayers. I am told it used to be a place notorious for its wickedness, and now it is notorious for the hideous treachery and cruelty inflicted on our poor fellow-countrymen and women. Oh that God may make it hereafter notorious for the triumphs of his Gospel and grace.

On Saturday morning, the 8th, about 9 A. M. we started by *dák-gāri* for Lucknow. We went along the bank of the great Ganges canal to where it re-enters the Ganges. It is a very handsome as well as most useful construction. Five flights of steps every fifty yards or so for the natives to go down to draw water and bathe. We passed through the fort in which General Wyndham was in a state of siege on the Commander-in-Chief's first return from Lucknow. It is a very extensive fortification, crowning the banks of the Ganges for a long distance, and commanding the bridge of boats by which we crossed into Oude. The water was low, and five minutes took us over the bridge; but on the opposite side we had some two miles of causeway, over sandy and marshy flats, which are all one sheet of water in the rains. It was in the rains that Havelock first crossed, in the teeth of all Oude in arms, and I realized then (as far as a clergyman can realize feats of arms) what a difficult and splendid achievement it was. I kept looking back as we crossed. To my left, under the opposite wood-crowned bank, was the *ghât*, where that most awful tragedy of perfidy was en-

acted, the brave and noble, but too unsuspecting Wheeler, cut down as he got out of his palki, and the guns opened from among the trees of the beautiful and park-like compounds over the river, on the miserably betrayed victims in the boats. To the extreme right, just opposite the Perkins' residence at Nawab Gunge, was the island where the boat of fugitives from Futteghur was stranded, and where the unhappy passengers were captured, to be taken to the Nana. All along the bank in front of me frowned the fort, and told of the iron grasp of victory with which British valour had again seized the place, and above and beyond rose the tower of the church, with its steeples like silent figures pointing to heaven, and telling of the boundless love of God embracing all, even as the blue sky above did, and awakening hope that love should one day hold a more powerful sway at Cawnpur, even than that of valour and arms.

We had a pleasant journey to Lucknow. Of course our arrival at Oonao and Bunnee awoke the most interesting recollections, and I found that Havelock's despatches had given me a very accurate idea of the places. I saw the marks of our round shot on the gates and walls which the enemy had fortified. It is a splendid broad road, and we met large numbers of travellers, and many carts of merchandize; every thing wearing a peaceable aspect except our own police-stations by the side of the road, which are all of them mud-forts. Of course the interest of the road ever heightened as we reached and passed the Alumbagh and the bridge of the Char-bagh, and saw everywhere the loop-holed walls behind which the enemy fired on our advancing columns, and everywhere the marks of shots and bullets. About five we drove into one of the courts of the Mission house, and received the warmest of welcomes from our dear friends, Storrs and Mengé.

The Mission house in Lucknow! Is not that a wonderful sound? And you would wonder much more if you saw it! I think I am quite safe in saying that its two largest courts cover as much ground as the whole of Salisbury-square; and I think that the whole ground covered by its enclosures must equal that covered by Trinity College. The fact is, that it is a palace of one of the Mohammedan princes here, and is among the many splendid palaces which have been confiscated—such a curious rambling old place, with eight courts, and between 200 and 250 rooms. It reminds me more of college life than any thing else, and, I hope, one day it will be a Christian col-

lege. Of course it is far too large a place at present, and many of the rooms are not available for Europeans, and it would be a vast improvement if a great part were knocked down; but it is so solidly built that this would cost more than the Society can afford for it. But as it is, two most desirable residences are already completed out of it; another will be prepared for Mr. Ball, who is coming here; other rooms are occupied by an orphan-school, in which are about eight or ten boys already; one for a girls'-school, with about the same number; one splendid room for a church; others for the two catechists and their families, the servants, &c. It will give you some idea of the size of the rooms in the parts of the house used as residences, to say that the room our dear friends have prepared for us as a bedroom occupies one side of one of the courts, and used to have on its front five large windows, and is about the size of the town-hall at Tunbridge. I need not say that we never should have built or bought such rooms and such a place, but God has given it to us, for the place is made over to our Society on a merely nominal rent. Wonderful reverse!

To-day I have heard from a half-caste woman, who was in the city during the whole rebellion, that the Sepoys were ever thirsting for her blood. On one occasion they pointed their muskets at her, and one said, "Shoot her;" and another said, "Stay for orders;" and again, another, "What need of orders? she is a Christian, and we are not to leave name or mark of Christianity in India;" and it was only the doubt as to whether she was not really a pure native which saved her. "Not only," she said, "was one of the Mohurs going to destroy Christianity here, but he was going to England to kill all the English, and, sweeping Christianity from the face of the earth, to plant Mohammedanism in its stead." But now I see one place occupied by our Missionaries, and one mosque has been levelled for their convenience. At three minutes walk is another splendid Mohammedan building, which is called an imambāra or house (in a court) of a saint, which imambāras are shrines or holy places of worship of the Mohammedans. This is occupied by the Presbyterian chaplain: part of it is his house, and part of it is his church. There is another splendid imambāra, whose richly-ornamented dome rises out of the Kaiser Bagh or king's palace, and is seen over the whole city. I went to look at the splendidly-decorated exterior, and found it fitted up as an English church, used by the Church

of England chaplains. At the far end of the city is the principal imambāra: its vault is the largest in the world, and its five-storied mass shows its great proportions for miles. In this reputed holy place were quartered Her Majesty's 97th, and in a little room in it I was present at a deeply-interesting prayer meeting with some of Hedley Vicars' men. Farther on another palace is occupied by the American Missionaries, where, eighteen months ago, a European could not be seen without being shot down. One can only say, "What hath God wrought!" Praise be to God for his grace that both the chief commissioner and several other of the chief officers here are warm in the cause of the Gospel, as well as strong in wisdom and courage. After dinner on the day of our arrival, we heard in the dark the solemn and affecting sound of prayer. It was the voice of an English soldier leading the devotions of several of his comrades; and it came from a room on another side of the court, adjoining Mr. Storrs' study, which, with the love and zeal which characterizes our dear brother, he leaves open every evening to any soldiers who like to come for reading or for religious purposes. I am sure that many who raise objections against Missionaries leaving England, on account of the need there is for evangelists for our own countrymen, would feel their objections greatly removed, if they knew how prayerful, and zealous, and successful have been the labours of our dear brother Storrs for the good of *English* soldiers. He has a particularly happy way with them, of which I must give you one or two instances. One day he went into the convalescent house, and found it full of card-players. One man was brandishing his stick, and evidently joking with a comrade about some connexion of his with the Missionary. His heart almost sank, and he felt as if there was no place for his holy ministrations. However, he is not easily outfaced by soldiers, and he went up to the man with the stick. "What, are you going to give me a good beating, eh?" "No, sir, not that exactly." "What, not if I spoil your game?" (the man was playing at cards). "I don't think you are going to do that, sir." "Yes, I am afraid I shall, though." "No, sir, I don't think you will" (half impudently.) Just then Mr. Storrs caught sight of a former acquaintance. "What, Smith, you just out of the hospital, and here playing at cards?" "I don't see what's the harm in it." "You don't? You know very well that you do, and, if you were a man, you would confess it." Then he went on to give a lecture on

card-playing. Gradually, the tables were broken up, one after another, and the cards pocketed, and the men gathered round to listen. Mr. Storrs had just received from Miss Tucker—daughter of our Benares friend, and a devoted friend of soldiers—a number of books and sets of chessmen, draughts, &c., so he said, "Now, will you promise me to give up cards if I bring you down some books and chess to-morrow?" "Yes, sir, that we will." "I am sorry I have nothing to give you now; so, if you will allow me, I will give you a sermon;" and so he did, and I doubt not it was one which went home to many a heart, and, though he is eminently successful, he is by no means alone among Missionaries in this work for our own countrymen. We have all at Benares been more or less engaged in the same way. Indeed, for fifteen months out of two years, we have had no chaplain whatever, and that with an average of 800 men in the station, besides three or four hospitals full of sick and wounded, and the usual European residents. For my own part, I find the kindly attentions of these poor fellows, whenever I go to give them a service, quite touching and refreshing. I have found a little table all prepared for me in the midst of the hospital, with a white cloth, and one of their pillows for me to kneel on, &c. Poor dying men have sent to ask me to come and read a few lines from the Bible, and said how glad they should be if some gentleman would come often and read to them. It is so sad to hear these things, and see such a door open, and yet to see none to enter in at it. Of course we have but little leisure from our proper work; and I hope that whoever reads this will be stirred up to do whatever they can for our poor soldiers' spiritual interests, for indeed the lack of spiritual provision for them is as sad as the openings for good among them are great. And next I would repeat how what I have said shows that God does not allow our own country to suffer by its sparing men for carrying the Gospel to less favoured countries; and I think the same is shown by the vastly-improved state of Anglo-Indian society, and the large number of really pious persons devoted to God's service, who are found both in the civil and military service. Well it may be so, for the spiritual health and growth of our church at home does not depend on the number of the faithful ministers, but on the accompanying blessing of God on their ministrations; and if we are neglecting a known duty of spreading the Gospel, with all our ministers we may come short of the

blessing, while we may secure it by being faithful to our charge. "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet but it tendeth to poverty."

On Sunday, the 9th, we went to church at a room used in the week as a catcherry, or court, and on Sundays as a church for the civil officers of the station. It was so full that there seemed no seat vacant, and Mr. and Mrs. Storrs sat down on the cushion round the communion rail. But Mr. Montgomery saw this, and came and led them to his own seat. This was Mrs. Storrs' first introduction to him. I preached on the miraculous increase of loaves and fishes, applying it to the spread of the soul's sustenance—the Gospel.

I am now writing on the 18th. We are still at Lucknow, and hope to remain till the 24th. I am thankful to say we are all quite well, and are seeing so many deeply-interesting things, that I cannot keep up with my description. But I hope to go on every day, as I can find a little time.

Benares, Feb. 1, 1859.

I was quite unable to finish my journal-letter at Lucknow, and, of course, my impressions are no longer fresh as they were: still I must try to expand my daily notes into a further account, as I think it will be useful to myself, as well as, I hope, interesting to you. I left off with the account of our first Sunday at Lucknow. In the afternoon we attended the Hindustani service—a service held for native Christians, in one of the palaces of Lucknow. It was held in a moderate-sized room, on one side of the court occupied by Mr. Mengé; and about thirty natives, adult and children, seated themselves on the floor for the service. It was conducted by my dear friend Storrs. His quiet study of the language at Benares, and his being subsequently thrown into the midst of Hindustani talking at Lucknow, has brought him on capitally; and his sermon was full of thought, as all his sermons are, for he has a singularly rich mind and deep fervency, making him most effective in the pulpit. Of course the congregation (except the orphan children) consisted of natives who had come from other stations.

Mirza Jan, one of the catechists, gave me a most interesting account of his own history. He was originally a native of Lucknow, and, as a boy, was taken up by an Italian lady, whose daughter was in the king's zenana. She trained him to cross

himself, repeat the Pater noster, &c., and all the externals of the Roman-Catholic religion. After some time, old Mr. Bowley, one of our earliest Missionaries in these parts, and then of Chunar, went to Lucknow, and preached publicly three times, so much to the astonishment of the crowds of Mussulmans who heard him, that, according to their phrase, they said, "What's this? what's this? Has the day come that we hear these things publicly preached in Lucknow?" Their violence made it impossible for him to preach any more; but Mirza had heard him, and went to converse with him. His question, "Have you ever thought what will become of your soul after death?" was the arrow which fastened and rested in Mirza's heart. He was instructed, and accompanied Mr. Bowley to Cawnpur, where he was baptized. This was some thirty years ago. After various changes, he lost all his property in the insurrection at Allahabad, where he was connected with the American Mission. He was admitted to employ in the cutcherry, where, as he graphically described to me, opening first one hand behind his back, then the other, and then behind his head (picturing the bribe-taking of the native officials), his righteous soul was vexed with the ungodly from day to day. He gladly embraced Mr. Leupolt's offer to return to the work of the Lord, though he had good worldly prospects; and now he said he admired the grace of God, which had brought him back to preach the Gospel in the place of his birth. Another of the congregation was the catechist Henry, who was a boy here in Mr. Leupolt's orphan-school, and has since been up at Kangra in the Himalayas, with Mr. Merk.

Another was Mr. Storrs' faithful servant, Frank, of whom I have heard him give the rare praise for a servant, that he (Mr. Storrs) really believed that Frank would sooner suffer himself, than wrong his master, or allow him to be wronged. Mr. Storrs, with great self-denial, has given up his services, that he may superintend the orphan boys. Another member was Sital, our Christian carpenter, whom Mr. Leupolt took up there to superintend the repairs. These, with their families, reside in different rooms and parts of this great rambling desolate mansion.

After service, we went up to walk on the house top: the air was fresh, and the view most striking and beautiful: it is the west-end of Lucknow. Looking east, we could see the palace of the Dilkusha and the Martinière, and what was Major Banks' house, now Mr. Montgomery's.

North-east and north, were the Moti Munnzil (pearl palace), the thirty-second's mess-house, and the observatory, besides a range of palaces and imambāras. To the west was the Kaisar Bagh, or emperor's garden, i.e. palace, a vast and widely-extending mass of building, long fronts of courts appearing one beyond another, with gilt spires and domes rising out of them, and two large stone domes reminding one of the Ratcliff Library at Oxford. Over this again rose various minarets and domes; and, far away west in the city, the enormous mass of the great imambāra. Paris and Oxford were the places of which I was constantly reminded; for these vast buildings have been constructed with so evident an aim at general and combined architectural effect: and now our authorities are clearing away all the incrustations of meaner erections which had grown up round the palaces, and have thrown the latter completely open again. I think that, next to Paris, this was a finer architectural view than any that I know. After our evening dinner, we went and spoke to five soldiers who were reading and singing hymns in Mr. Storrs' study. We happened to speak of Henry P——, and they spoke warmly of his grateful praises, said how he was the "soldiers' friend," and had not only administered to the spiritual interests of the sick men in the hospital, but had cared for their bodies also, sending them delicacies, &c. It was very noble of him to devote his time and strength to them, after his arduous official duties.

On Monday, the 10th, I went, in the morning, with Mr. Mengé, to the preaching in the Aminabad bazaar, the one through which Havelock would have had to force his way if he had gone direct to the Residency. We found Mirza and Henry on a little wooden platform under a tree by the side of the road, and a crowd already round them. Mirza was reading Luke xvii., and took as his subject, "We are unprofitable servants;" showing how different was this from any thing to be found in the Shasters and Korán. He introduced his sermon very well, saying how attentive they would be to a message from the queen, but here was one of greatest importance from the King of kings, &c. The people listened most attentively, as they did the whole time, increasing as Mr. Mengé rose and addressed them. His subject was "the burden of sin," and he used one capital illustration among others. In English shape it would be—"so long as the bucket is under the water in the well, although it be full, you may lift it, and not feel its weight. The mo-

ment it is out of the water, you are sensible of the weight. So as long as the sinner is unaroused in the element of sin, he does not feel the burden of it. It is only when he is awakened, and struggles to rise above the old element, that he begins to feel the load." We were there for about an hour and a half, the people listening respectfully and earnestly the whole time, to the number of about an hundred or more.

In the course of the day we called on Mr. Montgomery. He told us the delightful and astonishing fact, that Oude was perfectly pacified; that revenue was coming in regularly from all parts; and that you might go to any place without danger of molestation. He said he attributed this, under God's blessing, to the two facts of the publication of the amnesty, and the contemporaneous presence of a powerful British army, showing the natives that it was through no fear that we offered them terms. This result appears the more astonishing when contrasted with the fact, afterwards told me by H., that he and Mr. Montgomery had, in October or November last, calculated together that there were 210 guns—besides those mounted in forts—and 120,000 fighting men in the field against us in Oude. In the evening we drove to the Great Imambāra.

The 97th were just about to leave Lucknow, and Mr. Storrs went for a farewell prayer-meeting with some of the men. On one side of the vast arched gateway leading into the inner court, and up two broken staircases, which the ladies found it difficult to climb, we came to a little upper room; at one end a table and chair, and on the table candles, Bibles, and Bickersteth's Hymn-books; a matted floor, and benches round and in the room: wooden candle-holders fastened in the walls held the lights. The benches and the books, the mats and the lights, were all the men's own providing. "It was a little sanctuary," consecrated by pure devotion. Such hearty singing I have never heard since I left the happy Monday evening meetings in the James-street schoolroom, at Clapham. Almost every voice joined audibly in Storrs' fervent petitions, and every heart seemed to attend to his loving exposition of Rom. viii. About twenty-five were present. After it the hearty fellows came to take our

ladies' delicate hands in their iron grasp, and we talked to several among them. One fine, broad-chested man spoke to us of his wife, and the remittances he had been sending to her, and that he trusted that they were both walking on the same right road. Storrs afterwards told me that this was Cottrell, whose wife, on the 19th of May 1854, said to Hedley Vicars, "Oh, Mr. Vicars, you will see that Cottrell writes to me regular, won't you? It is my only comfort to know that you will."—(Vicars' Life, p. 149). Thus that noble soldier's "works follow him."

This imambāra is one of the most purely Asiatic buildings in Lucknow, and was, as being characteristic, proportionately more pleasing to me than many others, where their native architects had mixed a great deal of the European style. You drive through an enormous gateway, and find yourself in a vast oblong, with a similar gateway at the other end fronting you. Half-way down the oblong two still grander portals front you on your right and left. I know not how to describe these imposing gates, which form so prominent a feature in Oriental buildings. Trinity great-gate would hide its diminished head if one of them could be transported to Cambridge. We turn through the gate on the left, and enter a vast court surrounded by a three or four-storied range of buildings; pass through it, and up an ascent through the second great gate opposite that at which we have entered, and enter the second court. To the right, from a platform some twenty feet above the surface of the court, towers up the mosque and its lofty minarets; in front is the enormous mass of the imambāra itself. I did not count how many arches formed its front—about twenty I should guess, and over this rise tier upon tier of rows of cupolas, the blue sky gleaming through the white pillars of the highest range. Two vast rooms run the whole length of the interior, like the naves of some of our cathedrals, and I am told that there is no other vaulted roof in the world equal in length to that of this Imambāra. Had I gone to the right of the first oblong court, I should have seen other mosques and splendid erections rise in that direction also, but I had not time.



THE GULF OF YEDDO, JAPAN.

JAPAN.

If Missionary exertions do not extend at the present time, it is not for the want of opportunity. Time was when the door of access to unevangelized nations was only just so far opened as to enable us to perceive something of the existing destitution without affording us access to the necessitous masses. We had to avail ourselves of such facilities of planting Missions as presented themselves, although it might be that the *locales* of our operations were far from being the most eligible. Thus countries of inhospitable climate, and of sparse population, such as Greenland, Labrador, &c., were amongst the first occupied. The nations where millions were massed together were inaccessible. Perhaps it was well for the infantile effort that it was so. On the more limited area it had opportunity to essay its power, and prove what might be done; and there, on a narrow field, we were exercised in this great undertaking; the most honourable and glorious in which man can be engaged, and yet, just in proportion to its greatness, requiring wisdom and patience, and zeal and perseverance, and that combination of rare qualities which the Holy Spirit imparts, but which He permits His servants to attain only through the toil and conflict of actual endeavour. It is so in the great conflict of war. Soldiers, in the first instance raw and inexperienced, and disposed to waste their strength on futile efforts, learn to husband their resources, and reserve them for decisive occasions, when operations tell, and are productive of great results. And Missionary work is no longer an experiment. We know the strength of the weapon we are to use; we have proved it in many a difficult and trying scene, and know it to be the Gospel of Christ, the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth. It is true the hand that wields it is weak, but the strength of God, in this his own work, is superadded to the weakness of man: and thus, the church has been trained. No difficulties which may accrue, can by possibility surpass those to which we have been already subjected; and now that we have been exercised on a lesser sphere, we are summoned to enter on fields of surpassing magnitude. The world lies wide before us. The East, with its millions, invites us to go forward. Not only China—on the coast of which we have been frequenters—but Japan, secluded Japan, repudiating not merely Missionary effort, but all secular intercourse with Western nations, has abandoned her antiquated exclusiveness, and enters into treaties of amity, and intercommunication with European nations.

On the 12th August, 1858, H.M.S. "Furious," bearing the British Ambassador, Lord Elgin, and followed by the "Retribution," entered the Gulf of Yeddo, before a staggering breeze from the south. The occasion was full of deep interest, enhanced by the beauty of the surrounding scenery, and the life, civilization, and well-to-do condition of the inhabitants. That mysterious city, fabled to be twice as large as London, which the Dutch Commissioner, alone of Europeans, was allowed to enter, and that once in four years, crawling all-fours into the imperial presence, was about to have its seclusion interrupted by an uninvited guest. Headland after headland was passed by the frigates until they reached Kanagawa, the nearest point to Yeddo which foreign vessels were permitted to approach. Japanese guard-boats tried to arrest their progress; fans were waved by two-sworded officials; but still the glorious panorama of the bay continued slowly to unroll itself. Nothing, indeed, could be more picturesque than the landscape, wherever the eye was directed. "The high cultivation of the land everywhere, the deep rich green of all the vegetation, the innumerable thrifty villages embowered in groves of trees at the heads of the inlets, which broke the uniformity of the bay, and the rivulets flowing down the green slopes of the hills, and calmly winding through the meadows, combined to present a scene of beauty and abundance."* The chart presented nothing beyond Kanagawa but a blank sheet of paper, the waters beyond never having been parted by foreign keels; but the right channel was struck, and the Japanese capital was reached. "The position of the town is admirably adapted to admit of enormous development in size and population. The city is situated in the N.W. angle of the Gulf of Yeddo: it is nearly as possible a square of twenty miles on each face, the imperial quarter being its centre. Yeddo is not walled in. One large stream flows through the heart of Yeddo, spanned by many fine bridges, three of them remarkable for their length.

"The houses and shops are very well constructed, wood, doubtless on account of earthquakes, entering largely into their structure; the streets are very wide, quite as much so as Oxford Street, London, and well kept; the temples, finer far than those of China, admirably clean, and much frequented; and the general

* American Expedition to Japan, p. 267.

dull uniformity of a great collection of houses charmingly broken by patches of park-like grounds around the dwellings of the princes and nobles, who live in feudal state, surrounded by thousands of their retainers: indeed, we must remind the reader that the sight of Yeddo is any thing but a dull flat, for many hills of moderate elevation are situate in and around it, clothed with trees and verdure, through which peep the roofs of houses, or glitter the domes of their temples."

"We could never sufficiently admire the beauty of the site of Yeddo, the excellence of its police, the cleanliness of its vast population, and the order and appearance of wealth in the streets; but commendation was due to much else: every thing was in equally good keeping: there was none of that wretched appearance of mildewed gorgeousness about the official abodes or temples, which strikes a traveller so much in China. The very beach at Yeddo was well kept, miles of vertical embankment occurred along the face of the whole bay, yet no embankment had a stone out of place."

"The rides beyond the city, whether to the tea gardens, or to the nursery gardens, which quite equal the best which Europe can produce; or to any of the many temples lying within a circuit of ten or twelve miles of the Embassy; all served still more to convince us, that the merits which had so loudly called for our praise were not confined to the city and the neighbourhood of the imperial quarters. Fields admirably cultivated, gardens which were gems of neatness, hedges clipped, and trimmed to perfection; orchards without a twig out of place, and laden with rich fruit; cottages, paths, drains, and embankments in wonderful order and neatness, with a smiling people, formed a picture which we might have dreamed of, but decidedly had never before seen. Two centuries ago, Japan sought as anxiously as she now does the friendship and civilization of the West: she met with robbery, insult, and treachery. The heathen had then energy enough to thrust out the invaders of her peace and happiness. May no need ever again arise for a similar procedure. The field for the Missionary is rich."*

Thus after a long period of 236 years, relations between Japan and Europe have been resumed. What caused their suspension, for the nations of Christendom once maintained an extensive intercourse with these islands? The Portuguese enjoyed the first supremacy in those Eastern lands, which were laid open by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in the fifteenth century. "In less than two centuries

Portugal had traversed the Atlantic, conquered Madeira, the Cape De Verdes, the coast of Guinea and Congo, had planted herself on the shores of India, and obtained a footing in China. She had founded in her wealthy metropolis of Goa what has been called the 'Rome of India.' She possessed Macao, and was amongst the first of European maritime powers in the East." In the year 1543, intercourse with Japan commenced. A Portuguese ship was driven on that coast, and anchored at last in the harbour of Bungo, in the Island of Kiu-siu. The Japanese, although vigilant, manifested at that time no indisposition to hold communication with the strangers; and this accidental visit led to arrangements for the prosecution of commercial intercourse. A Portuguese ship was to be sent annually to the Island of Kiu-siu, laden with woollen cloths, furs, manufactured silks, taffetas, &c. the returns to be made in gold, silver, and copper.

Wherever they penetrated, the Portuguese were zealous in the introduction of the corrupt Christianity which they professed.

Romanism is an utter departure from Christianity in its essential truth and saving power. The name is retained, but it covers a system altogether different: the nucleus, as well as the elements which are grouped around, are wholly diverse. Of true Christianity, Christ is the great attractive centre, and they who attach themselves are a loving people, who cling to Him in the exercise of that faith which is inwrought by the Spirit of God in every regenerated soul. But the centre of the fictitious system is a pretender to Christ's supremacy, and men adhere to him through a tissue of ritualism, which does not affect the soul in the way of healthy influence, and leaves it as unconverted as it was before. To become a Romanist, it is not needed that a man's heart be changed, and that, instead of a carnal, he become a spiritual man, but that he be credulous enough to submit his understanding to the impositions of the system, and conform himself to the will worship it prescribes. Its converts from among the heathen are mere proselytes. It is simply a change from the idolatry of heathenism, to the idolatry of Rome. The more closely any avowed system of heathenism assimilates to that essential but covert heathenism, which is disguised under the name of Roman Catholic Christianity, the more quickly and easily the transfer is accomplished; and, in Japan, the Romish emissaries found a religion which bore a very singular resemblance to their own. The Japanese have a female deity, Ten-sio-dai-zin, "the sun goddess," and thousands of inferior deities, called Kami, consisting chiefly of canonized or deified men.

* "North-China Herald," Sept., 1859.

They have also their festivals, their various modes of purification, and their pilgrimages, the latter constituting the great religious duty of the Sintooites.* "There are two and twenty shrines in the kingdom commanding such homage, but the greatest and most sacred one is that of the sun-goddess at Isye. To make at least one pilgrimage to this shrine is incumbent upon every person of the Sintoo faith. The very pious go annually. To render the assimilation more striking, Buddhism, that intrusive system, has intermingled itself with Sin-syu, the original national religion of Japan. There existed, therefore, monasteries of bonzies, or priests, and convents of nuns, where celibacy was professed. Thus a system prevailed so closely resembling that of Rome, that a Romanist historian observes—"As for the ecclesiastical government, it much resembles that of the Roman church, for they have one sovereign bonzie, who exercises power over all the rest, judging in points of religion, and every one stands obliged to submit to his decree. He likewise gives dispensations to their laws and precepts, and chooses the Tundes, who also have a power of dispensing in things of lesser moment, like our archbishops and bishops.†

The labours of the Jesuit Missionaries were therefore much facilitated, and the process of proselytism advanced rapidly. Names had only to be changed: instead of the Sun Goddess, Mary; instead of the Kamie, the Saints. The Mission commenced in 1549. In 1582, three of the princes who had embraced the new faith, sent some of their nearest relatives, with letters and presents, to pay homage to the Pope, Gregory XIII., and to assure his holiness of their filial submission to his authority. In 1614, the number of converts had increased to 1,800,000. Romanism, as it grows numerically strong, becomes arrogant. Not content with spiritual supremacy, it must needs grasp political power, and it did so in Japan. The Japanese traditions to this day ascribe the downfall of Christianity to the avarice, sensuality, and pride of the ecclesiastics. They treated with open contempt the institutions and customs of the country, and insulted the highest officials of the Government by studied indignities. At length a Portuguese ship was captured by the Dutch, on board of which was found a letter from Moro, a Japanese Romanist, to the King of Portugal, in which he solicited a supply of ships and soldiers, in

order to the overthrow of the native government. The Dutch, the rivals of the Portuguese, communicated, without delay, to the authorities, the discovery they had made, and the result was the imperial proclamation of 1637, which decreed to perpetual banishment the whole race of the Portuguese, and, extending the detestation felt to these intriguing men to the religion which they professed to teach, denounced Christianity, inflicting the penalty of death on all who sought to propagate, or even professed, its doctrines. Still more effectually to preserve Japan from all possibility of a religion so calamitous in its results being reintroduced at any future time, all Japanese were forbidden to leave their country, and any natives who should happen to return from a foreign land were commanded to be put to death. Thus, in a few years, the whole of that imposing fabric of conversion to Romanism which had been reared was swept away before the flood of trial which burst upon it, and the propagators and converts of that system ceased to have place, even in name, within the limits of Japan.

Over the vast common grave in Simaraba, where the last of the native Christians made a stand against the imperial forces, an inscription was set up, of which the following is the initiative sentence—"So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan." This would have been impious had it not been penned in ignorance. It was not, however, Christianity they intended to exclude, for that they knew nothing, but Rome's misrepresentations of it; and it will be well for Japan if the Romish Missionaries, who, in our day, are so busily compassing sea and land to make one proselyte, be deterred by the recollections of the past from obtruding themselves again upon this ancient field of their Church's mischievous action and well-merited discomfiture.

From that period Japan withdrew herself from intercourse with European nations, the Dutch excepted, who were permitted to remain under the most servile restrictions, confined to Desima, a miserable little island in the port of Nagasaki. "Desima is shaped like a fan; and the island, for the most part, is of artificial construction. Its greatest length is about 600 feet, and its greatest breadth about 240. A small stone bridge connects it with the town of Nagasaki. At the end of this bridge there is always stationed a strong Japanese guard, and no one passes either to or from the island without licence. The whole island is surrounded

* *Sin-syu*, from "*Sin*, spirit, god," and *too*, "law, way."

† "*History of Japan*," by Mons. L'Abbe de T.

with a high fence, on the top of which are placed iron spikes. Two water-gates, on the north side of the island, are opened to let in the Dutch ships when they arrive, and are at all times kept shut, save at the ingress and egress of these vessels. The Dutch are not allowed to build a house of stone on the island, and their miserable habitations are of fir-wood and bamboo. The island has on it at all times Japanese spies in the situations of interpreters, clerks, servants, &c. The Dutch are, besides, subject at any moment to the intrusion of the police of Nagasaki. In short, a more annoying and thorough system of imprisonment and espionage was never devised.* Thus the Dutch have ignominiously retained a position on the coast, but, in the perpetuated contempt to which they have subjected themselves, have forfeited all prospect of usefulness.

Russia, in her former efforts to open intercourse with this insular empire, has committed herself to acts of hostility, and notwithstanding the recent treaty, must continue to be regarded with some measure of suspicion. Some seventy or eighty years ago the Russians seized some Japanese sailors who had been wrecked on the Aleutian islands, and detained them ten years in order to reciprocate a knowledge of the respective languages, and prepare the way for further advances; but it proved to be a resultless policy, the Japanese refusing to permit either the Russians or their countrymen, whom they had brought back, to land. In 1804 the Emperor Alexander endeavoured to overcome the haughty reserve of this people; but his special ambassador, after numberless delays and indignities, was dismissed with this peremptory answer—"Order from the Emperor to the Russian ambassador—Formerly, our empire had communication with several nations; but experience caused us to adopt, as safe, the opposite principle. It is not permitted to the Japanese to trade abroad, nor to foreigners to enter our country.... As to Russia, we have had relations with her. Ten years ago you sent certain shipwrecked Japanese to Matsmai, and you then made us propositions of alliance and commerce. At this time you have come back to Nagasaki to renew these propositions. This proves that Russia has a strong inclination for Japan. It is long since we discontinued all relations with foreigners generally. Although we desire to live in peace with all neighbouring states, the difference between them and us in manners and character forbids entirely

treaties of alliance. Your voyages and your labours are therefore useless."

Provoked by this contemptuous rejection of their advances, the Russians, in 1807, wasted the Southern Kurile islands, which belonged to Japan, a proceeding which filled the Japanese court with surprise and indignation. They seized the first opportunity of retaliating. Captain Golownin, of the Russian navy, sent in the "Diana" sloop of war on surveying purposes, was made prisoner by the Japanese, with several of his crew, and, after a long detention, was sent back, bearing with him a document, warning the Russians against any further attempts to open intercourse.

No doubt Russia has a strong inclination for Japan. Her object is to dominate in the Pacific. She has already grasped the Amoor river, and its kindred territory. The Kurile isles have also been seized by her. If, in addition to all this, she had succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Japanese, so that the abundant harbours of that insular empire had been placed at her disposal, the development of her influence in the Pacific would have been as rapid as her intense ambition could have desired. But the Japanese suspected Russia, and now other nations, who have never encroached upon the Japanese, either by unprovoked hostility or intrusive embassies, are on the spot to observe their proceedings, and counteract them. Those nations are the Anglo-Saxon races, the Protestant nations of Great Britain, and the United States.

The English had been among the nations which had of old traded with the Japanese before they had adopted the policy of exclusiveness. On the 18th of April 1611, the first ship left England for Japan. It belonged to the Worshipful Fellowship of the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, but afterwards known as the "Honourable East-India Company." The circumstances which led to its being despatched were singular. An Englishman of the name of William Adams had entered as chief pilot on board a Dutch fleet of five sail, which left the Texel for Japan in 1598. The admiral's ship, on board of which he served, was the only one which reached its destination. The Portuguese, already established in Japan, denounced the Hollanders as pirates, and urged that they should be put to death. This the emperor not only refused to do, but liberally provided for the whole ship's company, this only condition being imposed upon them, that they should abandon all thoughts of their own country, and make Japan their

* "American Expedition," p. 33.

future home. His Dutch companions dispersed themselves throughout the islands, where they pleased; but Adams, remaining about the court, found opportunity of rendering various services to the emperor, taught him some of the principles of mathematics, built for him two vessels, and, as a mark of the monarch's esteem, received a grant of land, with eighty or ninety husbandmen to till it. But Adams could not forget home. He had left there a wife and two children whom he loved, and wrote two most touching letters, directed to any unknown friend or countryman who would undertake to convey them to his friends in Kent. The last sentence runs thus—"I am constrained to write, hoping that, by one means or other, in process of time I shall hear of my wife and children; and so, with patience, I wait the good will and pleasure of God Almighty, desiring all those to whom this my letter shall come, to use the means to acquaint my good friends with it, that so my wife and children may hear of me, by which means there may be hope that I may hear of my wife and children before my death: the which the Lord grant to His glory and my comfort. Amen."

William Adams was the first Englishman, and, if we may conclude from the language of his letters, the first sincere Christian, who had ever reached Japan. His conduct contrasted favourably with that of the Portuguese Romanists. When he and his Dutch companions landed as strangers, the former had influence, and they employed it in vain endeavours to compass the destruction of the new-comers. When Adams rose to influence, he rendered good for evil, and interposed with the emperor for the good of the Portuguese.

His letters reached England, and a ship was despatched. It reached Firando on June 11th, 1613, and, in the subsequent August, the following treaty was concluded between the Emperor of Japan and King James of Great Britain.—

"Art. 1.—We give free licence to the subjects of the King of Great Britain, viz. Sir Thomas Smith, Governor, and the Company of the East-India merchants and adventurers, for ever, safely to come into any of our ports of our empire of Japan, with their ships and merchandise, without any hindrance to them or their goods; and to abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their own manner with all nations; to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleasure.

"Art. 2.—We grant unto them freedom of custom for all such merchandise as either now they have brought, or hereafter they

shall bring, into our kingdoms, or shall from hence transport to any foreign part; and do authorize those ships that hereafter shall arrive and come from England to proceed to present sale of their commodities, without further coming or sending up to our court.

"Art. 3.—If any of their ships shall happen to be in danger of shipwreck, we will our subjects not only to assist them, but that such part of ship or goods as shall be saved be returned to their captain or cape merchants, or their assigns. And that they shall or may build one house or more for themselves in any part of our empire where they shall think fittest, and at their pleasure.

"Art. 4.—If any of the English merchants or others shall depart this life within our dominions, the goods of the deceased shall remain at the disposal of the cape merchant, and that all offences committed by them shall be punished by the said cape merchant according to his discretion; and our laws to take no hold of their persons or goods.

"Art. 5.—We will that ye, our subjects, trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the same, according to agreement, without delay, or return their wares again unto them.

"Art. 6.—For such commodities as they have now brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for service and proper use, we will that no arrest be made thereof; but that the price be made with the cape merchant, according as they may sell to others, and present payment upon the delivery of the goods.

"Art. 7.—If, in discovery of other countries for trade, and return of their ships, they shall need men or victuals, we will that ye our subjects, furnish them for their money as their need shall require.

"Art. 8.—And that, without other passport, they shall and may set upon the discovery of Jesso or any other part in or about our empire."

A friendly letter from the emperor to the king accompanied this document, in which he desired a continuance of friendship, and pledged himself heartily to welcome the English to any part or port of his dominions.

The English, of their own accord, left the coast of Japan in 1623, some time before the civil war which the Jesuits kindled had issued in the extermination of the native Christians. Although they possessed the goodwill of the monarch, the trade was not remunerative, owing in some measure, probably, to the jealous action of the Dutch. Whether, in addition to this, they foresaw the coming troubles, and desired to be exempt from them, we know not; but Dr. Hawks, in his

introduction to the "American Expedition in 1852-54" remarks, "They left with an unstained reputation, and departed with the esteem of the higher classes, and the regrets of the more humble."

After the policy of exclusion had been adopted, the English made several efforts to re-enter the Japanese waters, but in vain. In Charles the Second's reign, a vessel was despatched to Japan, but the Dutch took care to acquaint the authorities that the English King was allied to the Royal Family of Portugal. The English vessel in consequence was received with a suspicion and distrust, which no efforts could remove, and the application to trade was refused on the ground that their King had married the daughter of the King of Portugal.

The re-opening of Japan has been reserved for the reign of Victoria. China has been forced to open her gates. Japan has becomingly done so of her own accord, before a hostile summons was addressed to her. The tact, the prompt, quick, and resolute action of Lord Elgin on this and other occasions is deserving of his country's praise.

And now that opportunity of intercourse with this peculiar and interesting nation is again afforded us, may there be nothing done by us to forfeit that character!

They must be indeed thoughtless persons who forget, that however desirable it may be to bring these 40,000,000 of idolaters within the circle of Christian opportunity, however politic to open Japan to the civilization and commerce of the West, nevertheless, in doing so, a heavy responsibility rests on the nations which have constrained this change—the responsibility of taking all due care that the Japanese shall not be worse but the better for this re-opening of intercourse.

"In a commercial point of view, the field is very promising. We know that in former days, three centuries ago, Japanese vessels traded as far as Bengal, and that it was only the certainty of being put to death by the famous edict against foreign trading that put it down in 1637. We know that the Portuguese annually exported from Nagasaki, in the time of free intercourse, the enormous amount of 300 tons of gold annually! and that in the year 1636, four of their ships carried to Macao no less than 2,300,000 taels alone. We know at this present hour that a gold kebang, equal in real value to a British sovereign, may be bought at Nagasaki for an ounce of silver, or little more than the Mexican dollar. We know that a quantity of silk or crape, which could not be purchased at Shanghai for twenty dollars, may be had

at Nagasaki for very much less. We know that the climate of Japan will not admit of the growth of tropical produce, and that the severity of its winter must occasion wants which other parts of the world can supply. Here, then, are the elements of a future commerce, and the intelligence, energy, and wealth of its rulers and people will assuredly do the rest.

"Silk, copper, gold, tea, and paper, apart from articles of manufacture, such as porcelain, bronzes, lacquer-ware, &c., in which Japan excels, will be at first, we should opine, their principal exports. Rice, they have in profusion, and of excellent quality: the short distance of Japan from Shanghai may, in times of scarcity in Northern China, render it a valuable article of commerce. Wood, coal, and iron, are abundant; the two former obtainable at almost nominal prices. Without being learned in the mysteries of the silk trade, we cannot help thinking that its abundance in Japan must next year affect our European markets. The Japanese tea is of a fine, full flavour, well adapted to the tastes of classes in Great Britain. The Japanese themselves prefer their own good teas to those of China, and we agree with them. Copper must be very plentiful: it has yielded enormous profits to the Dutchmen during the centuries they have had the monopoly of the trade, yet it is seen everywhere and in every thing. The brass guns alone, mounted at Nagaaski and Yeddo, would pay the ransom of a nation; the piles of their bridges are protected with sheets of it; the bottoms of their native vessels, the gunwales and stems of their boats, the stirrups of their saddles, the roofs of their temples, hilts of their swords, in short, almost every thing you see or touch has brass or copper about it, in some shape or other, and generally in profusion. Gold, for some reason or other, you never see: tradition says it is because the excessive cupidity of European nations alarmed the Japanese rulers, and that they were, and are, still anxious to keep hidden the great stores of that valuable mineral which Japan must contain, if the Dutch writer, Kæmpfer, told the truth—and there is every reason to believe he did—about the amount of the Portuguese exports in 1636."*

May those unhappy procedures which have lowered the character of Englishmen on the coast of China be far distant in our intercourse with the Japanese! May there be no opium smuggling, and none of its melancholy

* "North China Herald."

results! Instead of raising the morals of the Chinese, we have helped them to the indulgence of a new vice, one of which they were ignorant when we reached their shores. Opium, which augments the revenue of England, has filled the sea-board population of that empire with a moral plague of the most virulent and infectious character. May it be otherwise in Japan! May we be known there as the benefactors and not the enemies of our race! The new treaty prohibits, under severe penalties, the carrying of opium to the Japanese coasts. Let the English authorities insist upon the faithful observance of that treaty.*

We mark with satisfaction the following state papers—

"His Excellency Sir John Bowring, Knight, LL.D., Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, &c. &c., has directed the publication, for general information, of the following Copy of a Despatch from His Excellency Sir Michael Seymour, K.C.B., together with its enclosures addressed by the Earl of Malmesbury to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, relative to the unauthorized importation of goods into Japan.

"By order,

"G. W. CAINE.

"Superintendency of Trade, Victoria,
"Hong Kong, 18th January 1859."

"*Calcutta, at Hong Kong, 17th Jan. 1859.*

"SIR—Herewith I have the honour to transmit, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a letter from the Earl of Malmesbury, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 24th November last, to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, informing their lordships that certain British merchants in China will endeavour improperly to import goods, &c. into Japan; and in accordance with Lord Malmesbury's wishes Her Majesty's Steam Sloop, 'Inflexible' will sail for Yeddo (calling at Shanghai and Nagasaki) in two days' time, to convey to the Japanese Government the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on such illegal traffic, if it should be attempted, either before or after the ratification of the treaty; and that Her Majesty's Government will not extend their protection to any British subjects who may violate the laws of Japan.

"I have to request that your Excellency will be pleased to communicate to the British

* "Importation of opium being prohibited, if any British vessel has on board more than three cattie weight, the surplus quantity may be seized and destroyed, and any persons smuggling opium shall be liable to a fine of 15 dollars."—*Regulations for the Trade.*

merchants in China the course prescribed to Her Majesty's naval force in Japan.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "M. SEYMOUR,

"Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.

"*Foreign Office, 24th Nov., 1859.*

"MY LORDS—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordships, that I have been informed that certain British merchants in China contemplate the immediate despatch to Japan of vessels laden partly with goods, which, even if the treaty were ratified, and the trade duly opened, could not legally be imported into Japan.

"Her Majesty's Government would much regret that the commencement of British intercourse with Japan should be signalized by acts of smuggling and other illegality or violence on the part of British subjects, which, although they might for the moment be pecuniarily beneficial to the parties concerned in them, would tend to check the dispositions of the Japanese Government to enter into friendly intercourse with this country, to paralyze legitimate trade, and to impress the people and Government of Japan with an unfavourable opinion of the British character, which would require a long time to efface.

"At all events, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to do their utmost to avert any such evil consequences; and I have accordingly to request your Lordships by to-morrow's mail to send instructions to Sir M. Seymour, at once, to despatch to Yeddo a ship of adequate force, and to instruct the commander of such ship to inform the Japanese Government that Her Majesty's Government are not privy to any British subjects carrying on any illicit trade with Japan, if such should be attempted either before or after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty; but that Her Majesty's Government, highly disapproving of such conduct, will not extend their protection to any British subjects, who may violate the laws of Japan.

"The British commanding officer in Japan should also warn the masters of any British ships so trading, that they will not be protected from the effects of any such illegal proceedings on their part.

"It might also be desirable that Sir. M. Seymour should, in the manner which he may judge most suitable, make known to British subjects in the Chinese ports and at Hong Kong the course prescribed to Her Majesty's naval force in Japan.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) "MALMESBURY.

"The Lords Commissioners of Admiralty."

But after all, the sure way to prevent the introduction of opium into Japan and other countries of the East will be to adopt that course of proceeding which we advocated in a recent Number—the reduction of the opium growth in India to the minimum which may be requisite for medicinal purposes.

Since the closing of Japan to foreign trade the United States have risen to existence and power. Those unhappy tendencies of the Stuart family which induced them to ally themselves with Romish princesses, drove the Puritan fathers from the land of their birth, to seek a home in the new world. Rapidly increasing in population, and extending from shore to shore, America claims a place on the Pacific as well as the Atlantic. Her ships also have reached Japan, but their visits have been of recent date. The first visit was one of kindness, to restore some shipwrecked Japanese who had been under the protecting care of English and American residents at Macao. This was in 1837. Preparations for hostilities on her arrival off the coast were the alone acknowledgments of the courtesy. Sixteen years passed away. Some American seamen, cast away on one of their many islands, were detained and imprisoned by the Japanese. A vessel of war, the “Preble,” was immediately despatched to demand their release. It was full time to do so. They had been in confinement for seventeen months, and had been treated with great cruelty and inhumanity. They had been made to trample on the crucifix: such is the reaction which Romish misrepresentations, as well of the doctrines as of the practice of the Gospel, produces. They had been told it was the devil of Japan, and that if they refused to trample upon it, they would be put to death. The demands of the American Commodore were at first superciliously dealt with, but the Japanese soon perceived he was determined, and the men were given up. The next expedition, that of Commodore Perry—1852-54—secured the opening of two ports to American vessels for the purposes of trade—that of Simoda in the principality of Idzu, and of Hakodadi, in the principality of Matsmai. It was hoped that advantages might have been obtained as large at least as those which had been conceded by the Chinese, by whom five free ports had been thrown open, and the American Commodore had prepared the draft of a treaty to that effect. But the Japanese declined to do so—“As to opening trade, such as is now carried on in China with your country, we certainly cannot yet bring it about. The feelings and manners of our people are very unlike those of other nations, and it will be exceedingly

difficult, even if you wish it, to immediately change the old regulations for those of other countries.” Permission to citizens of the United States to reside with their families at the free ports, and trade, was deliberately refused. The only permanent residence to which they assented, and that reluctantly, was the residence of a Consul.

Let us contrast with this the provisions of Lord Elgin’s treaty—

“*Summary of the Treaty between Her Majesty and the Emperor of Japan. Signed at Yeddo, August 26, 1858.*

“Art. 1. Stipulates for peace and friendship.

“Art. 2. Stipulates for the reciprocal right to appoint a diplomatic agent at Yeddo and London, and consular agents at the open ports. The British diplomatic agent and consul-general may travel to any part of Japan, and the Japanese diplomatic agent and consul-general to any part of Great Britain.

“Art. 3. The ports and towns of Hakodadi, Kanagawa, and Nagasaki, to be opened to British subjects on July 1, 1859. Nee-e-gata, or, if that is unsuitable as a harbour, some other port on the west coast of Nippon, on Jan. 1, 1860. Hiogo on Jan. 1, 1863. In all those places British subjects may permanently reside, and may lease ground and purchase and erect buildings, but shall not erect fortifications. They are not to be confined by any wall or gate, and their free ingress and egress not to be impeded. The limits within which British subjects may travel are defined. The general limit is ten *ri* (each *ri* being 4275 yards) in any direction. After Jan. 1, 1862, British subjects may reside at Yeddo, and from Jan. 1, 1863, in Osaka, for purposes of trade only. In each of those cities a suitable district for their residence, and the distance to which they may go, shall be arranged by the British diplomatic agent and the Japanese Government.

“Art. 4. All questions arising between British subjects in the Japanese dominions shall be under the jurisdiction of the British authorities.

“Art. 5. Japanese guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects shall be punished by the Japanese authorities. British subjects who may commit any crime against Japanese, or other foreigners, shall be punished by the British authorities according to British law.

“Art. 8. The Japanese Government will place no restriction upon the lawful employment of Japanese by British subjects.

“Art. 9. British subjects to have free exercise of their religion in Japan, and may erect places of worship.

“Art. 10. Foreign coin to be current in Japan; the value to be determined by weight.

Coin (except Japanese copper coin), and foreign gold and silver, may be exported.

"Art. 12. If any British vessel be wrecked on the coast of Japan the Japanese authorities shall render assistance to vessel and crew, and send the latter, if necessary, to the nearest consular station.

"Art. 14. At each of the open ports British subjects may import and export, directly or indirectly, any lawful merchandise, paying the duties prescribed by the treaty. With the exception of munitions of war, which shall be sold to the Japanese Government alone, they may freely buy from, and sell to, Japanese, any articles they may have for sale; and Japanese may buy and use the same.

"Art. 16. All goods imported into Japan by British subjects, which have paid the import duty, may be transported by the Japanese to any part of the empire without any further duty.

"Art. 18. The Japanese authorities at each port shall adopt proper means to prevent smuggling.

"Art. 20. The articles for regulation of trade appended to the treaty are to be considered as part of it, and equally binding. The British diplomatic agent, in conjunction with the Japanese Government, may make such rules as may be necessary for carrying out both treaty and articles.

"Art. 21. The treaty being signed in English, Japanese, and Dutch, the Dutch text shall be considered the original. All official communications from British diplomatic and consular agents to be written in English, but for a period of five years to be accompanied by a Dutch or Japanese translation.

"Art. 22. Either party may demand a revision of the treaty on or after July 1, 1872.

"Art. 23. The British Government and British subjects shall be entitled to equal participation in all advantages granted, or hereafter granted, in Japan to the Government and subjects of any other nation.

"Art. 24. Ratifications to be exchanged within a year."

GOVERNMENTAL EDUCATION IN INDIA—ITS PAST HISTORY AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

(Continued from p. 137.)

WE have traced the question of education for India through some of the difficulties which have marked its progress. Step by step it has had to fight its way through a host of prejudices. How earnestly Mr. Charles Grant advocated the communication of western knowledge in its fullest sense, as comprehensive not only of secular but religious knowledge to the natives of India! But he and a few others were far in advance of general opinion. They pointed out a policy which, however becoming this great Christian nation, and honourable in the sight of God and man, was nevertheless, in the way of a practical adoption, far distant; one, indeed, which, notwithstanding all the stern correction to which we have been subjected, is not yet attained. There were those, some sixty years ago, who treated Mr. Grant's proposition as rank enthusiasm, and denounced it as the most absurd and suicidal measure which could be devised; and there are those of the present day, who, so far as the religious element is concerned, take precisely the same view. The opponents of Christian knowledge were successful in 1793. It remains to be seen whether the men of progress without religion shall prosper equally in 1859 (the year of restored tranquillity) in their determination to exclude the Bible from all Government colleges and schools, or rather—for this is only the salient feature of a broader question—whether the dishonest and

most hurtful system of neutrality shall continue to direct the administration of India, or whether it shall give way to a bold and Christian policy, which, while it will not descend to either force or fraud, at the same time does not hesitate to avow its own belief in the truth of Christianity, and to commend it to the attention of the natives of India. The disinclination of statesmen to deal fairly with the Christian convictions of this great nation, and with the need of India's population, must be overcome. After all that we have suffered in India, our perils and marvellous deliverance, we cannot permit ourselves to be misrepresented, and the Hindú to be wronged by an attempt to set up again that fatal principle of neutrality, which has been struck down, and blasted and withered by the lightning flash of God's displeasure. We shall ever connect it with the remembrance of a people, disloyal because they were ignorant; cruel because left to the uncontrolled dominion of foul systems of debasement, under the name of religion, and who, in their pitiless outpouring of inhuman deeds upon their English victims, simply reflected the heartlessness which was contented that they should live and die in heathenism, if only our rule might remain undisturbed, and our revenues be duly collected. Different motives may actuate men in the task which they have undertaken, to disinter the loathsome, fester-

ing corpse of neutrality from amidst the ruins of sacked cities and fields of carnage. It may be contempt for Christianity, a disbelief in its power, a sceptical theory that, in the affairs of men, it may be conveniently dispensed with; or it may be the old bugbear, that any identification with it on our part would displease the native, and must be avoided as a rash policy; but whatever the motive be, the result is one which the country will not endure. We must agitate. We must have our meetings, our memorials, and load the Houses of Parliament with petitions: they must stream in, "night after night, from large public bodies and industrial congregations, from influential towns and retired hamlets, and from churches of every denomination, demanding, with a unanimous voice," the utter abandonment of neutrality, and the inauguration of a Christian policy.

The importance of the question as regards the admission of the Christian Scriptures into Government schools, will become more apparent, as we trace out further the history of the question.

An advance had been made from Orientalism to Anglicanism, but the question could never be permitted to rest there. If knowledge is to be communicated to a people it must be through the medium of their own vernaculars. The principle of Anglicanism—or, generally, of instruction in a foreign tongue—can only affect a few. The idea, indeed, was entertained that these *élite* would become the teachers and instructors of their countrymen, and that the leaven of knowledge, communicated in the first instance though the English language, would avail itself, as it wrought into the mass, of the native tongues, and thus spread itself abroad. But experience does not authenticate this theory. It might be true in certain cases, but generally it is not found, that to be Anglically educated disposes a native to association with his countrymen. He has no longer that hearty sympathy, and earnest identification with them which would qualify him for usefulness. If the masses are to be instructed and raised, they must be approached at once through the medium of their own native tongue, and the more knowledge is vernacularized, with the more facility will it permeate them.

Missionary earnestness soon perceived the necessity of this. As early as 1813 the Serampur Missionaries directed their attention to the formation of a Hindu juvenile library, comprehensive as well of Christian as of useful knowledge, as the material for an important working of vernacular schools throughout the country. The system which commended itself to them will be found embodied in Dr. Marshman's

"Hints relative to native schools, together with the outline of an institution for their extension and management." Nor was it mere theory. As far as their means permitted them, it was reduced to practice.

"The Serampur Missionaries had prepared a new fount of types of a size suitable for the tables, with which the alphabet and its combinations, and the spelling-lessons, had been printed; the arithmetical tables were in the press; and of the other treatises some were ready for the printer and others in progress. They had established an experimental normal school at Serampur, in which the masters then employed by them had been, to a certain extent, trained to their new duties. The first school opened on this plan was at the village of Nabobgunge, about four miles distant from Serampur. To conciliate the inhabitants, they had been desired to select a master themselves, whom they sent to the training-school. Village after village had followed the example, and despatched the individual of their choice for instruction to Serampur. Nineteen schools had been established within the circle of a few miles, and all at the request of the people themselves. In some instances, men of influence had offered their own house, and in other cases the family temple, for a school-room: houses had, in some places, been erected by men of property, in the hope that they would be rented. Children were attracted to the schools from the most respectable families, and one particular school numbered ten Brahmin youths. In one instance a body of more than twenty boys came to Serampur from a distance of many miles, accompanied by the principal inhabitants of the village, to solicit the establishment of a school. Instruction was welcomed with great avidity throughout the district, and there is every reason to believe, that if the Missionaries had received continuous and energetic support in the prosecution of this scheme, and their attention had not been distracted by opposition, which constrained them to fight with one hand while they built with the other, the country around the metropolis would soon have been filled with knowledge."

These proceedings were not unnoticed by the authorities, and, on the subjugation of the Pindarries, Lord Hastings decided to try and benefit the wild tribes of Rajpútana, by the commencement of schools on Dr. Marshman's plan. Mr. Jabez Carey, who had resigned the superintendency of schools in Amboyna on the restoration of that island to the Dutch authorities, was selected as a suitable agent, and proceeded to Ajmere towards the close of 1818. Unhappily there were no school-books in the language of the people, and, after the first ex-

citement was over, the attendance diminished. Under these circumstances, Mr. Carey, with the consent of the parents, introduced the only existing vernacular publication, the *Gospels*, from the Serampur press. But this was an innovation which sorely alarmed the old Indians. The diminution of attendance was attributed, not to its true cause—the want of means of giving instruction in the vernacular—but to the introduction of the Scriptures into the schools, and Mr. Carey received an admonition to be more prudent. The Scriptures were withdrawn and our future policy in this important matter of education thus clearly indicated.

It is this one point which has throughout constituted the great distinctive feature between the educational efforts of Government and those of all Missionary Societies: the former excludes as much as possible all reference to Christianity; the latter expressly and avowedly teaches it. Missionary schools have been called proselyting schools, an invidious expression unjustly applied to them. The attendance on these schools is altogether voluntary. They who engaged themselves in organizing them were possessed of no official status: it was entirely at the option of the natives whether they sent their children or otherwise. The principles of the schools were well understood. Parents knew that if they decided to avail themselves of the opportunity their children would be instructed in the Christian Scriptures. But there was no proselytism. That, as Johnson says in his comment upon it, is a bad word, and a very opportune term in the lips of those who dislike all efforts for the evangelization of the natives of India, and desire to create a prejudice against them. Nothing was done in these schools that was unbecoming the guilelessness of Christianity. The Christian Scriptures were used, and the pupils prayerfully instructed in them. But the knowledge thus communicated was left to produce its own legitimate results. It was as seed sown, which is left to the genial influences of heaven. Man must be content to wait, for he cannot expedite the wondrous process; nay, his interference is injurious, and retards it. Conversions, when they did occur, were the result of convictions, and the spontaneous act of the individuals themselves. Such fruits alone are worth gathering: all else are fallacious, and disappoint. But shall the legitimate action of Christianity be denounced as proselytism, and, lest this effect be produced, shall it be repressed? The communication of Western knowledge, irrespective of Christianity, produces certain results on the mind of the Hindú.

His intellect is expanded, and he becomes possessed of sound information on a variety of secular subjects. His ideas of the earth's structure and position, its configuration, the relation of India to other parts of the globe, all these are corrected. But his newly-acquired knowledge has poured a flood of contempt on his hereditary religion, and exhibits it to him in all its falsehood and deformity, and he despises and rejects it. But the instruction he has received has not guided him to a perception of truth. In losing faith in his own system, he becomes without faith in any, a free-thinker, a contemner of revealed religion, or, perhaps, one step further, an atheist. Is this result less objectionable than a conversion to Christianity? Every principle stamps on the features of the character a corresponding impress. Christianity produces a moral change: infidelity exhibits itself in certain results. To which of these, whether viewed in connexion with private or public life, shall the palm of preference be given? When the young student returns home, whether as a Christian or a sceptic, shall he, in his change of opinion, be the least offensive to his family? Which of these principles shall most commend itself, by enduing its possessor with patience under reproach, and tender pity to the prejudices of relatives and friends? Which shall bear and forbear the most, the Christian or the sceptic? The sceptic may pull down and trample under foot the old family superstition, but he has no substitute to offer. He cannot win from an old and false creed, by exhibiting, side by side, truth and the duties and excellence of truth. That is the Christian's privilege. He brings in the truth as he has opportunity. He disarms prejudice by gentleness and kindness. He walks in wisdom towards those, who although within the same family circle with himself, are nevertheless "without," as regards the true faith. He has his speech with grace, seasoned with salt. He gains attention, and avails himself of the increasing opportunity, until at length truth and error stand forth in decisive contrast with each other, and truth, by a gradual process, introducing itself into the hearts of his friends, removes the prejudices of the past, as light dissipates darkness. If, then, scriptural schools have proselyted to Christianity, and if such be the designation which prejudiced men insist on applying to the persuasive procedure of Christian truth, assuredly secular schools, which have refused the Scriptures all recognition, have also been proselyting institutions. They have as surely proselyted to scepticism as the others to the faith of the Gospel. Hindú families have had both kinds

of converts returned on their hands: those who have renounced Hindûism because they have found a better creed, and the youth who, in abandoning heathenism, has concluded all religions to be equally false and unworthy of his notice. They have persecuted the Christian convert, and he patiently endured their anger, and rendered good for evil, until at length he disarmed them of their hostility; and they have admitted the free-thinker into the *penetralia* of home, and they have found him an undutiful son; in the pride of his intellectual superiority despising alike his parents and their creed, and yet, while heaping upon it bitter mockery, unable to suggest to them any thing positive in religion which they might accept in its stead. The Hindû prefers the Missionary school to the Government one. Is it because he is conscious of the superior influence which it exercises on the character?

We shall now very rapidly trace the gradual recognition of the important element of vernacular education by our authorities in India. In the year 1819, the Hon. Stuart Elphinstone became Governor of Bombay, and by him a college was instituted, in which the vernacular languages were taught grammatically, preparatory to the study of English, the expectation being, that native translators would be raised up, through whose instrumentality useful works might be prepared and diffused throughout the country. In this movement originated not only the Elphinstone Institution, but the college at Poonah, and the affiliated schools.

Sir Thomas Munro appears to have adopted views on education similar to those of Mr. Elphinstone. Native students were to be thoroughly grounded in their vernacular languages, and furnished with a competent knowledge of the Sanskrit, with a view to the acquirement of the English language and its accompanying literature, so as to be able to read, write, and translate correctly. Thus educated, they were to become teachers in the several collectorates, establishing at headquarters a school for normal tuition. The students, as they became competent to teach, were then to be spread throughout the principal towns in the Madras Presidency, giving instruction in English and the vernaculars, and reproducing everywhere the system under which they had been trained themselves. Such was the scheme, comprehensive in theory, but practically never advancing beyond the establishment of a collegiate institution at Madras.

We return to the Northern Presidency. Lord William Bentinck's administration, from

1829 to 1835, was one marked by many improvements. The Persian was superseded as the language of business throughout the Presidency, and English became the official language. The exclusive Orientalism, which had hitherto characterized the Government education, was abandoned; instruction in English was deemed to be the great desideratum, and, so far as it might subserve this object, instruction in the vernacular. But this system, as might be expected, was not found to work satisfactorily.

"Those who have not received a good native education first, find the English education they have received of little use to them. There is a want of sympathy between them and their countrymen, although they constitute a class from which their countrymen might receive much benefit. There is also little sympathy between them and the foreign rulers of their own country, because they feel that they have been raised out of one class without having a recognised place in any other class."

Various circumstances at this time directed attention to the state of vernacular education. Amongst others, the substitutions of vernacular pleadings in the courts for pleadings in the Persian, a language not understood by the suitors, and often but imperfectly by the European judges on the bench. Moreover, the new charter of 1833 had decided that no person, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour, should be disabled from holding any office, place, or employment, and the introduction of natives into offices of trust became much more general. Under these circumstances, and in prospect of such changes, it was natural and necessary to inquire into the state of vernacular education among the masses; and Mr. William Adam, an American Missionary, who had devoted himself to the study of the Sanskrit and vernacular languages, was selected for this purpose. His survey extended itself over certain districts of Bengal and Behar—an investigation, the result of which showed that the great mass of the population was in the most deplorable state of ignorance, and that, while an abundance of indigenous schools existed, they were in the lowest state of efficiency. Elementary schools were found in almost every Hindû township. The schoolmasters, independently of what they might derive from official situations in colleges, usually received about one shilling a month, and one day's unprepared food from each pupil. The attendance of the Bengali child usually begins at five or six years of age, and lasts about five years.

"In this time they begin with tracing letters with their fingers on a sand-board, or the floor; they then proceed to writing with a reed pen on a palm-leaf; learn letters and words, with tables of numeration, money, weight, and measures, and the correct mode of writing the distinctive names of persons, castes, and places.

"They subsequently acquire the elementary rules of arithmetic, with the simplest cases of the mensuration of land, and commercial and agricultural accounts, together with the modes of address proper in writing letters to different persons. Up to this stage, the pupil writes with ink made of charcoal, which rubs out, and with a reed pen held in the fist.

"The last stage of this course of education is writing with lamp-black ink on paper, and further instruction in agricultural and commercial accounts, and in the composition of letters. In country places the rules of arithmetic are chiefly applied to agricultural, and, in towns, to commercial accounts.

"The whole of this limited course is taught orally, and varies according to the ability of the teacher, for printed books are not employed. The imperfections of the plan can therefore be readily imagined.

"They are thus summed up by Mr. Adams—"The scholars are entirely without instruction, both literary and oral, regarding the personal virtues and domestic social duties. The teacher, in virtue of his character, or in the way of advice or reproof, exercises no moral influence on the character of his pupils.

"For the sake of pay, he performs a menial service in the spirit of a menial. On the other hand, there is no text or school-book used containing any moral truths or liberal knowledge, so that education, being limited entirely to accounts, tends rather to narrow the mind and confine its attention to sordid gain, than to improve the heart and enlarge the understanding. This description applies, as far as I at present know, to all indigenous elementary schools throughout Bengal."*

On his report, which was a voluminous one, filling nearly 500 pages of close-printed letter-press, Mr. Adams grounded a scheme recommending the establishment of a Board of Education at the Presidency, with a college for teaching the vernacular languages grammatically, with Sanskrit as their source, instruction in English being restricted to those who were intended for schoolmasters and translators; and the commencement of normal schools throughout Bengal for the training and examination of schoolmasters.

* Selection of Records of Bengal Government, No. XXII. Education, pp. 33, 34.

"Five years after the Governor of Calcutta had shelved Mr. Adam's report, Mr. Thomason commenced his plan of education, in 1843. On the North-west Provinces being separated from Calcutta jurisdiction, he gave it as his opinion, that, to produce any perceptible impression on the public mind in the North-west Provinces, it must be through the medium of the vernacular languages."*

At that time there existed in the North-western Provinces scarcely any appreciable agency for the education of the masses. "Very few adults were possessed of the mere knowledge of reading and writing, and the prospect of any improvement amongst the young was almost hopeless. Amongst a people so grossly ignorant the Government had introduced an artificial and elaborate system of record and registration, which rendered the security of all titles to landed property dependent on the accuracy of written entries. It was evident, that if ever this system, vitally affecting as it did the most cherished rights of the people, was to attain consistency and truthfulness, the people must be educated so as to be in a position to avail themselves of the opportunities it offered for the protection of their privileges."†

In 1844 the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society was founded. In 1846 it had published in Urdú, fifty volumes. Vernacular libraries were formed for distributing elementary vernacular works among the village schools, and lists of books were published.

In 1848 Mr. Thomason's plan for the promotion of vernacular education was recommended by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Directors, and their sanction obtained to its adoption. Designed ultimately for the whole of the thirty-one districts within the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-western Provinces, it was decided that its application, in the first instance, should be limited to eight of those districts.

The leading features of Mr. Thomason's plan may be thus enumerated—A general controlling authority, subordinate visiting agency, the introduction of a better class of books, and a suitable system of rewards for such indigenous schools as submitted to inspection and visitation; the basis of the whole scheme being the principle of turning to the best account the existing institutions of the country. The working of the whole scheme was placed in the hands of the revenue authorities, and thus brought home to the consideration of the people by an agency distributed over the face of the country, and, from its official position, having influence with the people. "A col-

* "Calcutta Review," vol. xxii. p. 312.

† Selection of Records, &c., p. 3.

lector in the North-western Provinces has under him an efficient establishment of Tahsildars of subdivisions, and, with their assistance, exercises a minute control over, and has a minute knowledge of, all the affairs of his district . . . There are eight or ten Tahsildars in a district, each collecting, say, on an average, about 20,000L." Schools were established at the Tahsil stations, and contrasted favourably with the unimproved indigenous school.

This energetic effort was crowned with a large measure of success. The schools increased from 2014 in 1850, to 3469 in 1852-53; and the scholars during the same period from 17,169 to 36,884. Not only was there an increase in the number of scholars, but the quality of the instruction given greatly improved. "Previous inquiry showed that the learning formerly communicated to the mass of the people, by such means as were within their reach, was of the lowest character. It was mostly formal and technical, an exercise of the memory rather than of the understanding, communicated either orally, or in a rude written character (Kaithí.) Printed books were scarcely at all used; and Urdú was seldom taught as a language, or employed as a vehicle of instruction."*

Under the influence of the new system, printed books came into universal use: Urdú schools rapidly increased: and the Nagrí, or regular Hindi character superseded the Kaithí. Mathematical studies were eagerly pursued, and much attention directed to geography, history, and physics.

Such a measure of success encouraged an extension of the plan, and accordingly a minute of the Governor-General (Lord Dalhousie), bearing date October 25, 1853, recommended that it should be applied to all the districts under the jurisdiction of the North-west Provinces.

Mr. Thomason had entered into his rest, but not before he had been enabled to announce to the authorities the complete success of his experiment, and to ask that it might be extended in its full integrity to all the districts of the North-west Provinces. Earnestly did he plead that this might be conceded.

"In all these parts there is a population capable of learning. The moral obligation rests upon the Government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. The means are shown by which a great effect can be produced, the cost at which they can be brought into operation is calculated, the agency is available. It needs but the sanction of the highest authority to

call into exercise, throughout the length and breadth of the land, the same spirit of inquiry, and the same mental activity, which is now beginning to characterize the inhabitants of the few districts in which a commencement has been made."†

Lord Dalhousie, in proposing that this desire should be acceded to, feelingly touched on the loss which India had sustained in the death of Mr. Thomason. "While I cannot refrain from recording anew, in this place, my deep regret that the ear which would have heard this welcome sanction given, with so much joy, is now dull in death, I desire at the same time to add the expression of my feeling, that even though Mr. Thomason had left no other memorial of his public life behind him, this system of general vernacular education, which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career.

"I beg leave to recommend in the strongest terms, to the Honourable Court of Directors, that full sanction should be given to the extension of the scheme of vernacular education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North-west Provinces, with every adjunct which may be necessary for its complete efficiency."

But the minute did not stop there. Other districts of the great Bengal Presidency were equally destitute with the North-western Provinces, and equally needed amelioration. "I feel," continues the Governor-General, "that I should very imperfectly discharge the obligations that rest upon me as the head of the Government of India, if, with such a record before me as that which has been this day submitted to the Council, I were to stop short at the recommendation already proposed.

"These will provide for the wants of the North-western Provinces; but other vast Governments remain, with 'a people as capable of learning' as those in Hindústán, and 'a population' still more 'teeming.' There, too, the 'same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance.'

"Those wants ought to be provided for: those obligations ought to be met.

"Allusion is made by the Secretary to the Council of Education, in his Report on the Vernacular Schools in the North-western Provinces, to 'the utter failure of the scheme of vernacular education adopted in Bengal among a more intelligent, docile, and less-prejudiced people than those of the North-

* Selection from Records, p. 4.

† Ibid, p. 22

western Provinces;’ but he adds the encouraging assurance that he is ‘convinced that the scheme above referred to is not only the best adapted to leaven the ignorance of the agricultural population of the North-western Provinces, but is also the plan best suited for the vernacular education of the mass of the people of Bengal and Behar.’

“I hold it the plain duty of the Government of India at once to place within the reach of the people of Bengal and Behar those means of education which, notwithstanding our anxiety to do so, we have hitherto failed in presenting to them in an acceptable form, but which we are told, upon the experienced authority of Dr. Mouat, are to be found in the successful scheme of the Lieutenant-Governor before us.

“And not to Bengal and Behar only. If it be good for these, it is good also for our new subjects beyond the Jumna. That it will be not only good for them, but most acceptable to them, no one can doubt who has read the reports by Mr. Montgomery and other Commissioners upon indigenous education in the Punjab, which showed results that were little anticipated before they were discovered.”*

Reference is made in the above extract to the failure of a scheme of vernacular education attempted in Bengal. We shall briefly state in what it consisted.

We have already referred to Mr. Adam’s report on the low state of education in Bengal and Behar, and his plan for its extension and improvement, founded on the basis of turning to the best account the existing institutions of the country. Recommending itself by its economy and suitableness for eliciting the exertions of the natives themselves in order to their own improvement, it nevertheless was not acted upon, because the means of carrying it out—money, masters, and books—were not available. Educational efforts continued to be restricted to instruction in English for the higher classes, and the raising up of nurseries of a class of educated Bengalis, which might gradually supersede the existing incompetent teachers. And thus matters remained until Dec. 1844, when it was intimated to the Sudder Board of Revenue that the Right Honourable the Governor of Bengal had determined to sanction the formation of village schools in the several districts of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, in which sound and useful elementary instruction might be imparted in the vernacular language. The number of the schools was limited to 101, and the working of the

scheme placed in the hands of the revenue authorities. These schools were not successful, because they were conducted by persons totally unqualified either to impart instruction or to make it interesting or useful, and who, although assuming the title of pundit, were not much better than the *gūrūma-shas*. The local authorities, moreover, under whose supervision they were placed, in consequence of the pressure of business, were unable to exercise any effective superintendence, and the influence of these institutions was not felt beyond the few villages in which they were located. There was nothing, in short, in these *Patshalas*, to overcome the indifference generally felt by parents to the subject of vernacular education, the great desire being for an English, and not a vernacular education. But above all they failed, because they did not take up the indigenous village schools, the village shed, and the village *gūrū*, or dominie, with all their imperfections, and use that which the natives had originated without any artificial inducement, as the basis on which an improvement system might be raised. It is of first importance in originating a system of national education to lay hold of any acknowledgment of its necessity which may exist amongst the people themselves, and give it a proper direction.

The time appeared to have arrived when a new effort, better calculated to secure success, was required for the improvement of education in the Lower Provinces, and the adoption, with modifications, of Mr. Thomason’s plan was unhesitatingly recommended.

We are now approaching, in our historical tracery, the year 1854, and the Educational Despatch which constitutes its most memorable feature; but before we proceed to deal with it, for the purpose of ascertaining the landmarks of progress at that time, and how far—if, indeed, the despatches and purposes of statesmen of the present day are to be carried into execution—we have since retrograded, there are certain valuable documents relating to the Punjab, of an antecedent date, which it might be suitable, in the first instance, to deal with. One is a report, bearing date, Dec. 1853, from D. F. M’Leod, Esq., Commissioner and Superintendent Trans-Sutlej States, as to the state and prospects of education in the several districts of that division; and it may be remarked that the Trans-Sutlej States comprehend some of the most fertile and populous portions of the Punjab: they consist of Jullundur, Húshiar-púr, and Kangra. Of these, the first, Jullundur, in average population ranks the

* Selections from Records, pp. 23, 24.

highest in the Punjab, rising so high as 513 persons per square mile, the average per square mile throughout the Trans-Sutlej division generally being superior to any other of the divisions of the Punjab, that of Lahore standing second in the list, being 297·41 per square mile, and that of the Trans-Sutlej States, 334·67.

At that time the population was computed at 1,876,187: on the 1st of January 1856 it was found to be 2,273,037. Taking, however, the lesser aggregate as it stands in Mr. M'Leod's report, there were found to be in action throughout this population 586 schools, with a total of 6237 scholars.

The statistics of indigenous schools in the North-western Provinces, collected previously to the introduction of the Government educational system, exhibited the following results. Population, 23,199,688; number of schools, 7066; number of scholars, 70,826. If these respective aggregates be compared, the following result in favour of the Punjab will appear—North-western Provinces, ratio of scholars to population, 1 to 327; Trans-Sutlej territory, 1 to 301.

The nature of the instruction, in these schools, corresponded very closely with the standard of the humbler class of indigenous schools in the older provinces.

"The Sanskrit and Arabic teachers are, as a class, very inferior: in Persian, the instruction, is, for the most part, elementary and crude; and in the vernacular Hindi, as taught in the Chatsals, but little more is imparted than an acquaintance with the local and very barbarous modification of the Devanagri character, commonly called the Tankreh, or Sandeh, together with some knowledge of account-keeping. To these last establishments even the children of Mohammedans occasionally resort, as conferring the instructions required for the ordinary business of life, and it is stated that all castes and classes of the people supply pupils, save the sweepers and chumars, or the very lowest members of the community.*"

Some extracts from Mr. M'Leod's report we now introduce. They will be found to be, in the information they convey, alike interesting and important.

"It has been ascertained to the satisfaction of every district officer, as well as to my own, that there is everywhere a very keen desire for education. The scheme established by Major Abbott very clearly evinces this, as respects the district of Húshiarpúr:

numerous applications for teachers are constantly being made from all quarters, and I have myself been frequently almost mobbed upon my tours, especially of late, by portions of the inhabitants of some of the towns and larger villages, entreating that arrangements may be made by Government for the education of their youths, and qualifying them for public employ, this last being at present the great desideratum with those classes who chiefly seek for instruction: as instances, I may specify Rahon, Nurmahal, Jhandiala, Bangeh of Jullundur, Tanda, Miam, Mukerian, Huniana, Una of Hushiarpúr, Núr-púr Indonia, Tira, Nadon of Kangra, though these are by no means all the places in which an earnest anxiety for a teacher has been evinced.

"It is very certain, however, that the standard of education heretofore has been very low, the emoluments of the teacher altogether insignificant, the language and characters employed rude and various, and the results attained of a very humble order, though, in these respects, there is not, I think, any reason for supposing that the state of things here existing falls much below, or materially differs from, that found to prevail in most parts of the North-western Provinces. The object aimed at in the great mass of indigenous schools is here, as well as there, to qualify the boys for shopkeeping, or the simple intercourse of village life and rustic accounts; and those teachers are, amongst the agricultural population, comparatively very few, who aim at qualifying their pupils either for official duties or for any really intellectual occupations.

"The desire and aptitude for education, too, includes here a very large proportion of the classes into which the population is divided; a very few, in fact, only of the very lowest castes being ordinarily excluded. The Khuttris and Brahmins undoubtedly stand first on the list of candidates for superior education. But the Rajpút, whether Hindú or Mussulman, the Jat, the Mohammedan Ram, heretofore an exclusively agricultural class, as well as Suda, Sonars, Bunnias, and other shopkeeping classes, all participate, to a greater or less extent, in the desire for it; to say nothing of Suyds and others of the superior Mohammedan tribes, who look upon study as their proper calling; and even carpenters, blacksmiths, and other artisans occasionally come forward.

"It would, however, I think, be a mistake to suppose that the anxiety is of such a character as to afford a prospect of much pecuniary assistance being derived from the people

* Parliamentary Papers—East-India Education, 1858, p. 54.

themselves, for the present at all events, beyond the outlay already incurred by them, as it is owing, in a great measure, to their having learned that the British Government has everywhere established schools, that the keen desire for their extension to themselves has arisen.

"The benefits derived, even under Sikh rule, from the Ludiana schools established by the American Missionaries, are well known and highly appreciated in Rahon and Jullundur especially: Government schools established at Jullundur and Hushiarpūr during the past few years, have further tended to show them these advantages; and while a higher standard of acquirements has been introduced into the public offices, the people begin clearly to see that knowledge is the foundation of our power, that it is highly appreciated by us, and that those possessed of it are most likely, under us, to prosper; hence they are importunate for the establishment of schools directed by Government: but the classes who chiefly are so are not, for the most part, those who are well to do, but those who have already suffered in means and in prospects from changes of rule, and who, in many instances, find it very difficult to keep up the appearance which their station requires.

"It has further been clearly ascertained, that, as elsewhere in Upper India, there is an exceeding dearth both of competent teachers and of suitable indigenous books.

"It has also been found that the Devanagari character is in much less general use here than in most parts of the Upper Provinces; while the slightly modified form of it, denominated the Kaithī, is unknown: a most barbarous provincial character, named the Landeh, or Punkra, is that chiefly in use in the plains, the Paliari in the hills, but both differing more or less in the different pergunnas, and all legible with difficulty, even by the writers of the Devanagari: indeed, it may be said that it has heretofore been unknown, save to pundits versed in Sanskrit; but since we have insisted upon its being used by our putwarries, a most remarkable impulse has been given to its study, and I have no doubt that it will, ere long, become nearly universal, if the educational system established be calculated to favour this. The Gurmukhī is in but very partial use or favour anywhere in this division, and even that little appears to me to be on the wane, in common with the Sikh faith, from which it derives its importance and consideration.

"The Persian is perhaps more generally in favour here, than even in the majority of our older provinces, owing to the proportion

of Mohammedans being greater, and to the vicinity to nations who employ it as their mother tongue. The study of Urdū is regarded with some degree of contempt, as has been found very generally the case elsewhere. But with good books in that language made available, this prejudice, so far as it exists, would be speedily overcome, the people being necessarily aware that the language now adopted as that of the courts possesses claims superior to those of foreign ones.

"Of Sanskrit and Arabic but little is studied, and that little for the most part of little worth; being confined, in the former, chiefly to astrological formulas, and the acquisition of a sufficient smattering of the language to inspire the ignorant with awe; and, in the latter, to the reading or reciting of the Korán alone, without its meaning being understood. There are, perhaps, men of respectable attainments scattered through the division; and at Kapunthula there is one really distinguished and enlightened Sanskrit astronomer, though a Khattrī by caste; but I have been in no part of India where the learned languages are at so low an ebb.

"The population generally, though possessed of strong masculine sense and many practically useful qualities, are uncouth as compared with those of Hindústán Proper, and being, moreover, less wedded, as it appears to me, to their religions, it might be expected that they would not give much encouragement to the professors of learning. For here, as in Europe in the middle ages, the higher branches of learning are almost indissolubly connected with religion and its ministers.

"For English I am not aware that a decided eagerness has been anywhere shown: were an English class established at any or each Sudder station, it would no doubt be tolerably attended, as in the case with the English classes of the Jullundur Mission school; but with the exception of an energetic and enterprising youth here and there, I do not think the community in general has as yet imbibed or evinced any particular desire for its acquisition.

"Of girls'-schools, properly so called, there are at present none, though a considerable number of females, of those in more comfortable circumstances, are taught at home or privately; in the case of Mussulmans, solely with the view of enabling them to read the Korán; in that of Hindús and Sikhs, with the object of keeping the household accounts, and reading and writing simple letters.

"Amongst the Jat Sikh zemindars and petty sirdars, however, I am inclined to think that this partial education of their females has been more general than among the better

classes of Hindús in our older provinces; and when cases affecting this class have been brought into court, on meeting with any point of uncertainty, I have frequently been good-humouredly requested by the sirdar to postpone the inquiry until he could refer to his wife, who was acknowledged to be the household authority in administrative matters; while zemindars coming to court are not unfrequently accompanied by their wives, who come to look after them, and see that they do not commit any egregious blunders. I gather from hence that they generally allow somewhat more of discretion to their females than is usual amongst oriental tribes, a characteristic worthy of this fine manly race.

"The above summary may suffice to show what appears to me to be the state of the case at present, as regards this division; and although there is a very wide difference in very many points between the people of the hills and those of the plains, most of the foregoing remarks will apply equally to both."*

The report then proceeds to state the Commissioner's views generally on the subject of national education. Two distinct objects are to be aimed at; the first, and most important, the elevation of the people at large; and the second, or subordinate one, the raising up of a class of officials for Government purposes. The importance of the latter object is at once admitted; nevertheless, the elevation of the people generally must be steadily regarded as the main object. Mr. M'Leod observes—

"One result of it must be, I think, to raise in our estimation the value of village schools, for in the educational, as well as in almost every other branch of national administration, I think I may assume it as a fact, which all history establishes, that nothing really effective or wholesome can be accomplished unless we proceed upon what I may term the synthetical mode of dealing with it, that is, by first creating, as a substantial foundation, an intelligent and educated population, capable of appreciating the higher acquirements of their superiors, and then building our superstructure upon this.

"It was once remarked to me by a very enlightened Missionary, *that if the mass of the population were taught to read and write, and to think and reason with tolerable intelligence, half of his work would have been accomplished.* The remark made a deep impression on me at the time, and has ever since remained uppermost in my mind in connexion with this subject. It was made directly in view of the proposed establish-

ment of village schools, and who can doubt the immense effect upon public opinion which must be brought about, not only as regards religious belief, but in respect to administration, social intercourse, and all else that affects man's well-being, if a spirit of inquiry, however slight, could once be instilled into the mass, amongst which will be found very many minds of great natural vigour and strong common sense.

"The select few, however, rather than the great body of the people, have been heretofore, for the most part, preferred; and by all our efforts hitherto to create superior scholars, independently of the mass, what effect have we produced, but to raise a body of youths having little in common with their humbler brethren, and producing little or no effect upon them? At the Presidencies, where our measures have been still less indigenated, I may go yet further, and assert that a large proportion of the youth educated in our Government seminaries look with contempt upon their fellow countrymen, who reciprocate the feeling with bitterness, while they themselves, in many cases, I fear, have been morally in no way improved, either as subjects or as men, by the intellectual culture they have undergone."†

As to the responsibility which devolves on Government to undertake the great duty of national education, so far as India is concerned, the Commissioner expresses himself very forcibly.

"Another result which it appears to me must follow from this view of the matter, is to remind us how necessary it is for our Government to take the task, in the first instance at all events, wholly, or nearly wholly, into its own hands, save only where the philanthropic and devout of Europe and America lend their aid. Under representative Governments it may, with some, be deemed a question how far it is requisite, or even proper, for the ruling power to interfere in the work of education any further than the people themselves may invite them so to do. But with a Government so far advanced beyond the nation entrusted to it as that of British India, such a sentiment must obviously be out of place. It is a most essential part of our mission here, to strive to raise the people in the intellectual scale, even in spite of their own apathy, if such should exist; and I should be disposed, therefore, to admit to but a very partial extent the argument not unfrequently adduced, that the assistance of Government should be granted only in

* Parliamentary Papers, East-India Education, pp. 59, 60.

† Parliamentary Papers, pp. 60, 61.

proportion as the desire for education is locally evinced." *

Every thing practicable should be adopted to render the means which it may be thought requisite to employ for the purpose of education popular and acceptable. There was a time when we sought to promote it exclusively through the medium of Orientalism. The Commissioner deprecates the other extreme of abandoning oriental literature altogether. This would be to create an unnecessary prejudice against ourselves, as he is of opinion that oriental literature, if properly handled, might be made to subserve the great object we have in view.

The exclusion of the learned languages from our higher institutions would therefore be regarded by him with great regret, as involving the surrender of a most powerful instrument which might be made available for our purpose, and tending further to promote that separation between Government pupils and the mass of the people, which at all times has but too great a tendency to develope itself.

The report then proceeds to consider the pecuniary aid required from Government for a general scheme of education, the classes of schools to be established, and the measure of aid to be afforded them; and in dealing with this part of the subject, the Commissioner refers to Missionary schools, and then claims that they should be recognised. In a previous part of the report he had attested their efficiency. He further suggests, that where efficient Missionary schools are established, and a second school is not required, Government should withdraw from the field; nay, more, he recommends that pecuniary aid should be afforded.

"Before leaving the subject of district schools, I would offer a remark on a point which has frequently forced itself on my observation since I joined this division, though not for the first time, viz. that where effective Missionary schools have been, or may be, established, a Government school should not be set up to be, as it must be more or less, in antagonism with it, excepting in cases where the locality may be one of such importance as to call for the establishment of more than one school, or to admit of sufficient funds being devoted to it to render the institution one of a superior order.

"Under ordinary circumstances, it is, I think, vain to expect that the Government school can compete in efficiency with the Mission school, or that its teachers will show that devotedness to their task, which usually characterizes the teacher who acts under the eye

and influence of the Missionary, while the establishment of the former tends more or less to embarrass the latter; and for these reasons, not to advert to others of a yet graver character, I would urge that, with the reservation I have indicated, Government in such cases withdraw from the field, leaving it to be occupied by those who have benevolently entered on the task of maintaining a school, and are best fitted for its fulfilment; and at all events, whether it do so or not, that it make a half-yearly or yearly grant to the Missionary school, where its superintendants may wish to receive it, and it really imparts a good secular education, to enable them to increase its efficiency.

"This course has already been followed by Government in respect to Jay Narayan's College at Benares, an institution established by a Hindú, and made over by him to the Church Missionary Society, with all its endowments; and I believe that, in another Presidency, the principle has been admitted, that it is just and right for Government to afford encouragement to secular education, wherever of an effective character, though combined with religious instruction. I would by no means advocate that Government should depart from its strictly secular character; but where really sound instruction in secular matters is imparted, I would encourage it: and it is time, I think, that we should show that the Christian religion will not be discountenanced by us, though abstaining from all attempts, as a Government, to interfere with the religious persuasion of any.

"At Jullundur, a most efficient school has been established by the American Presbyterian Mission, in which not only the vernaculars, but English, is taught, and with which the Government school can bear no comparison. The inhabitants speak with enthusiasm of the attention and care shown by its excellent superintendent; and although some conversions have taken place, which for a time impaired its progress, the number of its scholars is steadily on the increase, while want of funds alone, I believe, prevents its efficiency from being still further extended. At Kangra, in like manner, a school either has been, or is about to be, set on foot, as a part of the Mission recently established there, and accordingly, to both of these I would recommend that yearly grants be made, of 500 rupees to the former, and 250 rupees to the latter. At Jullundur it may be expedient, on general grounds, to establish a Government school likewise, in which case the proposed grant should be reduced. But for the Kangra district any central school established

* Parliamentary Papers, pp. 60; 61.

should now, I think, be at Dhurmsala, so that the Mission school at Kangra would be the only school at that place of a class superior to the Tahsil one.”*

Now Lord Dalhousie's answer to this proposal is worthy of being brought out from the obscurity in which it has remained, buried amidst piles of reports and despatches, many of them no better than waste paper, and set prominently forward, especially at a moment like the present, when Lord Stanley's recent despatch on the subject of East-India education threatens us with a retrograde movement of a most calamitous character. In a minute by his lordship, having reference to the reports from the Punjab, and bearing date June 6, 1854, he thus responds to Mr. M'Leod's suggestions—

“Mr. M'Leod has noticed another point which seems to me at this day to be one of great practical importance, and on which I entirely share his views. In paras. 90, 91, 92 of his memorandum, he urges not merely the inexpediency of establishing Government schools in competition with schools founded by Missionaries of the different Societies, but the strong expediency of supporting Missionary schools by public money when they really impart a good secular education, and of increasing their efficiency by grants-in-aid. . .

“During my administration here, I have carefully followed the traditional policy which has been handed down to the Government of India for its observance in all matters into which there enters a religious element. But I am of opinion, that for these days we carry the principle of neutrality too far; that, even in a political point of view, we err in ignoring so completely as we do the agency of ministers of our own true faith in extending education among the people; and that the time has now come when grants of money in aid of secular education, carried on in schools established and conducted by Christian Missionaries, might be made by the Government, without any risk of giving rise to those evils which a

recognition of such agency has hitherto been thought likely to create, and with the certainty of producing an immense and an immediate effect in the extension of sound secular education throughout the masses of the population in India.

“I sincerely trust that the Honourable Court of Directors, when they reply to the reference which must now be made to them, may see fit to recognise the principle I have now advocated, and may be pleased to authorise the Government of India to act upon it in the exercise of a sound discretion.”†

The bold suggestion of the Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej States was made in December 1853: it was nobly responded to by Lord Dalhousie in June 1854, and was consummated by the Education Despatch of July 19, 1854.

Five years have passed since that minute of the Governor-General of India was recorded—five eventful years, comprehensive of the experience of a century; and now, after all that we have passed through, the danger which nearly overwhelmed us, the marvellous deliverance which we experienced, is it indeed true that we are not to do more, but to do less, for God, who did so much for us? Are we to continue timid and time-serving? Is the old truckling policy of neutrality to be maintained? Lord Dalhousie was of opinion that we had carried the principle of neutrality too far; but according to Lord Stanley, we have become too lax in our observance of this essential law of our Indian Government. Perfect religious neutrality must be maintained. Not only is the introduction of Scripture classes into the Government colleges, the attendance on which should be entirely optional, sternly refused, but doubts are cast on the continuance of grants-in-aid to Missionary schools, and the basis already settled by the united wisdom of the Government at home, and the Government in India is to be unsettled and placed in jeopardy.

(To be continued.)

* Parliamentary Papers, pp. 68, 69

† Parliamentary Papers, p. 78.

THE SIERRA-LEONE CHURCH.

At this deeply important and interesting crisis, when new fields of labour invite the church to put forth enlarged efforts, it may be well to look upon the older stations, to which our attention has been directed during the years which are past, and consider what has been accomplished there. A skilful general, addressing himself to the subjugation of a country, is anxious to give stability to the conquests which he has already made, and it

is only as he is enabled to do so, that he can hope that they will become the salient points of further progress. Evidently, our older Missions constitute our base of operations. From thence we are to derive encouragement, and often the actual appliances, the agencies, by which new efforts are to be carried on. Are they sufficiently consolidated to serve as a *point d'appui*? Have we been so prospered there as to inspirit us in the prospect of new

difficulties and dangers? Paul could look with grateful confidence to the churches which he had been instrumental in raising up in different countries, and feel the conviction that they would co-operate with him in the great procedure of evangelization. Writing to the Corinthians, he avows his hope—"When your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule abundantly, to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond you."

We cannot now review the whole circle of these older Missions, but we may be permitted to take one as a specimen. What is the condition of the Sierra-Leone church? It is one which has been reared in trial. Nothing could be more discouraging than its first commencement; nothing more degraded than the materials which the Gospel had to work upon; nothing more interrupted in its action, and enfeebled by continuous illness, than the Missionary agency by which the Gospel was to be preached and taught. It was not in our estimation the preferable spot for the commencement of a great Mission: it was one that providentially, from the force of circumstances, we were constrained to occupy. But it has long since been clearly understood, that in capabilities of extended usefulness, not one spot on the Western coast of Africa can compete with Sierra Leone.

And now, after prolonged trials, and the expenditure of valuable lives, is it such as to give us hope? Has the embryo formation become so sure and solid as that we may trust it? We shall present to our readers the testimony of an eyewitness, one whose personal character and opportunities of forming a correct judgment entitle him to our respect and confidence—we mean Bishop Bowen, the third Bishop since the formation of the Sierra Leone Episcopate. He delivered his primary charge in February last, and from this the following extracts have been selected—

"To every friend of Missions, Sierra Leone has long been a familiar topic. In my native land I have often read, and heard, and spoken of the work that the Great Head of the Church has been doing in this portion of his vineyard: and being no stranger to Mission fields, I feel it my duty to state that my expectations were not in the least too highly raised as to the state of things which I should find in this colony. I feel that we have indeed abundant cause to thank God for the blessing He has vouchsafed to the labours of our predecessors, many, very many, of whom are now gone to their reward."

"Most fully, to us who have recently come here, may the words be applied, 'Other men have laboured, and ye are entered into their labours.' On coming to a Missionary station,

we find, in many respects, the aspect of a settled church; nay, in some respects, a state of things which we do but rarely see in old-established Christian communities. In most of the villages, the commodious and substantial church, the neat and suitable Missionary residence—or, it might be said, parsonage or manse—show the energy and industry of those who have indeed borne the burden and heat of the day; and we see enough of the difficulty of carrying on such works now, to be able to appreciate, in some degree, what must have been the difficulty when society was much more in its infancy than it is at present.

"But, more than all this, when we witness the crowded congregations in the Mission churches; when we see the people kneeling universally in prayer, hear the almost too loud response from almost every lip, and then the warmth and heartiness of the song of praise, and again meet so many—two-thirds, or sometimes three-fourths of the adult congregation—crowding to the table of the Lord, many with the marks of heathenism in their faces; what Christian, I ask, but would thank God for these things, and would see in these great results the value of Missionary labours in general, and would acknowledge the unmistakable mark of the Divine approbation on the efforts and Scriptural principles of that great Society which has been such an honoured instrument in the hands of God for planting the church of Christ on these shores?"

"Again, what a cause for thankfulness it is that education is in the advanced and organized state that we find it! Each village has its school, in more or less efficiency; the inquirer will get very intelligent answers from many of the children; the knowledge of Holy Scripture is being conveyed to their minds, and some progress is being made in the rudiments of useful knowledge; and we must acknowledge with deep thankfulness the efforts which have been made by the people for the support of their schools. In many of the villages the schools are entirely supported by the payments of the children and the contributions of the congregations. I must say, this fact is a noble response to the confidence of the church Missionary Society in the native congregations springing up under its fostering care. I believe in few countries shall we find similar instances where the common elementary schools are so well maintained by the identical class of persons which is educated in them."

"Indeed, the liberality of the people is a very hopeful feature, both as to the ultimate prospects of the native church, and as indicative of their disinterested and hearty acceptance of the Christian religion; but, under

God, it will depend much on the soundness of the work in building up the church in the faith, whether, in the evident increase in the material wealth of the colony, the actual liberality of the congregation keeps pace with their material prosperity. An increase of expense is an element in the increase of civilization in such a community as this has been; but, at the same time, it is a painful fact for human nature, that we often find a people, not in wealth, but in poverty, abounding unto the riches of their liberality. As yet, I believe it has not been so here. I know in some instances a very laudable spirit has been shown by the people: as many of them have prospered in worldly things, so their gifts have increased to provide for the more comely and attractive celebration of divine worship in what may be termed their parish churches. And I trust we shall ever find a similar spirit amongst the members of our church. I have alluded to the above-mentioned danger, not that I am aware of its existence, but that, should it be developed, we may, on the one hand, not be disappointed at what is natural, and, on the other, being reminded of it, the people, forewarned, may not so easily fall into the subtle snare of their spiritual enemy.

"There is another subject of congratulation which I must mention. It was the privilege of my immediate predecessor, during the brief period of his earnest and active administration of the Episcopate, to admit to Holy Orders several of our African brethren, so that, on the present occasion, one-half of the little band of Christ's ordained ministers I am permitted to address, are natives of Africa—the children of the Mission church—the representatives of the present African church—the representatives of a future church, we hope, which will strike deep its roots into the vantage ground which has here been vouchsafed, and which will extend far its branches to embrace the neighbouring and more distant nations. And not only have we here the ordained Ministers of the church of this part of Africa, but many of our fellow-helpers in the work, who, though not yet admitted to Holy Orders, are nevertheless discharging most important and solemn functions in watching over and instructing large and important congregations.

"These facts do indeed call for devout thanksgiving, and especially from us, who, entering but recently on our duties here, find so much ready made to our hand.

"There is, too, another cause for thankfulness, and especially so to myself, called now, for the first time, to address officially my assembled brethren, which I will not pass without a notice. It is this. Here, whatever other evils we may labour under, we are free from

those controversies which agitate and impede the action of the church at home, and in some of its more distant dioceses; controversies respecting the interpretation of our Articles and admirable devotional Liturgy, and about the use of ceremonies and practices, some, perhaps, harmless by themselves, but looked upon by many with suspicion as parts of a system meant to bring in others entirely foreign to the principles of our reformed church, and, as such, equally foreign and unknown to the church as it was set in order by the Apostles, and existed in the days of primitive purity and simplicity. I trust we, as a church, shall ever be agreed, not only in subscribing the same Articles, and thankfully using the same hallowed Formularies, but also, as now, substantially agree in the same interpretation thereof, according to the simple evangelical sense (to use a term too often abused, and sometimes misapplied), which is gathered from the statements of the church of the Reformation, as based on the Word of God in its plain and simple meaning, as that Word is interpreted by itself, and as it was received, so far as can be ascertained, in the days of the purest antiquity. Our best safeguard against these divisions is the deep conviction of the supreme authority and necessary sufficiency of the Word of God, and, at the same time, a conviction of the reality and power of the Spirit's work as a living agent in the spiritual state of man, and a personal experience of the power of saving grace in our own hearts—being on our guard against the yearning of the religious instinct of the natural man, which easily seeks and finds satisfaction in forms and ceremonies of various kinds, suited to act merely on the senses, and is ever prone to substitute formal religion for vital godliness.

"And not only are we spared the pain of these controversies within our Zion, but a friendly and charitable spirit is maintained with those other bodies of Protestant Christians who are, according to their views, labouring to promote the spiritual welfare of the people of this colony and on the coast."

Such has been the measure of attainment. The Bishop then proceeds to urge upon this church its obligation to become more and more a Missionary church; and to be diligent in communicating to the heathen tribes and races around it the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ; and the necessity of internal growth and consolidation, in order that it might be fitted for so high an office.

"Having thus taken a cursory glance at some of the circumstances in which we find ourselves, let me endeavour to set before you something of the work we have to prepare for the future, which moment after moment is

advancing upon us. The church has been planted in this colony amongst a community brought together under conditions which do remarkably show the hand of God in his sovereign Providence. Founded with the view of suppressing the slave-trade by the introduction of lawful commerce, this colony was a failure, as managed by a company of large-hearted London merchants. But when, in the once unlooked-for suppression of the slave-trade, it became the receptacle of people of different races, torn by violence from their homes, these, who seemed destined to a hopeless bondage, became the especial care of the Christian church; and now we see the members of nationalities as different in locality and character as the Saxon and Italian, as the Spaniard and the Russian, brought into one church, speaking the same common language, and gathered round the same table of the Lord; while a generation, in many cases forgetting their mother-tongue, is springing up under the influence of a training based upon Christianity, though not altogether it is to be feared, without some of the influences, too, of the former state of their parents. It is deeply interesting to find the hearts of many of the old Africans turning to their fatherland. The Mendi have been inquiring how they can promote a Mission to their native land, while the Moccos, I am told, have already set on foot a subscription for evangelizing theirs. The blessing that has rested on the return of the Christian Yorubas to their country is too well known to require more than mention; and we rejoice to know that the Ibos have heard the Gospel message on the banks of the Niger from the sons of Ibos.

"The descendants of the various nations so thrown on these shores ought never to be suffered to forget the providence of God in bringing them here, and that they should endeavour to use all the advantages which they have obtained, not for merely selfish and personal ends, but for the service of God, and especially in the advancement of his kingdom, as indicated by his peculiar providential dealings with themselves.

"In the internal work of the church, then the first duty that claims our attention is the building up of the people in their most holy faith. It is evident that much attention is necessary to the spiritual edification of the people. In some of the districts the large number of communicants (in one village amounting to 518, while in ten others the numbers vary from 100 to 400) requires the constant attention of the minister and catechist. The small knowledge many of these poor people possess of the English language renders their instruction peculiarly difficult, and a work of much patience and care; while,

from their number, it is difficult for the minister to have that personal knowledge of each which is especially needed in their actual state. To watch over and instruct each and all, from the dawning of their faith, or professed submission to the Christian religion, until they come to something of the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, is indeed a work requiring much grace, wisdom, and self-denial: and for the ultimate carrying on of this great work, the Church Missionary Society is beginning anxiously to look to the children of the church as planted here; and to the native ministry, as the agents in carrying on this work, the church in general will look, both as a proof of the reality of their Christian life, and for setting the mother church at liberty to make fresh advances on the kingdom of Satan. But in order to be well done, this matter must be cautiously proceeded with."

Into those portions of the charge which have a more local application, valuable as they are, we shall not enter. We trust the Bishop's wise counsels will sink deep into the hearts of the Sierra-Leone clergy, whether they be European or African, and that, by the grace of God, they may prove to be "workmen that need not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth."

One passage more—"There is yet one matter I wish to bring especially before our younger brethren. There are still amongst us some blinded heathen, and many followers of the false prophet. It is your duty to seek out these men, and be not afraid to speak to them with authority: I do not mean with arrogance, but with the solemnity and earnestness of men who have a message from God to those who are ignorant, and wicked, and deceived, and, sometimes, deceivers too. It is the duty of every minister, so far as possible, to know that the Gospel-message is conveyed or proclaimed to all within his district. I trust that it is so. I trust there is not an individual resident in this colony who has not been told that he ought to worship the one true God, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the saving of his soul. But we must make sure of it again and again, not in a transitory way, but to be certain that message is understood; that the people are told as they should be—told in love and earnestness, with a conviction of the great solemnity of the truth, that they should turn from these degrading and sinful vanities, to serve the living and true God. As far as possible, these people should be visited in their own houses, and our work is incomplete until there is an agency sufficient to do this.

"It is a cause for thankfulness that the church is stirring itself to take up new fields of usefulness, and her doors are continually

opening to us. The Mission to the Timnehs will be strengthened, and, I trust, an extensive system of itineration commenced. A new detachment of pioneers is going forth to the Yoruba country. I trust that many will be stirred up to emulate the zeal, energy, and self-denial of our venerable brother, the superintendent of the Mission to Rio Pongas, who, leaving comforts and a state of society that few of us have known, has entered upon the Missionary work at a time of life when most men think of leaving it, and who has been mercifully sustained hitherto in a way few of us expected, and has endured hardships and privations, not only with cheerfulness, but with delight, for Christ's sake."

Certainly we cannot conceive any native church placed in circumstances more calculated to develop into earnest action the Missionary spirit; but if it would not be encroached upon, its light dimmed, and finally extinguished by the darkness that is around, it must penetrate that darkness, and illuminate it.

In connexion with the development of Missionary action in the Sierra-Leone church, a document has just reached us, which we consider of deep interest. Some time back a reinforcement of two native clergymen was sent to strengthen the new Mission stations on the Niger. These brethren, on their passage up the river from Fernando Po, had to endure great hardships, privations, and discouragements. They were compelled to do the most servile work on board the steamer, even scrubbing the decks. They were occasionally in want of necessary food, and were obliged to sell their clothes to obtain some.

All this seems to have exercised an unhappy influence on the two brethren. They got chilled and disheartened, and eventually left the new station at Onitsha, and returned to Sierra Leone. They acted in this respect like John, whose surname was Mark—"John, departing from them, returned to Jerusalem." This, no doubt, was a sad defection, and Paul was very indignant at it. Yet subsequently Mark recovered his position, and approved himself a valuable labourer; and Paul, at the close of his life, acknowledges the change in the opinion which he had formed of him—"Take Mark, and bring him unto thee; for he is profitable to me for the ministry." We trust it will be so with respect to our two Sierra-Leone labourers.

But their brethren in Sierra Leone have felt the disappointment intensely, and have expressed their feelings and convictions in the following letter addressed to the Secretaries—

"DEAR SIRS—We, the undersigned native ministers, catechists, and schoolmasters,

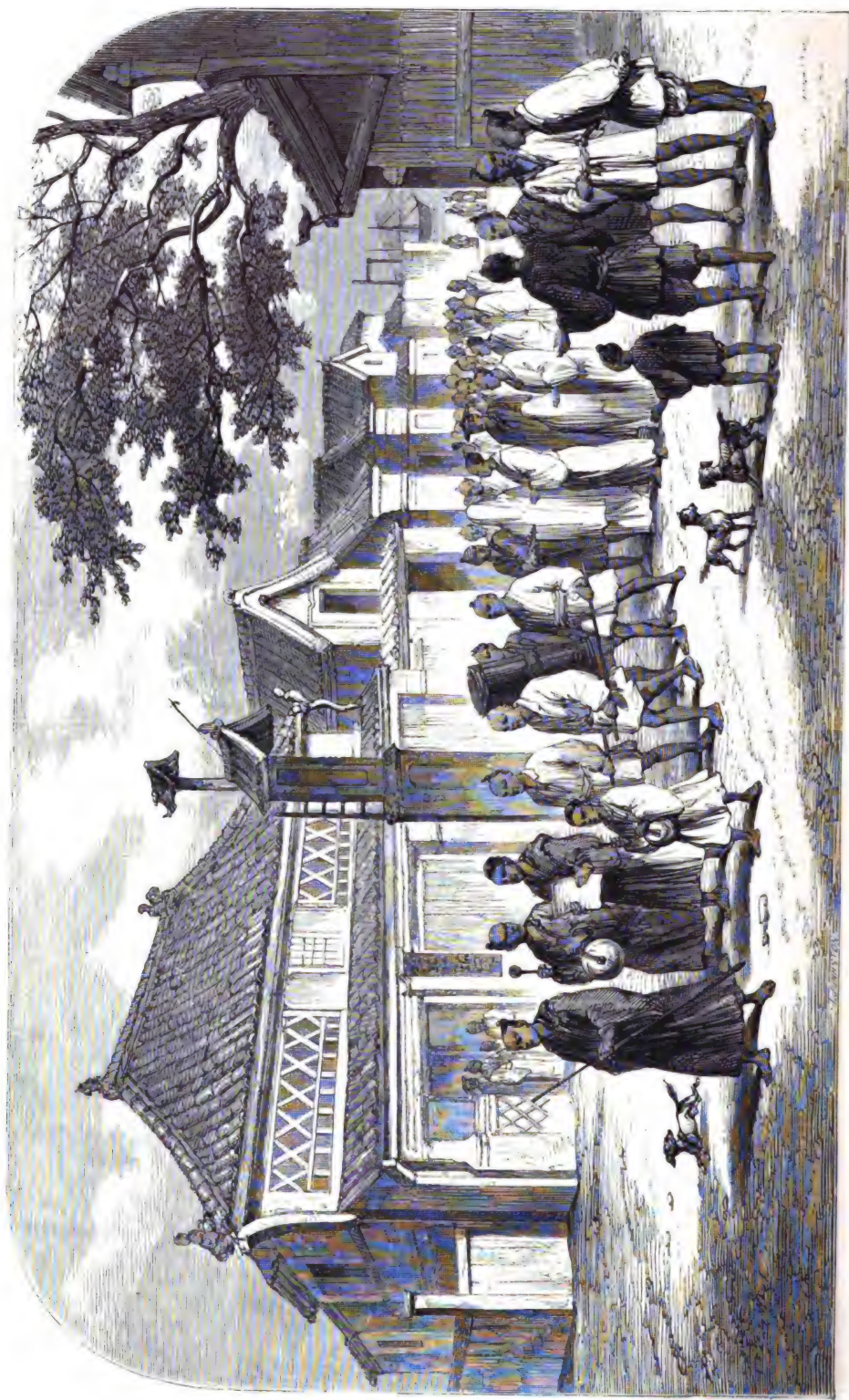
directly or indirectly connected with the great work established by your Society in this colony, desire to send these few lines to you as expressive of our views and feelings on this most critical and most important period of our Mission.

"Beyond all doubt, the Lord has done and is still doing great things for us through the instrumentality of the Church Missionary Society. The unprecedented openings for Missionary enterprise there are around us, afford unmistakeable signs that the Lord is making bare his arm, and that the time for Africa to arise and shine is come.

"Our hearts are cheered by the accounts we receive month after month from the Yoruba Mission and the banks of the Niger. In the midst, however, of all these encouragements, there is something to try our faith. Such has ever been the Lord's dealings with his church. His people are to rejoice with trembling. In connexion with the Niger Mission, more particularly, we have been called upon, dear sirs, to humble ourselves. We allude to the sudden and unexpected return of our two brethren, who seemed, to all human appearance to be raised up providentially for the Niger Mission. It is not our object in this letter to judge them, being sensible ourselves of our own short comings and many infirmities. But we can truly say we feel *very sorry* and are *deeply humbled* at their conduct. We pray the Lord may give them another mind, We sympathize with our Christian friends under these trying circumstances. Many valuable lives, with a vast amount of treasure, have been sacrificed on our account by Christians in Germany and England, for which we cannot be too thankful to God. We desire now to offer ourselves *afresh* to the Lord's work, and to go wherever his good providence may direct us.

"The calls in the Yoruba Mission and on the Niger are very urgent. There seems no time to lose. We feel, indeed, our unworthiness for the high honour of being evangelists to our country. We pray the Lord may grant us the qualifications necessary for the discharge of such a work. He will not suffer His work to fall to the ground. He can even bring good out of the present evil. And we sincerely trust that the effect of this trying case upon us all will be a close searching examination of our motives and views in connexion with our work, and a re-dedication of ourselves to the service of Him who gave Himself for us. "We remain, &c."

This letter is signed by eight native ministers, thirteen native catechists, and six native schoolmasters, &c. &c.



FUNERAL PROCESSION AT SIMODA, JAPAN.

DEATH IN HEATHEN AND IN CHRISTIAN LANDS.

IN Christain and in heathen lands it is still the same: the universal sentence has gone forth—"It is appointed unto man once to die." Wherever, over the wide earth, a home of man is to be found, there, sooner or later, the shadow of death is sure to fall. Sickness comes, sudden or lingering: there are days and hours of watching and anxiety. Human affection gathers itself around the one that is in danger, and hearts cling the more closely, as if unwilling to be wrenched asunder. But "there is one event to all." Heathen or Christian, civilized or savage, there is the same solemn moment, when the immortal spirit leaves with a gasp the earthly tabernacle in which it has resided, and the body, so recently pervaded with life, is turned into the clay-cold corpse. Then man must bury his dead out of his sight. He might be disposed, in the fondness of his regret, to cling to the poor relics, but God forbids it. He will not have it so, and the grave receives that which is dead.

In Christian England, and in far-off Japan, human life alike determines to this one unavoidable universal issue: the silver cord is loosened; the golden bowl is broken; the pitcher is broken at the fountain; the wheel broken at the cistern. "Man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets." The dust returns to the earth as it was, for the spirit has returned unto God who gave it.

But it is only externally, and as it presents itself to our senses, that death is the same. It is one thing when the full light of revelation falls upon it: it is another when in the mist and shade of heathenism. There all is vague and indistinct. The spirit has departed, but whither no one knows. Mourning friends strain their eyes earnestly, but can discern nothing amidst the gloom: The dark void is peopled with repulsive superstitions, which are most like the flitting phantoms of a feverish dream. The recollections of the dead commingle themselves with gloomy fears. The living look upon the dead as invested with a spirit-influence which may be exercised for evil or for good, and the *manes* of departed relatives become the objects of a worship in which lingering affection and ghostly dread strongly blend. Nothing can be more painful to contemplate than the vast burial-places of nations, like the Chinese and the Japanese, in which the religion of Buddha has substituted the worship of dead men for that of the living God. What more pitiable than the interesting groups of Chinese families hastening in the *Tsingming* season to visit the family tombs, and presenting their vain oblations to the dead, who, as

to this world, and what is going forward here, know not any thing, while the willow leaves and twigs which they wear, the emblems of life and health, show that there is nothing they so dread as death, and nothing they so eagerly desire as length of days: nor is it wonderful, for beyond the grave all is to them gloomy and repulsive.

So with the grave-yards of Japan, full of monuments and tombstones of every variety of form—simple slabs, raised tombs, and obelisks. There repose the mouldering frames of those who died in ignorance of God. Around, stand forth profusely the emblems of heathenism, statues of Buddha of all sizes, and in various attitudes, some erect or in a sitting posture, others carved in relief upon slabs of stone. There are epitaphs, but they are all error. They show the false hopes on which immortal souls for generations have been launched on eternity's vast sea. As with us, the rank and death of the individuals are recorded, but instead of Jesus and his work, there is a summary of human meritoriousness, and they inform the living how the deceased had recited one thousand, two thousand, and even three thousand volumes of the canonical books, an amount of pious performance which entitles to heavenly felicity. On one slab may be read, "The believing man, Hango Shankaman, who no longer grows old." "The believing woman, once called Yuenning: happy was the day she left." On another, "To enable to enter the abodes of the perfect, and to sympathize fully with the men of the world, belongs to Buddha. It is only by this one vehicle, the coffin, we can enter Hades. There is nought like Buddha; nothing at all." "Multitudes fill the graves." True, but whither have tended the never-dying *souls*? Of the brevity and uncertainty of human life, heathen sages can speak with sufficient clearness—"as the floating grass is blown by the gentle breeze, or the glancing ripples of autumn disappear when the sun goes down, or as the ship returns home to her old shore, so is life: it is a smoke, a morning tide." But of the bright hope of immortality which lights up the mists, and exhalations of earth, all is silent. Buddha's name is oft repeated, but of the name of Jesus there is no mention.

The living, with that outpouring of human sympathy which death itself cannot extinguish, linger about these resting-places of mortality, and the traces of their visits may be seen in the freshly-culled flowers placed from day to day in cups and troughs of water before the tombs and idols, and there

the delusions and false teaching are perpetuated. Near the recent graves and tombs narrow boards on wooden posts are placed, on which are written extracts from the canonical books, exhorting the living to multiply merit by diligently repeating the pages of those books, or feeing the priests to do it for them.

How different where the Saviour's name, and the hope He gives, is known, and has been apprehended; where, burdened with sin, the soul has gone forth in earnest longings and desires after Jesus, until it has found in Him a stay and resting-place; when the sighings of the broken and contrite spirit are gradually changed into songs of praise and expressions of grateful dependence on the Lord Jesus! Step by step the seeking soul is brought through the gradations of Hezekiah's experience. We refer to his prayer when he had been sick: first, the prostration of human hopes and the utter wreck of all human expectations—"Mine age is departed, and is removed from me as a shepherd's tent;" the soul, in its deep depression, feeling its need of Omnipotence to sustain it, and looking to Him who is a God of mercy for the needed help—"O Lord, I am oppressed; undertake for me;" the gracious answer, sure to come from Him who has promised—"Ye shall seek me and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your heart;" and the act of pardon sealed in heaven reflected in happy consciousness on the soul—"Thou hast cast all my sins behind thy back;" and then the grateful ascription of praise to Him who hath loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood—"The Lord was ready to save me." Then the Christian is winged for his flight. Death comes, but, unseen by human eyes, the Saviour is near. When friends can do nothing, He does all. It is his workmanship just brought to its consummation—the living soul which, by varied discipline, He has prepared for his own presence; and his powerful yet tender hand gently disentangles the trusting spirit from the ruins of clay, and it is gone, gone to be with Christ. The Christian experiences which are left behind, these are the footsteps of the departed spirit, by which we may trace it in its upward flight. As in heathen lands, there is the same decay, the same sad necessity, the same opened grave, the funeral procession, and the commitment of dust to dust; but on the resting-places of those who sleep in Jesus grows and blooms the resurrection hope. In heathen graveyards it is not to be found. They are the regions of utter hopelessness. But Christian friends can rejoice amidst their tears, in the firm belief and expectation, "if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so

them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him."

Let those, then, who have Christian light and illumination pity the darkness and hopelessness of heathenism. Wherever death prevails, let us labour and pray that Christ may be known. Remote Japan, let it not be too far to draw forth our sympathies. An effective Missionary, going forth to grapple with its language, and overcome its difficulties, how much may he not effect! As a translator, how great his usefulness. Books are found in their shops. "The people are universally taught to read, and are eager for information. Education is diffused throughout the empire; and the women of Japan, unlike those of China, share in the intellectual advancement of the men, and are not only skilled in the accomplishments peculiar to their sex, but are frequently well versed in their native literature. The highest classes of Japanese with whom the Americans were brought into communication, were not only thoroughly acquainted with their own country, but knew something of the geography, the material progress and cotemporary history of the rest of the world. Questions were asked by the Japanese which proved an information that, considering their isolated situation, was quite remarkable, until explained by themselves in the statement, that periodicals of literature, science, arts, and politics were annually received from Europe through the Dutch at Nagasaki; that some of these were translated, republished, and distributed through the empire. Thus they were enabled to speak somewhat knowingly about railroads, telegraphs, daguerreotypes, and steam ships, none of which had they ever seen before Commodore Perry's visit. Thus, too, they would converse intelligently about the European war, about the American revolution, Washington and Buonaparte."* And why should they not have Christian books, and information on those great realities of which now they know nothing? It is true there are strong prejudices amongst them as regards Christianity. They are exceedingly desirous of obtaining English books on all subjects, religion excepted. A bundle of religious books left clandestinely at Simoda by one of the American chaplains was sent back. But the aversion is to Romanism, to which they entertain a deep-seated dislike. The books, therefore, sent to Japan, ought to be peculiar and distinctive, bearing on their very front a disavowal of Romanism, and helping the Japanese to discriminate between the genuine and its counterfeit.

* American Expedition to Japan.

THE CEYLON MISSION.

We introduce the following statistical papers by the Rev. Thomas Foulkes, one of the South-India Missionaries, who has been for some few months carrying on work at one of the Mission stations in North Ceylon. It is a paper characterized by great industry, carried out with no small amount of persevering diligence, and presenting to the view many and interesting points of information. But in no part of the Mission field do numbers furnish a satisfactory criterion by which to test the value of the work. Most valuable labour may be going forward in which there is as yet an absence of all visible result—labours which are as seed-time to the harvest, when all seems to be expenditure, and there is no return. On the other hand, numerical results may be of a highly imposing aspect—baptisms numerous, congregations large, schools apparently flourishing—and yet all may be as unsound and worthless as the attainments of the Dutch, when, in twenty-one years after the first Presbyterian clergyman commenced his ministrations, the number of Christians throughout the province of Jaffna alone was represented as exceeding 180,000, and yet now, notwithstanding the multitudinous baptisms, and the hundreds of thousands who were enrolled by them as Dutch converts, the religion and discipline of the Presbyterians is almost extinct among the natives of Ceylon. The question is not respecting the numbers, but the genuineness and true Christianity of the first converts, who are to constitute the nucleus of the future church. Better far a limited yet truthful work, in which divine grace has largely wrought to the conversion of souls, than one of an expanded character, where the impressions made are only superficial and transitory. The latter, however imposing at first, must inevitably break down under the pressure of trial, and, cumbering the ground with its ruins, obstruct instead of facilitate the work of national conversion. And yet the quality of the results is entirely dependent on the means which are employed. If we would have them reliable, we must be prepared to use God's own appointed instrumentality, the faithful teaching and preaching of the Gospel of the grace of God.

The Gospel of Christ is "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth," and the neglect of the Gospel must be marked by an absence of the power. This Gospel must be put forth

distinctively and *per se*, as that one means which God has appointed to turn back unto himself the heart of sinful man, and through which alone the Spirit works. All other measures which may be needed for the confirmation and growth of native converts, and the organization of churches can only progress just as the preaching and teaching of the Gospel makes way for them. Church building will not avail for "religious education." Sinners must be first converted, and saints educated, through the Gospel. Else, if it be true, as some tell us, that church building "is in all countries, and especially amongst the heathen of the East, a point of no little importance in a really effective system of religious education," how did they do who "wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, (of whom the world was not worthy,) who wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and dens, and caves of the earth?" What did they do, who were "in an upper-room, where they continued in prayer and supplication with the women, and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren?" Was the Spirit of God withheld from the promised effusion, because the place where they were all with one accord was not an ecclesiastical building? The Portuguese covered the peninsula of Jaffna with the externals of religion. They divided it into parishes, each of which was provided with a schoolhouse and a chapel, and, when required, a glebe for the residence of the Franciscan priest who was to officiate. But the Gospel was not preached in those churches, nor taught in those schools, and what did they avail? The Romish Missionaries obtained indeed numerous proselytes by adulterating their corrupt Christianity with the heathen element, until, as in the case of the Jesuit Missionaries of South India," "it was doubtful whether, by affecting idolatry, and tolerating it amongst their proselytes, they had not become converts to Hindúism, rather than made the Hindús converts to the Christian religion." Their churches were fitted up with theatres and stages for the exhibition of mysteries and theatrical representations of the great historical events of Christianity. The people whom they reckoned amongst their converts, as well Singhalese as Tamils, were like the mingled races in Samaria, "they feared the Lord, and served their own gods."

In dealing with the heathen, let us adopt Paul's system, not the new-fangled devices of

the modern school: let the Gospel permeate the mass, and come back to us in the way of genuine convictions. So Paul acted. He first raised up congregations of faithful men, ordained them elders, and left them to provide themselves in due time with their own buildings. But if buildings, extensive and costly buildings, are of importance and efficacy in giving weight and influence to a religion, then, in this respect, heathenism has indisputably the advantage of us; and with the temple of Ramisseram, off the western coast of Ceylon—a noble pile, of as great magnitude as magnificence, with two massive towers at one end, “connected with no less a massive front, like Lincoln Cathedral, and a central tower, still higher and more highly ornamented”*—it is hopeless for us to compete.

Neither let Missions in Ceylon be spoken of as if the Gospel failed to be productive, because there was not there, until the year 1845, the presence of the Episcopate. We are ready to admit to the fullest extent the necessity, in Church Missions, of the Episcopate, at a certain stage of progress. But prior to that, in the initiative and purely evangelistic state, we not only cannot admit the necessity of the presence of the Episcopate, but we doubt its desirableness. We have already, in our last volume, dealt fully with this subject, and until the arguments we have advanced be answered, and their unsoundness proved, which has not yet been attempted, it is not necessary to repeat them. But independently of all this, the action of the Episcopate in the field of Missions depends on the direction given to its influence and energy, whether it be used for or against the Gospel. The Episcopate may be so misdirected as to prove a great obstruction to Gospel truth, and a great injury to the growth of the native church. If the individual who fills it is sound in the faith, regarding the simple truth of redemption through the blood of Christ as that in which, so far as immortal souls are concerned, efficacy to help and save is only to be found; if, in his own heart, he has proved its renovating power, and gathers encouragement from this in his efforts to bring it to bear on the consciences of others; a wise and discreet man, who by the judicious use of ordinances and arrangements, seeks to supplement and not supersede the continued enunciation of the Gospel message; then, in such hands, the Episcopate, as in Rupert's Land, or the thrice supplied, and now, for the third time in seven years, vacant see of Sierra Leone, carries with it abundant blessings to the Mis-

sion field. But we cannot subscribe to the extreme view, that, without the Episcopate, the Gospel itself is unproductive; that it is only since the appointment of its first Bishop there has been a real and sound evangelizing of the heathen in the diocese of Colombo; and that it “is now the only diocese where the heathenism of India is actually encountered in something really like the faith, and the energy, and the unity, and the love of the church of Christ.”† Against views like these, which magnify the Episcopate above the Gospel, and, by placing the office in a false position, do it real injury, we shall never cease to protest.

Whatever the Church Missionary Society may be in the estimation of some, this at least has been its principle of action—through which it has been enabled to adhere amidst evil report and good report—never to allow any thing to take precedence of the Gospel message, but to give this the first place, and hold all else in truthful subordination to it. In such a course of proceeding it expects fruit, nor has it been disappointed in that expectation. By what Society was New Zealand evangelized? Who entered in, when its inhabitants were in a condition of extreme barbarism, and persevered, unaided by any other Church Society, until the opposition of the heathen gave way, and, instead of bitter prejudice, there was diffused throughout the land an earnest spirit of national inquiry? Who, in North-west America, took up the cause of the poor wandering Indians, and has been instrumental in raising up Christian congregations of the most interesting character, from whence God's truth is being sounded out, far as the Mackenzie River and the Arctic sea? But we forbear. The Church Missionary Society is constrained to say with the Apostle, “I am become a fool in glorying: ye have compelled me, for I ought to have been commended of you.”

There is another point, however, which needs to be dealt with. While we are assured that the Gospel seed, if faithfully sown, must needs yields its harvest, yet there is a great difference in the rate of progress. In some fields the seed soon quickens, and there is an abundant promise. But in others the growth is retarded. This is according to the Sovereign mercy of Him, who, as He pleaseth, gives the increase. But there may be also something peculiar in the field itself. There has been in Ceylon mismanagement, and the natural indisposition of the human heart to receive the seed of the kingdom, has been aggravated by

* “Colonial Church Chronicle,” Jan. 1859, p. 8.

† “Colonial Church Chronicle,” Jan. 1859, p. 4.

injudicious action on the part of previous husbandmen. The history of that island is open to the perusal of all who wish to be guarded by facts in the conclusions to which they come. The Dutch depended but little on teaching, much on coercion and legislative enactments. The natural tendency of the native mind in Ceylon to insincerity, by the action of the Romanist Missionaries, and then by that of the Dutch Government, was immeasurably increased. There spread over the island an organized hypocrisy. On the accession of British rule, the natives were prepared to persevere in the same unsoundness of profession. Baptism was considered as a civil distinction, and the Singhalese brought their children in crowds to the ceremony of "Christiani-karenewa," or Christian-making. It had been declared honourable by the Portuguese to undergo such a ceremony; it had been rendered profitable by the Dutch; and, after 300 years familiarity with the process, the natives were unable to divest themselves of the belief that submission to the ceremony was enjoined by orders from the Civil Government.* "Hence prodigious numbers of nominal Christians, who have thus been enrolled, designate themselves 'Christian Buddhists,' or Government Christians, and, with scarcely an exception, they are either heathen or sceptics. There are large districts in which it would be difficult to discover an unbaptized Singhalese; and yet, in these, the religion of Buddha flourishes, and priests and temples abound."

Under such circumstances, great care is needed on the part of the Missionaries that they identify themselves only with the sincere inquirer, and that they learn to discriminate between the element of genuine conviction, and the amount of customary dissimulation by which they are surrounded. We should doubt the reliability of a work which is marked by rapidity of progress in such a field, especially if it be contrary to the experience of Missionary Societies in the island.

We should be disposed to suggest a word of caution, if any, because of some apparent prosperity, are tempted to vaunt themselves over those who have served long and prayerfully, and reaped as yet comparatively little. God's work is usually slow, because it is deep: it acts long in secret before it comes out upon the surface; but when it does appear, it yields, not hasty fruits before the summer, but such as are worth the gathering, and repay all the previous toil and waiting. It is so in individuals. How much goes on in the quietude of the soul, which God himself is alone aware of? What deep searchings of heart, and yearnings after divine consolation! With what a lowly spirit is God sought and found! The meek Christian shuns obtrusiveness, and deems himself something too worthless and insignificant to be noticed. But God loves the lowly contrite spirit, and often, in an unexpected moment, some great emergency, such characters manifest themselves to the praise of the glory of his grace, and the edification and comfort of all around. And so it is with Missionary work: that which goes forward truthfully, and carries itself with a meek and patient, and waiting spirit, shall, in God's own time, be blessed: "the little one shall become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation. I, the Lord, will hasten it in his time."

For our own part we prefer that work which is gradual in its development, even although betimes it seems so slow as to depress to some extent the spirit of the labourers, and lead them to make use of language such as that which has been, not very kindly, culled out from the Reports of the Church Missionary Society,† and used for the purpose of showing that Christianity was defective in its action, because disadvantaged by the want of proper organization. We have no doubt that the seed will yield its harvest, according to the measure of blessing which God is pleased to bestow upon it. And such was the hope of the Church Missionaries, even when the soil seemed to be most barren, and their efforts most unsuccessful. "We would not," they say "despair. The seed which has been sown, at least a part of it, may appear. The promises of God are our support." No doubt appearances might have been forced, and results, promising for the moment, but not of an enduring character, might have been prematurely gathered; but this would not have contented them. They wanted genuine fruit of God's own raising, and they preferred to wait for it; and, meanwhile, until it came, they were too conscientious and truth-telling to gloss over existing facts. They would not anticipate the genuine growth. They were painstaking, and anxious to place in the foundations of the native church as much as possible of that which is genuine, and as little as possible of that which is fictitious.

Our conviction is, that all true Missionary action in Ceylon will be characterized by the same caution and apparent slowness of result. Sir Emerson Tennent, in his standard work on Ceylon, refers to the

Our conviction is, that all true Missionary action in Ceylon will be characterized by the same caution and apparent slowness of result. Sir Emerson Tennent, in his standard work on Ceylon, refers to the

* Sir E. Tennent's "Ceylon," p. 88.

† Colonial Church Chronicle, January 1859, p. 5.

American Missionaries as being actuated by the same holy jealousy. "So conscientious are they in this particular, that, after thirty years of toil and devotion, they have enumerated not more than 680 converts who have been, at one time or another, received into communion with their churches; and the number now in connexion with them is but 357." It has been urged as a proof of the Church Missionary Society's inefficiency of work in Ceylon, that, in 1844, at the end of twenty years, only 212 communicants are reported, and 3395 attendants on public worship. But these results do not compare disadvantageously with the American work, and the Americans are not inefficient Missionaries. Amongst the Armenians of Turkey they have been the instruments of accomplishing great things. Missions, then, may be equally effective, and yet be marked by much inequality of apparent result.

Again, the paucity of results in Ceylon, even supposing this to be really the peculiar feature of the Mission, cannot with justice be attributed to defectiveness of organization, for the same organization in other fields has yielded results full and satisfactory. We cannot conclude, therefore, that, until the year 1845, "the whole means and appliances were feeble, and ill-calculated to arrest the minds of an oriental people."

But the agencies and means of action, which have been designated as feeble, until vitalized by that which is affirmed to be so essential to the full and real growth of Christianity, a Bishop's ministry—that even the Gospel itself is barren of results without it—have they been really so unproductive? Let us hear independent testimony on this subject. "The results of these efforts to diffuse Christianity throughout Ceylon are less unsatisfactory than they may outwardly seem to a casual observer who regards only their ostensible effect; for however limited may be the first definite gains in the numerical amount of acknowledged converts, the process has commenced by which these will be hereafter augmented; and living principles have been successfully implanted, as much more precious than the mere visible results, as the tree exceeds in value the first fruits of its earliest growth." . . . "The pace may be slow and unequal, but the tendency is onward, and the result may be eventually and rapidly developed; and such, it is my firm conviction, will be the effect of what is now in progress, not in Ceylon alone, but throughout the continent of India. A large proportion of the labour hitherto has been prospective, but its effects are already in incipient

operation, and in all ordinary principles, a power once in motion is calculated to gather velocity and momentum by its own career.*

One point remains to be noticed. In the article of a contemporary publication, which, from its peculiar way of dealing with Church Missionary work, compels us to notice it more frequently than we would wish to do, reference is made to the department of education. We have no wish to institute comparisons between the work of one Church Society and another. The writer of the article referred to has done so, and awarded the palm of superiority according to his partialities, and we can have no desire to interfere with his convictions. But as he refers to the educational measures of the Church Missionary Society, and especially the Institution at Cotta, where we are told that "a number of youths of good promise, selected from other schools, are boarded and educated with a view to their becoming useful schoolmasters, catechists, and assistant-Missionaries," it may be just as well to present a summary of what that Institution has been instrumental in effecting. "Cotta was selected as the seat of Missionary operations in 1823. Schools were opened, which, in 1828, numbered 297 children. A successful effort was then made to open a school for females, with an attendance of 25 females. In 1834 the pupils had increased to upwards of 350, of whom one-sixth were girls. In sixteen years from the commencement of the Mission, upwards of 900 boys were in daily attendance on the schools, and 400 girls—a total of 1300 children, throughout twenty-nine hamlets in the immediate vicinity of Cotta. In 1840 the numbers had increased to 1700 pupils, and the schools to 27; and in December 1844, in 71 schools there were in attendance 2390 pupils, of which 500 were girls. In 1820 the Cotta Institution commenced its operations with an attendance of only ten students. Since then it "has maintained a career of usefulness unsurpassed, and exhibited a success the most remarkable. Its pupils have been received from the remotest parts of the island, wherever the Missionaries have established themselves. The Tamils of Jaffna, the Singhalese from the low country, and the young Kandians from the hills, have all been congregated here to collect their stores of truth and enlightenment, and return laden with intelligence to communicate their knowledge to their own countrymen. I have attended the annual examination of the more

* Tennent's "Ceylon," pp. 321-327.

advanced classes, and my own emotions have not been more those of gratification than of astonishment at the results which it has been my good fortune to witness."*

In the last report of this Institution which we have seen, that for the year ending September 30, 1857, the Principal, the Rev. C. C. Fenn, says—"Our numbers continue to increase. Indeed, the number of resident students in particular is now so considerable as seriously to increase my responsibility. At that time there were 140 students, 40 of whom were resident, exclusive of seven or eight pupil-teachers."

Beside the Cotta Institution, which is in full and effective action, a collegiate school has been opened at Kandy, which last year numbered upwards of seventy students belonging to the highest native and European-descended families of the central province. We shall conclude our observations with the following extract from the appendix to a sermon preached by the Rev. C. C. Fenn, the Principal of the Cotta Institution at Cambridge, on Advent Sunday 1858—

"It must by no means be concluded that our prospects are altogether dark. There is, on the contrary, much ground for thankfulness and hope. Though uncertainty, and sometimes perplexity, more than in most other Missions, attends many of our movements and many of our attempts to ascertain the real state of things, yet, after the most careful inquiries, and after making the utmost allowance for the hypocritical habits of the people, the Missionaries can feel no doubt that some real progress has been made. There are now about 18,000 native Christians in connexion with the different Protestant Missions in Ceylon, and perhaps about the same number more who may be regarded as belonging to the congregations of the Singhalese chaplains. The great mass of the former are the results of the labours of Protestant Missionary Societies during the last forty years. After making every deduction for the numerous relatives of all catechists, schoolmasters, and other agents, receiving salaries from Missionaries, there will remain several thousands who must be influenced by a genuine preference of Christianity to Buddhism. Tolerably strict discipline and watchfulness is maintained over these; and, after very careful consideration, it is my firm conviction that but few of them have any attachment to heathenism. For keeping up this discipline we depend mainly on our

native catechists. None are appointed to the office of catechist whom we do not believe to be truly pious. For some of them we entertain the highest possible esteem, and there are more than one amongst them whose knowledge of English and other attainments would have enabled them to obtain much higher salaries in other situations. Our native Christians in general are beginning also to give some positive as well as negative proof of their attachment to the Gospel. They have lately commenced furnishing subscriptions for the support of itinerant preachers to the heathen from amongst themselves; and there are now two catechists labouring in the Kandian Province, who are entirely supported by funds thus raised. In punctual and reverential attendance on Christian ordinances, in knowledge of the doctrines of Scripture, and zeal for their propagation, and in desire for the education of their children, the members of the Singhalese Church Missionary congregations have, during the last few years, made decided advances. An increased spirit of prayer has, we trust, been poured forth on both branches of our agency, European and native alike."

We now proceed with Mr. Foulkes' papers.

I have been employing some of my solitary moments here in endeavouring to form an estimate of the present state of the ministers of different Societies now labouring in Ceylon, with the view also of instituting a comparison between the results of Missionary work in this island, and similar results on the continent of India. I have now the pleasure to forward to you these.

The island of Ceylon embraces an area of 23,700 square miles, and contains a population estimated, for the beginning of 1858, at 1,672,699, exclusive of its military, being at the average rate of seventy inhabitants to the square mile.

This population may be approximately distinguished according to the languages of Ceylon, as follows—

Singhalese	.	.	.	1,150,000
Tamil	.	.	.	516,000
European	.	.	.	6,500

Total . . . 1,672,500

The Singhalese population occupy the Southern, Western, and Central Provinces, and the southern parts of the Eastern and North-western Provinces. Nearly four-fifths of the Tamil-speaking people are inhabitants of the Northern, North-western, and Eastern Provinces: besides these, there are upwards of 100,000 emigrant Tamil Coolies from the

* Tennent's "Ceylon," p. 319.

Tanjore, Madura, and Tinnevely Provinces of Southern India, settled on the coffee estates of the Central Province. In the number of the European inhabitants, their descendants, the Burghers, are included. This last division of the population is composed of the following classes—

I. Europeans proper.

1 Public servants, with their families	250
2 Military do.	1,422
3 Coffee and cocoa-nut planters do.	600
4 Merchants do.	250
II. Burghers do.	4,000

Total 6,522

The Moorman population, amounting to about 100,000, has been included in the Singhalese and Tamil-speaking divisions of the people: they are to be found scattered everywhere in the seaports of the island and on its coasts. Besides all the above, there are a few thousands of aboriginal Veddahs belonging to two distinct classes, who inhabit the hills of the Central and Eastern Provinces.

The population of Ceylon may be distributed, according to the different religions prevailing in the island, into these following classes—

Buddhists	970,000
Hindús	480,000
Mohammedans . . .	90,000
Christians—	
Protestants . . .	32,000
Romanists . . .	100,000
	<hr/> 132,000

Total 1,672,000

These 32,000 Protestant Christians contain 27,000 natives which are the fruit of the labours of five Missionary Societies, extending over a period closely approaching half a century. The numbers directly and indirectly connected with each of these Societies are stated to be—

Baptist Missionary Society .	2000
Wesleyan do. .	8500
American Board of Missions .	3500
Church Missionary Society .	9000
Propagation of Gospel Society .	4000

Total 27,000

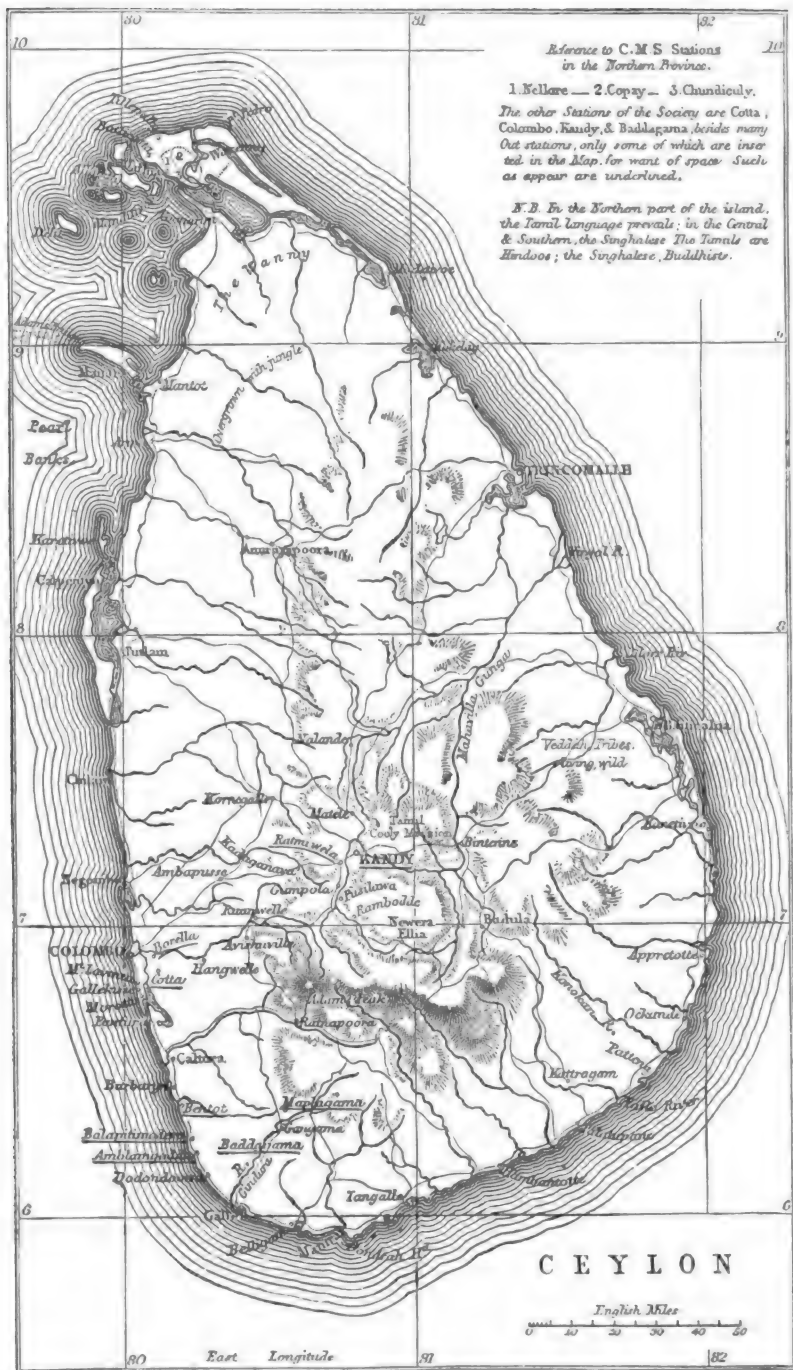
It might be supposed that the Christianity of the Dutch which had spread itself nominally throughout the island during their rule, would have left abundant material for Christian ministers to work upon when they abandoned Ceylon to the British Government in 1796. They had forbidden the exercise of Popery, banished its troublesome priests, and con-

verted the Romish mass-houses into Protestant churches: they had also done all that a Government could do to extinguish Buddhism and idolatry, and had baptized the masses of the people into their own church. Protestant Christianity was the established religion of the island, and all the arrangements of the Government went upon the assumption that their subjects were Christian men and women. But no sooner was the liberty of conscience which England bestowed upon the people felt by them to be a reality, than they renounced their nominal profession of Christianity, and returned to their old ways. Amongst the other results of this revulsion, Romanism began to re-occupy the ground from which she had been driven by the Dutch, and her old adherents rushed again into her polluted arms. The new successes of Popery in Ceylon are a phenomenon which deserve to be pondered well by the Protestant Missionary.

During the latter years of their rule, the Dutch had considerably slackened their efforts to evangelize their subjects; and although the names of the people continued to be inscribed on their baptismal registers for municipal purposes, no means were taken to bring them under the power of the Christian religion, and the influence of the clergy upon their nominal flocks was limited to a single annual visitation of their unwieldy spheres, imposed upon them by their church's consistory. A Missionary from the Tranquebar Mission on the continent did indeed occasionally, and at long intervals, make a tour through the Tamil-speaking districts, among whom the venerable name of Swartz is to be found; but whatever may have been the fruits of these running visits for the moment, it is evident that they were not attended with visible permanent results. When the Protestant Missionary therefore broke ground in Ceylon, he found a wilderness of rank weeds luxuriating in fields which had been prepared as if for valuable crops: he found a widely-opened floodgate, and, through it, the masses of the people rushing violently into their old ways.

The Moravian Brethren had commenced a Mission settlement in Ceylon towards the middle of the last century. Having come into collision with the Dutch Government, however, on the subject of church discipline, they were banished from the island, and went to found a Mission in another eastern field.

To the London Missionary Society belongs the merit of first attempting to evangelize Ceylon during the period of British rule. In 1804, three Missionaries of that Society were



sent here. The Society's labours extended, however, over but a short time. One of the three Missionaries died soon after his arrival: of the remaining two, one, who had settled at Point de Galle, was subsequently required to retire from the island by the Government; and the third, Mr. Palm, who had established himself at Tellipally, in the province of Jaffna, after about three years labour as Missionary, accepted a Government appointment as Presbyterian Chaplain. No subsequent effort appears to have been made to re-occupy the scene of these first failures of the Society's efforts on behalf of Ceylon.

In 1812, the Baptist Missionary Society commenced a Mission in Colombo, which has been maintained up to the present time, though with but a very small staff of European Missionaries. The labours of this Society have, from the commencement, been confined to the Western and Central Provinces, and its Mission has been, consequently, exclusively to the Singhalese population, with one after-exception, when in the absence of every other effort, its Missionaries endeavoured to give the Gospel to the increasing number of Tamil emigrant Coolies upon the coffee estates in the neighbourhood of their Kandy Mission stations. In connection with this Society, there are at the present time thirteen Missionary stations, principal and dependent, eleven of which are in the Western Districts, and two in the Central District. The following statistics of the Society are given in the very valuable "Companion to the Ceylon Common-place Book" for 1859—

European Missionaries (Baptist)	2
Native Agents	16
Communicants	444
Boys' Schools	18
Pupils	558
Girls' Schools	4
Pupils	71
Attendants on public worship	1050
Total persons under influence of the Mission	2000

In 1814 the Wesleyan Missionary Society entered upon this field, and, in a short time, established stations in each of the four provinces into which the island was then divided. Subsequently to this the Societies' labours have been extended to other places in each of these provinces excepting the Northern. In 1817 new stations were commenced in the Eastern Province at Trincomalie; and in the Western Province at Negombo, Morotto, Seedua, Pantura, Caltura, Welliwatta. In 1837, Dondra and Toddapitya, in the Southern Province, were added to the above sta-

tions; and in 1844, Galkisse in the Western Province.

At the present time this Society has seventeen stations in Ceylon, four of which are in the Tamil-speaking districts, and thirteen amongst the Singhalese: or, if we regard the provinces of the island, two of these stations are in the Northern Province, two in the Eastern, five in the Southern, and eight in the Western.

The following statistics of the Wesleyan Society in Ceylon are given in the "Companion to the Common-place Book"—

European Missionaries (Wesleyan)	8
Native Agents	33
Communicants	1954
Boys' Schools	61
Pupils	2802
Girls' Schools	32
Pupils	904
Attendants on public worship	5700
Total under Missionary influence	8500

It may be remarked here, that in the statistics of this Society no distinction is made between the European, Burgher, and native members of the church. It is a principle of the Wesleyans to consider the churches which arise in connexion with them in foreign lands as Missionary churches, whether their members are gathered out of the heathen, or out of the European or other communities of the people: its efforts are directed for the benefit of all classes of the inhabitants of the locality of their Mission stations, and not exclusively to the native or heathen population.*

The American Board of Missions followed the Wesleyan Society in 1816. In that year four Missionaries of the Board arrived in Ceylon, one of whom is still living, having retired from the Mission after full forty years service. The average number of Missionaries of this Society in the field at any one time from the beginning has been seven. The labours of this Mission have been confined

* This peculiarity in Wesleyan Missionary operations pervades of necessity all the statistics in this paper, and, so far as pure Missionary efforts for the evangelization of the heathen are concerned, must be remembered when comparing the numerical results of the Wesleyan Society with other Missionary organizations, as well as the more general statistics of Ceylon with other Mission fields. Thus, for instance, in bringing out the proportion of communicants to Christian adherents in Ceylon, as compared with various sections of the Indian field, this must be allowed for. In South India, the proportion is 1 in 5.68; in Ceylon 1 in 5.1. But the relation is altered in favour of South India, just in proportion as the Ceylon aggregate is otherwise than purely Missionary.

from the outset to the peninsula of Jaffna. At present its Missionaries, temporarily reduced to five in number, occupy sixteen out of the thirty-two parishes into which the peninsula is divided: these parishes are worked from eight principal Mission stations, five of which were entered upon during the first five years after the commencement of the Mission, two more in 1834, and the eighth in 1844. Considerable attention has been paid to education by the Missionaries of this Society, both of male and female children, through the instrumentality of boarding and day-schools, as well in English as in the vernacular. The results of this department of their work will probably be felt in Jaffna for many generations; and very especially those which have proceeded from their seminary at Batticotta, which was discontinued in 1856, to which most of the educated natives of the peninsula owe an education which has raised them far above their generation, and which, together with other concurring causes, has introduced a great and very marked stimulus to educational efforts among the people themselves, and caused a want to be felt by them which can only be described as a general hungering of the people after English education.

The statistics of this Mission for the beginning of 1859 are thus given in the "Companion to the Common-place Book"—

American Missionaries	7
Native agents	47
Communicants	438
Boys' Schools	40
Pupils	1402
Girls' Schools	6
Pupils	203
Attendants on public worship	1814
Total under Missionary influence	3500

Our own church was the last to send its representatives to Ceylon of the existing Missionary agencies of the island. The Church Missionary Society's labours commenced in 1818, when Missions were established in the Northern Province at Nellore, and in the central province at Kandy. The occupation of these stations was followed in 1819 by that of Baddagama in the Southern Province, and in 1822 the work was extended to Colombo and Cotta in the Western Province. In 1842, Chundicully was added to Nellore in the north, and Copay also in 1849. Subordinate out-stations have subsequently sprung up from each of these. In 1855, the Society commenced its Tamil Mission to the Cooly emigrants from the continent upon the coffee estates of the Central Province. It

formed a part of the original plan of the first Missionaries to occupy Trincomalee, in the Eastern Province; but Calpentyn, on the western coast, was subsequently substituted for it, and this station, too, was abandoned after a short occupation. Educational efforts have been carried on by the side of direct evangelistic labours amongst the adult population in both the Singhalese and Tamil stations of the Mission. Boarding-schools for both boys and girls have proved to be effectual nurseries for the church; and these, but especially the Society's training institutions at Cotta, in the Singhalese country, and during the last few years at Copay, amongst the Tamils, have provided the Society with a staff of intelligent, and, in many instances, very effectual catechists and schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, besides contributing to the native agencies of other Societies also, in return for similar benefits received by the Society from them.

"The Common-place Book" gives the following statistics of the Church Missionary Society for the present year—

English Missionaries (C. M. S.)	12
Native agents	56
Communicants	356
Boys' Schools	64
Pupils	2415
Girls' Schools	39
Pupils	1344
Attendants on public worship	6260
Total under Missionary influence	9000*

The efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel date from 1838, when it established a Mission at Colombo, and another at Newera Ellia; to which have since been added other stations at Mutwall and four other places. In 1846 its operations were extended to Madura, in the Southern Province; in 1847 to Kandy, in the Central Province; and in 1849 to Milagraya, with its out-stations. Up to this period the Society's attention had been given exclusively to the Singhalese parts of the island; but in 1852 it extended its labours to the Tamil-speaking population also at Mannar, in the Northern Province, and at Batticaloa in the Eastern. The Society has at the present time eleven stations in Ceylon; one of which is in the Northern Province, one in the Eastern, two in the Southern, five in the Western, and two in the Central Province.

* The last published accounts of the Church Missionary Society show the statistics as follow: European and Native Missionaries, 12; Native Agents, 183; Communicants, 440; Schools, 107; Scholars, 3467.

The "Companion to the Common-place Book" states the statistics of the Society to be—

European Missionaries (S. P. G.)	4
Native agents	24
Communicants	200
Boys' Schools	43
Pupils	1928
Girls' Schools	17
Pupils	421
Attendance on public worship	2100
Total under Missionary influence	4000

Thus the Societies at work among the Singhalese-speaking population of Ceylon are four, their Missionaries sixteen, and

their communicants 2428; while those labouring amongst its Tamil-speaking people are also four, their Missionaries eleven, and their communicants 964.

The following table will show the distinction of the different Missionaries of these Societies in the different provinces of the island, slightly correcting the preceding figures to show the actual present number of Missionaries, and distinguishing European Missionaries from native and country-born ministers, so far as has been found to be practicable. To these is added the number of Roman-Catholic priests, European and native, in each province, taken from the Government Almanac for last year—

Province.	Baptist Mission Society.		Wesleyan Mission Society.		American Board of Missions.		Church Missionary Society.		Society for Propagation of the Gospel.		Total.		Roman Catholics	
	Eur.	Nat.	Eur.	Nat.	Amer.	Nat.	Eur.	Nat.	Eur.	Nat.	Eur.	Nat.	Eur.	Nat.
Northern...	0	0	1	1	5	2	2	0	0	1	8	4	10	3
Eastern ...	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	3	0
Southern ...	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	6	1	0
Western ...	1	10	2	10	0	0	3	1	2	5	8	26	19	3
N-Western ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2
Central	1	6	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	1	7	7	1	0
Total.....	2	16	6	16	5	2	10	2	4	10	27	46	37	8

It may be not unworthy of remark here, that the Roman-Catholic European priests not only outnumber the total Protestant European Missionaries in the proportion of thirty-seven to twenty-seven; but that they outnumber the European Missionaries of the

Church of England in the proportion of thirty-seven to fourteen.

We may sum up this sketch of the present state of Missions in Ceylon with the following general statistical table, copied from the "Common-place Book for 1859"—

STATISTICS OF PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN CEYLON.

Missions.	Date of Establishment.	Foreign-born Missionaries.	Native Agents.	Communicants.	Boys' Schools.		Girls' Schools.		Attendants on Public Worship.	Total under influence of Missions, including families of Communicants and Healers.
					No.	Pupils.	No.	Pupils.		
Church Mission...	1818	12	56	356	64	2415	39	1344	6260	9000
Propagation Soc.	1838	4	24	200	43	1928	17	421	2100	4000
Wesleyan Society	1814	8	33	1954	61	2802	32	904	5700	8500
Baptist Mission...	1812	2	16	444	18	558	4	71	1050	2000
American Mission	1816	7	47	438	40	1402	6	293	1814	3500
Total		33	176	3392	226	9105	98	3033	16,924	27,000

I have taken much pains to obtain statistics of as great accuracy as are procurable; but owing to the different systems adopted by different Societies in presenting the results of their labours to the public, strict accuracy is unattainable. Practically, however, the figures which I have followed may be regarded, I trust, as a close approximation to the truth.

I proceed now to a comparison of the results

of Missionary operations in Ceylon with those obtained on the continent of India. I cannot, however, conceal from myself at the outset that a comparison of mere figures cannot be taken to represent the full state of the case on either side, where those figures have to do as here, not with the world of matter but with the world of spirit. Man is indeed everywhere substantially the same; and yet he is constituted so variously in the various diverging groups

of the one great family, and his circumstances differ so widely in different places, and he is so much under the influence of his circumstances everywhere, that lower numerical results will sometimes indicate larger real successes, and figures which have no reference to those things that are so important in arriving at a true estimate of a case such as I am entering upon, can only be expected to show the mere numerical quantity of Missionary results, and can be of but little assistance in judging of the quality of those results in which, notwithstanding, it is that their great value lies.

The relation between the number of Missionaries and the population of Ceylon differs considerably in the different provinces of the island; the Northern, Eastern, and Central Provinces being apparently the most favoured in this respect, and the Southern and North-western being the most benighted. The following table will show the proportions—

Province.	Population.	Missionaries.	Proportion.
Northern	299,795	8	1 to 37,000
Eastern	74,000	2	1 to 37,000
Southern	304,003	2	1 to 152,000
Western	560,000	8	1 to 70,000
N. Western	190,000	0	
Central	244,901	7	1 to 35,000
Total	1,672,699	27	1 to 60,000

This apparent difference of advantages is, however, counterbalanced by another consideration, for the relative effectiveness of these twenty-seven Missionaries must depend much on relative distances in their different spheres; and it may be well to add to the above table, another showing the relation between the number of Missionaries in each province, and the number of square miles contained in it.

Province.	Average in sq. m.	Missionaries.	Sq. m. to each Miss.	Pop. to sq. miles.
Northern	5427	8	678	55
Eastern	4753	2	2376	15
Southern	2147	2	1073	141
Western	3820	8	477	146
N. Western	2362	0	0	80
Central	5191	7	741	47
	23,700	27	877	70

According to this table the relative distances in the Western Province appear to be much more favourable to Missionary operations than in any other part of Ceylon; while those of the Eastern and Southern, with their two Missionaries each, appear to be utterly unworkable. Adding to this the fact, that the proportion of inhabitants to each square mile is also largest in the Western Province, we have an additional reason for considering it to be the most favoured part of the island, so far as figures can show the comparison,

though there may be isolated spots in the other provinces also equally favoured. The higher development of mind in a more thickly-populated district might also perhaps be mentioned.

When I have added to these tables another, showing the distribution of the fruits of Missionary labour in these different provinces, and the proportion of Christian converts to the still remaining heathen population, the way will be prepared for a comparison of Ceylon Missionary results with those of India—

Province.	Baptists	Welsh	Americans	C. M. S.	S. P. G.	Total Convert	Proportion to Population.
Northern	0	1150	2105	294	163	3712	1 in 80
Eastern	0	692	0	0	665	1357	1 in 54
Southern	0	964	0	322	707	1993	1 in 152
Western	1820	2789	0	3332	2341	10,282	1 in 54
N. West.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Central	385	0	0	912	263	1560	1 in 156
Total	2205	5595	2105	4860	4139	18,904	1 in 88

It would be very desirable if a uniform system of returns of the state of their Missions could be adopted by different Societies in the place of those which are now in use. At present each of the Societies named in the above table has its own separate system: all differ from each other, with the exception of the Baptists and Americans, who agree in presenting only the number of their members in full communion. I have taken upon me to raise the numbers of these two Societies to something like a fair approach to the number of adherents represented by their number of communicants. The statistics which I am following in this communication are chiefly taken from the valuable "Report of the South-Indian Missionary Conference, 1858."

It will be seen that, though this table shows an unmistakeable relation existing between labour and success, yet that there is not that unvarying mechanical relation between them which would be expected where that which is operated upon belongs to the unresisting material world; and that there is enough of difference between the results of the different provinces to show that different men have been at work in these different places, and that they have had different characters of men also to work upon in these different spheres; and, further still, that there is enough of difference also in them to shew us that there are here before us the fruits of the work of that sovereign Spirit of God who is like the wind that "floweth where it listeth."

Let it however be remarked that in the most favoured province of Ceylon, out of a

population equal to about one-third of the total population of the whole island, the proportion of Christian converts to its heathen inhabitants is but little less than two per cent.; that in a period of forty-seven years of labour, the churches of Christ have gathered into their Master's fold 10,282 souls out of 560,000; and that these successes have

been achieved in that portion of Ceylon in which its most influential city is situate, whose pulsations naturally extend themselves throughout the whole of the island.

The following comparative table combines a general view of the different data necessary to form our proposed comparison between Ceylon and Indian Missionary results—

MISSION.	Area in square miles.	Population.	Missionaries.	Sq. miles to each Missionary.	Population to each Missionary	Converts.	Proportion to Population.	Number of Converts to each Missionary.
India . . .	1,396,053	186,164,914	493	2831	377,000	126,326	1 in 1,473	256
North India . .	850,419	127,085,699	159	5348	799,211	19,641	1 in 6,470	113
West India . . .	254,428	22,490,696	47	5413	478,525	650	1 in 34,601	13
South India . .	335,315	42,958,506	187	1258	229,724	91,251	1 in 470	488
Ceylon . . .	23,700	1,672,699	27	877	60,000	18,904	1 in 88	700

This table suggests many interesting thoughts, but I must restrict my remarks to the matter in hand.

If we confine ourselves, as in this table, to a comparison between Ceylon and the different principal divisions of India, the result is seen to be very largely in favour of Ceylon. Omitting the case of Western India, where it has pleased the Lord of the harvest to keep back for a season the sheaves of the reaper, let us observe the great difference between the numerical relation of converts to population in North India, and that of those of Ceylon: in the former case forming but $\frac{1}{11}$ of its heathen inhabitants, while in Ceylon they number $\frac{1}{11}$ part. Or if we take the most favoured of the Presidencies of India, the difference in favour of Ceylon is still very great. In South India, Christian converts form $\frac{1}{11}$ part of its people; that is to say, out of every thousand of its population Ceylon has upwards of

eleven Christian converts, and South India a fraction more than two; so that Missionary success has been five times greater in Ceylon than in Southern India.

But inasmuch as Missionary labour has been but very unequally distributed over the different provinces of the Madras Presidency, large tracts of country still continuing quite unvisited by Missionaries—the same being true of parts of Ceylon also, but on a much smaller scale—it is necessary to make a more particular comparison between Ceylon and those parts of South India which have had similar Missionary advantages. Let us, then, take the Western Province of Ceylon as its most favoured province, and place beside it the Missionary condition of the provinces of Tinnevely, Madura, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore, and the kingdom of Travancore in South India.

MISSION.	Population.	European Missionaries.	Population to each Missionary	Converts.	Proportion to Population.	Number of Converts to each Missionary.
Ceylon, Western Province . . .	560,000	8	70,000	10,282	1 in 54	1285
Tinnevely . . .	1,267,416	17	74,554	41,152	1 in 30	2420
Madura . . .	1,756,791	11	159,708	5,902	1 in 297	536
Trichinopoly and Tanjore . . .	2,385,282	17	140,310	8,891	1 in 268	523
Travancore . . .	1,239,621	16	77,413	22,437	1 in 85	1402

In this comparison also, Ceylon, through her representative province, still stands well, holding a position as she does between the two most fruitful of all Indian Mission fields, whose successes have been considered to be marvellous by even sanguine friends of Missions, and which have triumphantly silenced the once-defiant language of opponents, and the despair of the followers of Dubois. Let it be also observed, that not only does Ceylon's most favoured province bear being put side by side with India's most fruitful Mission

fields, but that, in each of the other provinces of the island also, Christian success has been very much greater than in the most successful of South-India Missions, with the exception of Tinnevely and South Travancore.

We may now proceed to a comparative estimate of the amount of acceptance of Missionary influence by the peoples of Ceylon and India, as seen in the number of children committed for instruction and training in Mission schools. Our former comparison showed the relative amount of Missionary acceptance

among the adult populations of the different places referred to: the present will show us the relative amount of Missionary influence upon the children and the rising generations. I must take my figures for this purpose from

Mullen's Statistics of Missions, though they refer to a date so far back as 1851. I have united Mr. Mullen's divisions of North India to bring the table into uniformity with those preceding.

MISSION.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Proportion to Population.
India	64,480	14,298	78,778	1 in 2363
North India	18,917	1,916	20,833	1 in 6100
West India	4,645	1,323	5,968	1 in 3768
South India	29,896	8,109	38,005	1 in 1130
Ceylon	11,022	2,950	13,972	1 in 119

Thus Ceylon is in possession of enormously greater educational advantages than some parts of India, and in this respect she is ten times better off than the most highly favoured of the Indian Presidencies; or, in our present point of view, Missionary influence upon the children of Ceylon is ten times greater in amount than upon the children of South India.

But it is necessary, for the same reasons as before, to limit the comparison to the most favoured districts of India. In the present instance the comparison shall be between those districts and the whole of Ceylon. The following table will show the relative proportions—

MISSION.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Proportion to Population.
Ceylon	11,022	2950	13,972	1 in 119
Tinnevely	6,834	3296	10,130	1 in 125
Madura	1,646	185	1,831	1 in 959
Trichinopoly and Tanjore ...	3,221	481	3,702	1 in 644
Travancore	7,697	1674	9,371	1 in 132

Ceylon, then, may be regarded as occupying the first place among the most distinguished Indian Missionary districts, regarded in an educational point of view: its Mission-schools are educating eighty-four out of every 10,000 of its inhabitants, while in Tinnevely the proportion is eighty, and in Travancore seventy-five. And as these proportions represent the relative numerical successes in the places compared, Ceylon, in this second great branch of Missionary work, has repaid Missionary labour more abundantly than any other neighbouring field.

There remains only one other source of comparison in which such figures as are at hand can be of avail for our present purpose. I have no means of judging of the relative character of the work in Ceylon and India, as evidenced by "benevolences" and Missionary activity, or other fruits of a living Christianity, and I must therefore confine myself, in endeavouring to compare the quality of Ceylon results with those of the continent to the relative proportions of communicants to Christian adherents. I again have recourse to Mullen's statistics for some of the figures of

my general table: those of the second table are from the Report of the South-Indian Conference. It will perhaps be well to prefix to these tables one showing the proportion between converts and communicants in the different provinces of Ceylon.

PROVINCE.	Christian Adherents.	Communicants.	Proportion.
Northern.....	3,712	725	1 in 5.12
Eastern.....	1,357	188	1 in 7.21
Southern.....	1,993	298	1 in 6.68
Western.....	10,282	2303	1 in 4.46
Central.....	1,560	187	1 in 8.34
Total.....	18,904	3701	1 in 5.1

The only remark necessary to be made on this table is the perhaps obvious one, that, as in the experience of the earth's husbandman, so in the experience of the cultivator of the field of souls, not only is the standing corn more abundant where more abundant labour has been bestowed, but that the winnowed grain also is in correspondingly larger proportion. The order in which these results arrange themselves is very much the order of the

comparative amount of Missionary advantages which the different provinces have enjoyed; it corresponds, also, pretty closely with one of the preceding tables, in which the proportion of converts to population was shown.

Let us now look at our comparative table of communicants for Ceylon in relation to India.

MISSION.	Christian Adherents.	Communicants.	Proportion.
India	112,191	18,410	1 in 6.09
North India	16,810	4,178	1 in 4.02
West India	744	289	1 in 2.57
South India	91,251	16,056	1 in 5.68
Ceylon	18,904	3,701	1 in 5.1

I am not inclined to do much more than leave this table and the next to tell their own story. So many other circumstances have to be taken into the account, in considering the comparative quality of Missionary results, that figures can help us but for a little way, and at best can tell but a barren tale. The two apparent anomalous cases—that of Western India, which occurs in the present table, and that of Trichinopoly and Tanjore in the next, afford illustrations of this. In the former case, that of Bombay, the solution of the apparent anomaly is probably to be found in the fact, that the comparatively very small number of converts in that Presidency enables the Missionaries to come into much more frequent and more intimate personal contact with their people than is possible in Missions which have borne more abundant fruit, where personal intercourse between the Missionary and the individuals of his people is but occasional, and where the training and testing of new converts have to be entrusted, in a greater measure to the subordinate agents of the Mission, and to be carried on much more by general means than by the personal teaching and influence of the Missionary. Western India, then, is probably an instance of an extreme in the right direction.

But the opposite to this seems to be the case with the second instance, that of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Mission, in the following table. The laxity with which the caste-supporting Dresden Lutheran Missionary So-

ciety's Missionaries admit their people to baptism, and afterwards to the Lord's-supper, is the probable cause to which we are to attribute the anomalous proportion of communicants to adherents in those provinces.

There is a sufficient uniformity of proportion in the cases of the other Missions to show pretty nearly what the normal state of things may be expected to be in these Indian churches, and, without any violent departure from that normal proportion, Ceylon still stands well amongst the most highly-cultivated Missions, as the following table will show—

PROVINCE.	Christian Adherents.	Communicants.	Proportion.
Ceylon W. Province	10,282	2,308	1 in 4.46
Tinnevely	41,152	5,208	1 in 7.89
Madura	5,902	1,024	1 in 5.76
Trichinopoly and Tanjore	8,891	4,192	1 in 2.12
Travancore	22,437	2,608	1 in 8.6

The result of the comparison which has now been made is, perhaps, much more in favour of Ceylon than could have been anticipated. It is true that there are particular individual spots in this field, as probably there are in every other Mission where much labour has been expended, and for a long time, without such an amount of success as usually follows the toil of the Missionary, and the mind is apt to dwell upon those localities, unconsciously brooding, perhaps, over its disappointment, and by degrees these spots which have made so much stronger impression on the mind than others, give their colouring to one's estimate of the whole Mission of which they form a part.

Ceylon however, as a whole, has, I trust, been shown, by the result of the foregoing comparisons, to have a stronger call upon the churches to thank God for what has been so largely achieved, than to mourn over its backwardness. Much, very much, still remains to be done, and, with the elasticity of mind and heart which thankfulness for our successes is calculated to inspire, we shall be better fitted to go on courageously in His work, and in His strength, and for His glory, who is the sovereign Lord of Missions.

GOVERNMENTAL EDUCATION IN INDIA—ITS PAST HISTORY AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

(Continued from p. 164.)

WE now approach the consideration of the great Educational Despatch of July 1854. It is in fact the embodiment of suggestions put forward by practical men in India, who were engaged in working out the many and difficult problems connected with Indian improvement. The necessity of vernacular education, if, indeed, the masses were to be reached, had been recognised by the despatch of Lord Dalhousie, bearing date Oct. 25, 1853. Mr. Thomason's scheme, as experimented upon in eight districts of the North-west Provinces, had worked most satisfactorily, and the extension of the system, not only to the entire of the North-west Provinces, but to the people of Bengal and Behar, and also to the Punjab, was decided upon. The Council of Education was therefore called upon to furnish the outline of a plan which might furnish efficacious means of maintaining a sound and well-adapted system of vernacular instruction in all provinces under the Government of Bengal. To facilitate the labours of the Council, certain documents were placed before them on the subject of vernacular education, of which a minute from the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Hon. F. J. Halliday, may be selected as the most important. In that document specific measures were indicated. The improvement of indigenous schools, so as to enlist on behalf of the new movement any sense of educational need, or amount of educational effort which might have existence among the people; the establishment of model schools, and a regular plan of inspection, under the stimulus of which the village schoolmasters might be induced to copy the example placed before them, were amongst these recommendations; the visiting agency to consist of a head superintendent, and two native superintendents. The principle of grants-in-aid was virtually recognised as the mode by which the desired improvement might be effected.

"It would be the duty of the superintendent and his staff to visit all vernacular schools within their limits, which might be open to their inspection, and to aid and encourage them in every possible way. There is a method of doing this, which has been found successful by a zealous Missionary, and which, together with other methods, might be employed by the superintendent. It is to supply books to a promising indigenous schoolmaster, and give him a small pecuniary re-

ward for every boy in his school capable, after a time, of reading and understanding these books, upon condition of being allowed to introduce a superior class of teachers into the school, as soon as it shall become fit for it. By these means a number of indigenous schools may possibly be greatly improved at a small comparative expense."*

But another measure, altogether new in the practice of India, and hitherto untouched upon, was also indicated, namely, that vernacular schools, under the charge of Missionaries, should be permitted to share in the favourable notice of the Government. Mr. Halliday took occasion to introduce to the attention of the Supreme Government, a letter from our Missionary, the Rev. J. Long, setting forth what he was doing with reference to vernacular education in the zillah of the 24th Pergunnah, and soliciting a grant-in-aid. His schools are at Thakarpukur, seven miles from Kidderpur. Reserving the religious instruction imparted by himself and his agents, he states the measure of secular instruction afforded

"Reading."—The alphabet to be taught, using the blackboard according to the simple and complex form of the letters, and afterwards as labials and palatals. The alphabet letters to be acquired in three months; then spelling by putting together letters from a box, or writing the names of familiar objects. *Grammar* is to be taught by familiar illustrations, such as that a conjunction is like a bridge, a pronoun like a bridle. Difficult words to be taught on the etymological, not on the vocabulary system.

"Writing" to be taught first after the Gú-rúmohashoy's system, then by a boy reading from a MS. short sentences embodying some important fact, which the boys are to write from dictation in a book, this book to be corrected weekly by the pundit. At a subsequent stage the boys will take notes of a lecture, and finally give an analysis of a Bengali book.

"Geography."—At five years old the boys are to begin to learn the outlines of the map of the world or of Bengal, by the eye, next to draw an outline on the black board, then to study a skeleton map, next to draw maps, and finally to read a work on physical geography.

Arithmetic.—Begin with the Arithmetic,

* Selections from Records of Bengal Government, No. XXII., p. 67.

then with exercises on mental arithmetic, illustrated by visible objects; the questions involving facts in natural history, and finally mensuration.

"*Lessons on Objects.*—To train youth to use their senses as *media* of intellectual improvement. Natural history the *sine quâ non* for a peasant; 150 pictures of birds and beasts are made familiar to their eye. Next some account of each is given; and finally Lawson's work on animal biography is used as a text-book.

"My object has been to build on the native system, not to supersede it. By this means I am able to enlist the Gûrûmohashoy as my object. Three of the boys I am training up as pupil-teachers. To others I intend for the medical service, and others I intend sending to the botanical gardens, to be trained up as agriculturists, while others I hope may get employment from Government in the spirit of Lord Hardinge's resolution.

"On Saturdays, the teachers for village schools come in, when I instruct them, and require them to instruct the boys on certain given subjects which they have studied in the week.

"My plan can be carried out by a Gûrûmohashoy at eight rupees monthly (paid according to the proficiency of his pupils). A pundit to attend two days weekly, to examine in Bengali grammar, and correct exercises. A teacher to instruct in history, and geography, and a superior teacher to give instruction in physical geography, mensuration, and to take part in gallery lesson. A grant of 25 rupees monthly would enable me to accomplish this object. I frequently visit indigenous schools, and find, that were I able to make grants of improved books at reduced rates, or to promise teachers a certain pecuniary reward for teaching certain branches, a considerable impulse could be given. Were 15 rupees monthly placed at my disposal for twelve months, I would appropriate the money for these objects, and report results at given periods." *

In forwarding Mr. Long's application, Mr. Halliday took occasion to express his strong conviction, that schools affording such sound, practical, secular instruction ought not to be excluded from Government notice, because they were under the direction of a Missionary, and, consistently with their position as Missionary schools, afforded religious as well as secular teaching to the pupils who had chosen to attend them.

"Mr. Long teaches, or proposes to teach in his schools, history, biography, and geo-

graphy, with especial reference to Bengal and India; arithmetic, writing by dictation, natural history, grammar, and etymology. He makes use of the indigenous schools as a foundation to work upon, and he aims at their improvement. He asks for a grant of 25 rupees a month, and thinks that this would enable him to double the number of his schools. He has at present three. He says further, that in visiting indigenous schools, he is frequently in want of improved books, or pecuniary rewards, and thus to encourage and stimulate improvement. For this he asks further for 15 rupees per mensem—total, 40 rupees per mensem. This is a small grant for such a promise of result. He agrees gladly to have his schools at all times inspected by Government officers. Now I believe that Mr. Long has in this case set an example which will be followed by many Missionaries. Their schools are numerous, and may be made still more so. It is notorious that the Missionary vernacular schools have succeeded where ours have failed, and, with proper inspection, we can be sure of their good working. I think that the time has come when we may wisely use the services of these laborious, zealous, and earnest men. I would recommend that Mr. Long's request be granted by the Government, and that the same be done, within reasonable limits, as to other similar requests that may be made. Nor would I confine this part of the plan to Missionary vernacular schools. I would aid similarly other approved vernacular schools that might come forward for the purpose. And I think it probable that in this manner we may, in many parts of Bengal, assist the spread of vernacular education more rapidly and more economically than by any other means, and perhaps more effectively." †

These views, it is gratifying to be enabled to state, were supported by a memorandum from a native official, Ishwar Chunder Surma, then Principal of the Sanskrit College, in which he says—

"Those schools founded by natives or Missionaries, which are in the hands of competent teachers, of course deserve attention and encouragement. The superintendants will be required to visit such schools, and to report on their respective claims to encouragement." †

It is remarkable, that almost simultaneously with the drawing up of this minute, Mr. M'Leod, the Commissioner Trans-Sutlej States, in a document already referred to, was expressing similar convictions as to the necessity and duty of recognising Missionary schools, which were rendering important aid

* Selections from Records, pp. 75, 76.

† Ibid, p. 68, 69, 73.

in the work of vernacular education; the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal's minute, bearing date Nov. 1853, and Mr. M'Leod's report, bearing date Dec. 1853.

This advocacy of a more generous and comprehensive policy than that which had hitherto prevailed, brought out, as might have been expected, on the part of the members of the Council of Education, great diversity of opinion. The majority were hostile to its being established. Mr. J. P. Grant declared—

"I object strongly to Mr. Halliday's proposal of grants-in-aid to Missionaries, which would be, no matter how we might attempt to mystify the thing, in appearance as well as in reality, to appropriate money drawn by taxes from the pockets of the people for the purpose of making proselytes from the religion of the people. If I were living at home, I should have no objection whatever to any Mohammedan spending his own money in attempting to convert me and my neighbours. But I should object strongly to a portion of the income-tax, to which I am obliged to contribute, being expended in that manner; and I think the objections of my neighbours would take a form disagreeable to the Mulwís, Missionaries, and their supporters. That is a political objection. An economical objection is, that I cannot imagine how it can be shown that 100 rupees expended in an allowance to a man, over whom we have absolutely no control whatever, will produce more effect than 100 rupees spent in maintaining teachers who are absolutely under our control. . . .

"In my opinion, in our report to Government, we ought to make no allusion to this proposal of Mr. Halliday's. We could not do so, I believe, without contravening the orders in force, which prohibit the connexion of Government Institutions with Missionary Institutions. I for one hope never to see those orders altered; for with an unfeigned respect for both classes of institutions, I believe that a connexion between them would be an unholy alliance."*

Mr. H. Ricketts is found on the same side—

"As to grants-in-aid, I agree entirely with Mr. Grant. We cannot make grants of money to Missionary schools without departing from the principles hitherto observed; strict observance of which I believe to be indispensable to success in promoting the education of the people."†

Ramgopal Ghose is also indisposed to such a proposal—

"I entirely concur with the Hon. Mr. Grant in his objection to grants-in-aid to Mis-

sionaries or their schools. . . . Unless proselytism be held to be the duty of Government, it cannot afford any pecuniary aid to the Mission schools. Justice and policy equally demand that the Government by its acts should not assume the truth or falsehood of any of the several faiths followed by its numerous subjects."‡

His native colleague, Ramapersad Roy, unites in the objection—

"The grant-in-aid, as proposed in Mr. Halliday's minute, has undoubtedly its bad effects. These have been fully and ably shown by Mr. Grant. His reasons have my entire concurrence. The British Government, as it is constituted, ought to maintain the strictest neutrality about religious education. It has maintained this position up to the present time, and I see no reason why it should deviate from that course."§

Sir. J. W. Colville is equally averse.

"The system of grants-in-aid is new, and, as applied to Missionary schools, is inconsistent with what has hitherto been the principle of Government, and, as such, is opposed by all my colleagues, whose minutes I have seen, except Mr. Allen's: whether it will be inconsistent with the principles of Government is a question upon which nobody in the country, except the "Friend of India," professes to be accurately informed. I should feel the abstract injustice of supporting Missionary schools in part with the funds derived from the general revenues of the country far more strongly if I did not know that many Hindú, if not Mussulman parents, do send their children to Missionary schools for the sake of secular instruction to be had there, without much fear of their being converted. The formal connexion of Government with such schools is, however, not unlikely to cause an outcry, and should therefore be avoided, unless some great advantage is to be gained by it, and I confess that I do not see wherein the great advantage consists. Mr. Long's system, as I understand it, is not to establish a school, but to find an indigenous school, and, by a judicious application of money, to improve it into a Missionary school. I do not see why the State should not do the same thing; and, if it does do it, why it should not do the thing directly; why, in short, it must get at the school through the sides of a Missionary, or by passing its money through the hands of a Missionary. All the advantage gained is, that the character of the Missionary may ensure the proper application of the money.

"But the same object may be gained by

* Selections from Records, p. 48. † Ibid, p. 50.

‡ Ibid, p. 53. § Ibid, p. 56.

granting aid in the shape of books and rewards, instead of hard cash, and providing competent and active inspectors.”*

And Dr. J. Jackson, although not so decidedly opposed, is, on the whole, disinclined to entertain Mr. Halliday’s proposal.

“If new schools are to be raised, and new men employed as teachers, it would seem to me better that these should be the servants of Government rather than of the Missionary Society. As they could then be considered as Missionary schools, and although they might receive aid from Government, they could not be considered as belonging to their establishments, and would be unwilling to acknowledge their control. Excepting in a few rare instances the grants-in-aid to Missionary schools would be better avoided.”†

Two members of the Council, Mr. C. Allen and Mr. H. Woodrow, are found to concur with Mr. Halliday. Mr. Allen observes—

“I concur generally in the propriety of following the example set us in the north-west, but I wish to say that I approve highly of Mr. Halliday’s proposal of grants-in-aid. This country is not inhabited by pagans and Mohammedans only: there are native Christians, and I hope their number is increasing; and I also think that encouragement should be given to Missionary schools, where-in the principal part of the education is secular.

“I believe in England grants-in-aid are given to every school, let the religious instruction therein be what it may, if the school will admit the Government inspector, and be guided by his advice.”‡

Mr. Woodrow’s minute enters more largely into the considerations which influenced his conclusions—

“The great question before the Council is, by what agency vernacular education can be extended widely, speedily, and economically. The very same question has for twenty years occupied the Government at home, and, after many failures, the course now adopted has met with general approbation. On the question of education there is a great analogy between this country and England. Both are divided in religious belief under three great heads, and though the differences of creed are not so wide at home as here, yet the intensity of feeling with which those differences are regarded is unhappily as strong or even stronger. It is a melancholy fact, that the established church, dissenters, and Roman Catholics, showed as little unanimity on the question of education as can be felt by Hindûs, Mussulmans, and

Christians. It was for a long time impossible to devise any scheme by which each, in proportion to its numbers and activity, would receive aid from Government. At last the scheme of grants-in-aid to especial objects was introduced, and has worked well. Government assists all who are willing and able to assist themselves. It requires for its own service secular education, and for this it is willing to pay.

“In the minute of 10th July 1847, it is said, ‘The Committee will require, as an indispensable condition, that an inspector acting under their authority shall be enabled to visit every school to which any grant shall in future be made. Such inspector will not be authorized to examine into the religious instructions given in the school, but he will be directed to ask for such information as to secular instruction, and the general regulations of the school, as may enable the Committee to make a report to Her Majesty in Council, to be laid before both Houses of Parliament.’

“The opinion expressed by Dr. Chalmers had great influence in allaying the suspicion with which these grants were originally regarded. He said that, in the existing state of things, ‘Government was right in determining that it would take no cognizance of, just because it would attempt no control over, the religion of the applicants for aid, leaving this matter entire to the parties who had to do with the erection and management of the schools which it had been called upon to assist. A grant by the State upon this footing might be regarded as being appropriately and exclusively the expression of its value of a good secular education.’

“This judicious advice applies as equally to India as to England. . . . It may be said that one zealous Missionary will do as much for the great work of education as twenty wealthy zemindars, and therefore that Christians will obtain a larger influence in proportion to their numbers than others. The facts that Missionary vernacular schools are now more efficient, and consequently better attended than Government vernacular schools, may be advanced to strengthen the argument. I believe that, stimulated by the encouragement of Government, the aid of their countrymen, and the example of Missionaries, the zemindars will establish good schools on their own estates, after the manner of English gentlemen. But if they should not rouse themselves to activity at this great crisis, the work must not stand still; the means available must be used. The restriction of grants-in-aid only to schools where the Bible is excluded is bigotry

* Selections from Records, p. 60.

† Ibid, p. 64. ‡ Ibid, p. 48.

itself. If the zemindars do their duty, Missionaries will have no disproportionate influence, and ought not in justice to be excluded. If the zemindars are negligent, there will be little hope of doing good when grants-in-aid are bestowed on the lazy and refused to the active. I am of opinion that grants in aid should be given to all efficient schools, and that the question of religion ought not to be raised.”*

These documents are dated June, July, and August 1854. Mr. Grant's, the earliest of them, is dated June 23d. The minute of the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, in answer to the Educational Despatches from the Punjab, bears date June 6th, 1854—a minute referred to in our last Number, in which His Excellency showed so clearly that he did not participate in the nervous apprehensions of the majority of the members of the Council; and we shall again introduce his words, because contrasting so favourably with much that we have been constrained to quote—

“Mr. Macleod has noticed another point which seems to me at this day to be one of great practical importance, and on which I entirely share his views. In paragraphs 90, 91, 92, of his memorandum, he urges not merely the inexpediency of establishing Government schools, in competition with schools founded by Missionaries of the different Societies, but the strong expediency of supporting Missionary schools by public money, when they really impart a good secular education, and of increasing their efficiency by grants-in-aid.

“During my administration here, I have carefully followed the traditional policy which has been handed down to the Government of India for its observance in all matters into which there enters a religious element. But I am of opinion, that for these days we carry the principle of neutrality too far; that, even in a political point of view, we err in ignoring so completely as we do the agency of ministers of our own true faith in extending education among the people; and that the time has now come when grants of money in aid of secular education, carried on in schools established and conducted by Christian Missionaries, might be made by the Government without any risk of giving rise to those evils which a recognition of such agency has hitherto been thought likely to create, and with the certainty of producing an immense and an immediate effect in the extension of sound secular education throughout the masses of the population in India.

“I sincerely trust the Honourable Court of Directors, when they reply to the reference which must now be made to them, may see fit to recognise the principle I have now advocated, and may be pleased to authorise the Government of India to act upon it in the exercise of a sound discretion.”†

The principle, then, of vernacular instruction for the masses, of grants-in-aid, and the recognition of Missionary schools as co-operating in the great work of popular education, all had been already agitated in India. The necessity of adopting Vernacularism as the alone system which could touch the masses, was, indeed, almost universally admitted; but the idea of grants-in-aid was less generally acceptable, while their extension to Missionary schools was the disputed point which evoked the strongest opposition.

The controversy was terminated by the Educational Despatch of 1854, which decided in favour of Mr. Halliday's suggestions. In Nov. 1854, he had proposed to the Governor-General a scheme of vernacular education for the Lower Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal, the substance of which was, that the Behar zillahs should be dealt with according to the experimental system already introduced into the North-west Provinces, under the superintendence of the Principal of the Sanskrit College, and that grants-in-aid should be given to private schools. Before the decision of the Supreme Government was arrived at, the despatch of the Court of Directors was received, authorising the adoption of a much more extended measure.

Let us rapidly state the leading provisions of that despatch.

It reviews the educational systems which have successively prevailed in India—Orientalism and Anglicism: of the first of these it says—

“The systems of science and philosophy which form the learning of the East abound with grave errors, and Eastern literature is at best very deficient as regards all modern discovery and improvements. Asiatic learning, therefore, however widely diffused, would but little advance our object. We do not wish to diminish the opportunities which are now afforded, in special institutions, for the study of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian literature, or for the cultivation of those languages which may be called the classical languages of India. An acquaintance with the works contained in them is valuable for historical and antiquarian purposes, and a knowledge of

* Selections from Records, pp. 62, 63.

† Parliamentary Papers—East-India Education, p. 78

the languages themselves is required in the study of Hindú and Mohammedan law, and is also of great importance in the critical cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages of India.

"We are not unaware of the success of many distinguished Oriental scholars in their praiseworthy endeavours to ingraft upon portions of Hindú philosophy, the germs of sounder morals and of more advanced science; and we are far from underrating the good effect which has thus been produced upon the learned classes of India, who pay hereditary veneration to those ancient languages, and whose assistance in the spread of education is so valuable, from the honourable and influential position which they occupy among their fellow-countrymen. But such attempts, although they may usefully co-operate, can only be considered as auxiliaries, and would be a very inadequate foundation for any general scheme of Indian education."

On the system which superseded Orientalism, and for a period continued to be ascendant, namely, instruction through the medium of the English tongue, the despatch thus expresses itself—

"We have also received most satisfactory evidence of the high attainments in English literature and European science which have been acquired of late years by some of the natives of India. But this success has been confined to but a small number of persons; and we are desirous of extending far more widely the means of acquiring general European knowledge, of a less high order, but of such a character as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life. To attain this end, it is necessary, for the reasons which we have given above, that they should be made familiar with the works of European authors, and with the results of the thought and labour of Europeans on the subjects of every description upon which knowledge is to be imparted to them; and to extend the means of imparting this knowledge must be the object of any general system of education."*

At the same time, the value of the English language, as a key to the literature of Europe, is fully admitted—"A knowledge of the English will always be essential to those natives of India who aspire to a high order of education." The institutions, therefore, in which instruction in English might be obtained, were not superseded; nay, indeed, increased stimulus and encouragement were to be afforded for the attainment of a high standard

of English education by the better classes, and for the general spread of European literature and science. But the great aim and purpose of the despatch was the important subject of vernacular education. It proceeds therefore to give special prominence to vernacular education as the great desideratum.

"It is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population. These languages, and not English, have been put by us in the place of the Persian in the administration of justice, and in the intercourse between the officers of Government and the people. It is indispensable, therefore, that in any general system of education the study of them should be assiduously attended to. And any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people—whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a high order of education, and who cannot be expected to overcome the difficulties of a foreign language—can only be conveyed to them through one or other of these vernacular languages.

"In any general system of education, the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it; but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language. And while the English language continues to be made use of, as by far the most perfect medium for the education of those persons who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to receive general instruction through it, the vernacular languages must be employed to teach the far larger class who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English. This can only be done effectually through the instrumentality of masters and professors, who may, by themselves knowing English, and thus having full access to the latest improvements in knowledge of every kind, impart to their fellow-countrymen, through the medium of their mother-tongue, the information which they have thus obtained. At the same time, and as the importance of the vernacular languages becomes more appreciated, the vernacular literatures of India will be gradually enriched by translations of European books, or by the original compositions of men whose minds have been imbued with the spirit of European advancement, so that European knowledge may

* Parliamentary Papers—East-India Education, p. 2.

gradually be placed in this manner within the reach of all classes of the people. We look, therefore, to the English language, and to the vernacular languages of India together, as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge, and it is our desire to see them cultivated together in all schools in India of a sufficiently high class to maintain a school-master possessing the requisite qualifications.”*

Thus, at length, after many years of conflict, the great principle of Vernacularism disentangled itself from the host of prejudices with which it had been encompassed, and a truth so palpable, that we wonder how it could be disputed, was at length recognised, that if popular ignorance is to be removed, the tongue of the people must be employed as the great medium of instruction.

The machinery by which this great purpose was to be carried out was also specified. An educational department was to be organized in the different Governments of India; directors-general and inspectors to be appointed; Universities to be constituted in which academical degrees might be conferred, and honorary distinctions awarded. All pre-existing institutions capable of supplying a sufficiently high order of instruction in the different branches of art and science, in which degrees were to be bestowed, might be affiliated with the Universities. These might be thus classified: first, the Governmental Institution, the Hindú, Hoogly, Dacca, Kishnagurh, and Berhampur, Anglo-Vernacular Colleges; the Sanskrit College; the Mohammedan Madriassas, and the Medical College in Bengal; the Elphinstone Institution; the Poona College, and the Grant Medical College in Bombay; the Delhi, Agra, Benares, Bareilly, and Thomason Colleges, in the North-western Provinces: secondly, seminaries, such as the Oriental seminary in Calcutta, which had been established by highly-educated natives, or conducted by East Indians: and, lastly, Institutions under the superintendence of different religious bodies and Missionary Societies, such as Bishop's College, the General Assembly's Institution, Dr. Duff's College, the Baptist College at Serampur, &c. The affiliated institutions were to be visited periodically by Government inspectors, scholarships attached, and such a scheme of education defined, as should provide in the Anglo-Vernacular Colleges for a careful cultivation of the vernacular languages, and, in the

Oriental Colleges, for sufficient instruction in the English and vernacular languages, so as to ensure a more general diffusion of European knowledge.

But this development of a superior education touched only a select few. There still remained the more important and hitherto neglected consideration, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, might be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who were altogether unable, from their own resources, to provide any education worthy of the name. “Schools,” observes the despatch—whose object should be, not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life—should exist in every district in India. These schools should be subject to constant and careful inspection; and their pupils might be encouraged by scholarships being instituted at other Institutions which would be tenable as rewards for merit by the best of their number.”

Within the limits of this classification the despatch proposed to include various Anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools, which, by various instrumentalities, had been brought into existence throughout the country; such as the zillah schools of Bengal, the district Government Anglo-vernacular schools of Bombay, schools established by the Rajah of Burdwan, and other native gentlemen in different parts of India, in which English was used as the great medium of instruction; others besides of a superior character, such as the Tahsili school in the North-western Provinces, and the Government vernacular schools in the Bombay Presidency, whose object, however imperfectly carried out, was to convey the highest class of instruction which, under existing arrangements, could be taught through the medium of the vernacular. Nor were the indigenous schools of the country deemed unworthy of notice. These, also, were to be taken up and judiciously fostered, as had been done to a certain extent in the North-western Provinces, so as to render them more capable of imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people.

The governmental action, as exhibited in the despatch, proposed to advantage itself of any institution of an educational character in India, so far as the consent of the different patrons and promoters might be obtained, and, by the use of healthy stimuli of various kinds, and careful inspection, to render them more

* Parliamentary Papers, p. 3.

effective. In the presence of so vast an undertaking as the education of the millions of India, some such comprehensive mode of procedure seemed to be necessitated. To meet the gigantic deficiency which existed by means of colleges and schools entirely supported at the cost of Government was impossible; and this conviction, combined with the indisputable efficiency of the educational establishments maintained by the various religious Societies, had convinced the authorities that the most effectual method of providing for the educational wants of India would be to combine with the agency of Government, the aid which might be derived from the exertions and liberality of the educated and wealthy natives, and of other benevolent persons.

The Government resolved also on the adoption of the grants-in-aid system as that by which it might with most facility accomplish the connexion which was contemplated with institutions so numerous and diversified. The schools already in existence were encouraged to apply for assistance, which was to be given in the form which the necessities of each particular case might render most desirable, either by augmenting the salaries of paid teachers or a supply of junior teachers, or the founding of scholarships for candidates from lower schools, or the erecting or repairing of a schoolhouse, or a supply of books. Local efforts were encouraged, and private liberality rendered more prompt and unhesitating in its action, because assured of being supplemented by the Government. The State expenditure drew forth from private resources a sum equal to that which it proposed to outlay on educational purposes, and thus doubled the result which would otherwise have been obtained. In thus proposing to act upon so enlarged a principle, the State of necessity identifies itself with institutions of every possible variety of religious aspect, conducted by all denominations of Christians, Hindús, Mohammedans, Parsis, Sikhs, Buddhists, &c.: of necessity it could only recognise the element which was common to them all, that of secular knowledge, omitting all notice of their religious peculiarities, and their wide dissimilarity in this respect. In the position in which the grants-in-aid principle placed the State, there was the alternative either of recognizing all the forms of religion, whether truthful or otherwise, or abstaining from the recognition of any. But then it behoved the State, by other and unequivocal acts, to vindicate its own position, and show that it so acted, not from indifference to religion, but from the necessity of the

case. In connexion with its own colleges and institutions, supported entirely at its own expense, and in which the grants-in-aid principle had no concernment, there was just the opportunity which was needed. Hitherto, from these institutions all religious teaching had been excluded, and the instruction afforded was reduced as much as possible to a bare secularism. This was done, lest, if Christianity was recognised and permitted to be taught, these schools and colleges might come to be regarded by natives as proselyting institutions, in which conversions to Christianity were to be promoted under official influence. But now, under the grant-in-aid system, the Government provides the natives with other educational opportunities. The Hindú, if he prefers it, may frequent schools of his own creed, where the Shasters and Puranas are taught, and a good secular education be obtained, and endeavour, if he can, to account for the perpetual jar and contradiction which is going on between secular truth and religious error. The Mohammedans, also, may frequent some institutions where the Korán is in the ascendant. If, then, the native student continue to frequent the Government colleges, his attendance is entirely spontaneous. Hitherto it has been thought necessary to exclude the Bible, lest the State might be suspected of intending to interfere with liberty of conscience, and taking an unfair advantage of the relation in which it stands to the native youth to convert them to Christianity. Now there exists no longer the shadow of a pretext why this should be pretended, and the Government is under a necessity to introduce the Christian Scriptures into all its schools, unless it desires the conviction to be permanent on the native mind, that it occupies this position, not out of scrupulous regard for the religious convictions of the natives, but because it has itself no religion at all. In a country like India, where, amongst the masses of the population, the religious necessity is felt or avowed so strongly no impression could be conveyed more injurious to the governing body, or more likely to bring upon it general contempt and distrust.

We affirm, then, that such an alteration is required in the constitution of Government educational institutions, so as to convince the people that we are not indifferent on a matter of such importance, and that we are not a people without any religion. And if it be thought that further precautions are required, let the attendance on the direct Christian instruction be entirely voluntary. The Government will then be understood to say, "We believe Christianity to be true: we therefore afford to

you the opportunity of making yourself acquainted with it, should you desire to improve it. Decide, then, for yourself. We have no wish to put any pressure upon you, or exercise any compulsion. We offer no inducement: you shall suffer under no official disfavour because you think it right to estrange yourself from the opportunity." By adopting such a course, we act openly and candidly with the native, and the responsibility of the decision rests with him, and not with us.

Nor is it less due to the native than to ourselves that we should do so. We have no right to leave him without opportunity of having Christian instruction if he desire it. It is not enough to say there are Missionary schools if he desire to hear of Christianity. Mr. Hodgson Pratt, late Inspector of Schools in South Bengal, has recently put forth a pamphlet in which he objects to voluntary Bible classes in Government schools, that they are unnecessary because of the action of Missionary schools. The passage runs thus—

"In one important particular, Sir John Lawrence recommends a departure from the line of policy hitherto followed, and concedes the compromise proposed by Mr. D. F. M'Leod, the Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, that is, he concedes a permission for a voluntary Bible class to be formed in all Government schools established at places where 'fit' persons, Government chaplains, Missionaries, or native converts, can be found to conduct such a class. He adds—'The formation of Bible classes of an approved character in as many schools as possible should be a recognised branch of the educational department.' The only reason given for this recommendation is contained in the following words—'That our views of Christian duty might be patent to the native public,' and that 'the natives can have no knowledge of that religion, except through our instrumentality.'

"Now, this might be a good reason if there were no Missionaries and no Mission schools in India to teach the people 'our views of Christian duty,' or to give them a 'knowledge of that religion.' But the fact is, that wherever the conditions stated above exist, under which alone a Bible class is to be formed in any Government schools, there will also be found a Missionary, and, we believe, also a Missionary school, where the Bible forms, invariably, a part of the daily course of instruction. So that for another Bible class to be formed in the Government school at the

same place would be a work of needless supererogation. Those who were willing to let their children receive religious instruction would send them to the Missionary school, where they receive, also, secular instruction free of all payment, instead of to the Government school, where fees are levied."*

The answer is patent. The opportunity afforded by Missionary schools is as yet of a very limited character. They do not exist in sufficient numbers. There are vast districts where there are no Missionary schools. Shall a Christian Government withhold the opportunity from an inquiring and anxious youth of obtaining Christian instruction? None but such as wished for Christian instruction would attend voluntary Bible classes, and therefore a refusal upon the part of Government would be, not merely to abstain from interfering, but also to reject enquirers, and to evade their earnest appeal that they might have more than secular instruction at our hands. Certainly they may well ask that we should do more for them than we have done; for as the instruction hitherto afforded them has been without religion, it has left them without religion. Mr. Grant urged, as an unanswerable objection to the extension of grants-in-aid to Missionary schools, that it would be "to draw money by taxes from the pocket of the people for the purpose of making proselytes from the religion of the people." But Government schools, as they have hitherto existed, have been proselytising schools. Such are the peculiarities of the Hindú system that you cannot approach the native, even in the way of secular instruction, without interfering with and lessening the conviction of its truth. Secular instruction convinces him of the absurdity of his hereditary religion. If we stop there, we take from him what he has, and give him nothing in its stead. We take money from the pockets of the people to proselytise them to infidelity. This is what we have done, and what we shall continue to do, unless we relieve ourselves of the responsibility by affording to the natives the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with religious truth as well as error, and learning not only the falsehood of their hereditary superstitions, but the excellence of that true faith which may, with all advantage, be substituted in their stead.

* Pratt's Second Selection of Articles, &c., on Indian Questions, pp. 10, 11.

MADRAS NATIVE ASSOCIATION—MEMORIAL TO LORD STANLEY.

ON April 9th, 1859, agreeably to a requisition, a public meeting was held at Madras of certain Hindús and Mohammedans, members of an association formed in 1852, ostensibly for the purpose of obtaining redress of certain grievances from which they conceived themselves to suffer, but in reality as an obstructive organization to the progress of Christian truth. Shreeekishna Thatha Charryar, the high-priest of Conjeveram, occupied the chair of this assemblage, the object being the adoption of a memorial to Lord Stanley on Government interference in religious matters. The memorial is before us, and assuredly, if the force of a document is to be concluded from its prolixity, it claims to be regarded as one of no ordinary power. No less than thirty-five paragraphs, occupying each on an average the page of an octavo pamphlet, are redundant with the sufferings and complaints of the petitioners—men, like the high-priest of Conjeveram, interested in the maintenance of the old demoralizing superstitions, because, if the truth were told, they could say, like Demetrius of Ephesus, “Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth,” and who are therefore full of uneasiness at the symptoms of weakness which these antiquated delusions betray, and their inability to offer any successful resistance to the progress of the truth. Although we cannot sympathize with these native gentlemen, we are not surprised at their misgivings. There does exist sufficient reason for them. We have before us a table, showing the extent, population, and languages, with the Missionary statistics, of the several countries of South India, to the end of 1857, and we find in that table an answer to those who were once incredulous as to the possibility of Missionary effort making an impression on the strong concrete of India’s idolatry. Of course the commencement of a work is the most difficult. Bring an aggressive power to bear upon an inert mass, and at the expiration of a reasonable time you will be enabled without difficulty to ascertain whether it is worth while to prosecute the effort. If the assaulted object remain uninjured—if it appear as little altered or defaced as the rocky barriers which meet and effectually repel the efforts of the ocean—then you may desist. But if the earth cliff has given way—if detached masses show how it has felt and yielded to the stroke, while ominous crevices portend a more widely-extended ruin and dangerous collapse—then let the movement go on, for the result is no longer doubtful. The Gospel has told on the frowning

barriers of India’s superstition. The Missions, with a few exceptions, are not yet half a century old; indeed, a very large proportion of them have not been twenty-five years in operation. All the preliminary work had to be surmounted, languages acquired, prejudices and *à priori* difficulties cleared away, before access could be had to the heart and conscience of the native; yet already there are in the countries of South India 91,251 adherents and constant attendants on Christian (Protestant) worship, of whom 57,352 have been baptized, and 16,056 are communicants, besides 38,607 scholars in schools and institutions. Christianity in India has hitherto been, according to native estimate, an innovation, an evil notoriety. To obey its dictates has been to do violence to all the established principles and long-settled arrangements of Hindú society, and, to embrace its profession, to become the outcasts of all things. The lowest pariah has been tolerable compared with the abject being who lapsed into Christianity; yet there have been many, of all ranks and castes, from among the highest and the lowest, Brahmins and Shapars, who have courageously come forward and braved all this indignity, and exposed themselves without flinching to the pitiless storm of native persecution: they have endured a great fight of afflictions; they have been made a gazing-stock by reproaches and afflictions; and, like the converts of olden times, have taken joyfully the spoiling of their goods. The same remarkable phenomena which marked the initiatory action of Christianity, have been reproduced in India. Under a foreign yoke, like the first evangelized lands, hostile elements have been so far restrained, that a standing-place has been yielded to the Missionary, and the Gospel has been preached; but the converts raised up—the men who have been the first to break through the force of native prejudices—have been the objects of unmitigated hostility; their nearest relatives have become their implacable enemies; violence, spoliation, degradation, have been heaped upon them, yet have they endured: they have been found willing to part with any thing else, but not with the truth which they had embraced with the heart, and found to be abounding in consolation: and the secret of their persistence has been a mystery and a marvel to the heathen. And others have followed their example, until individual converts have increased to congregations, and Christian churches, dispersed

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over the dark extent of India's idolatry, appear as the results of the past, and the pledge and promise of the future.

We cannot be surprised, therefore, if there has been disquietude in the minds of the more bigoted partisans of the old systems. They have committed themselves to a conflict with God's truth, and they have not been successful. Like those who sought to neutralize the effects of Christ's personal ministry, they find themselves constrained to confess, each to the other, "Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing?"

But whence this new effort? A happy juncture had arrived in which they indulged the hope that a new policy might be initiated, and the British Government, alarmed at the virulent outbreak of native disaffection which North India had witnessed, be induced to interfere for the repression of Missionary proceedings, and the relief of poor fainting Hindúism. Various incidents encouraged this hope. It was an important crisis, just the time to strike. The intervention of the East-India Company was about to be removed, and India brought under the direct rule and immediate influence of the British Crown. Her Majesty had issued a proclamation. It was not, we apprehend, at the time of its publication, precisely the same document as when it issued fresh from the ministerial pen: it reads as though it had been submitted to alterations, and as if upon the original bareness of the document, in this respect, Her Majesty had succeeded in engrafting some recognition of Christianity. Upon the face of it there appears, on the one hand, an earnest desire to speak out, and, on the other hand, an earnest effort to prevent this, as injudicious, impolitic; and all the various considerations of expediency, by which individuals in responsible positions are embarrassed in the fulfilment of their duties, were, we suppose, duly brought into requisition. The proclamation, therefore, declared something, but not with sufficient distinctness. It was doubtful what it did mean. It might with facility be misread, and native translators took advantage of this and put their own meaning upon it. Her Majesty was pleased to declare—

"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects: we declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they

abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure."

The principle enunciated here is simply that of religious freedom, and that equally to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects; that no undue influence should be exercised either in the way of force or fraud, and no interference be permitted which should hinder or obstruct any man, whether European or native, whether bond or free, Brahmin or Pariah, from acting in matters of religion according to the dictates of his conscience, and that which he conceived to be his duty. If the Brahmin thought it right to worship Siva or Vishnu, he should be free to do so, provided that, in the rites which he observed, there was no violation of public decorum; and if the Christian Missionary felt it to be his religious duty to teach and preach Jesus Christ to the ignorant natives of the country, he also was free to do so, if only his proceedings were marked by Christian wisdom and consideration. If a native wished to hear the preaching of Christian truths, and to receive books from the Christian Missionary—if he became impressed, and wished to follow up these convictions, and finally resolved to renounce heathenism and embrace a profession of Christianity, still there was to be freedom. A full protection was to be extended to the native Christian as well as to the native idolater.

But the zealots of India put their own interpretation upon the royal document. It proclaimed religious freedom—freedom to think, to inquire, to decide, to profess. But, according to Hindú interpretation, there was to be no such liberty. The Missionary might not teach. The Christian, if in office, was to abstain from all avowal of his religious convictions, and, because of his office, on all occasions so to act as though he had no religion at all. The native was to be debarred from all opportunity, and left uncommiserated under the strong grasp of the old systems. India was to be consigned to perpetual darkness, and light, under the severest penalties, forbidden to approach. There was to be Government interference on behalf of Siva and Vishnu, and all the kindred enormities of Hindú idolatry, while all Christian Missionaries were to be deported as quickly as possible from the land; and as for native Christians, Brahmins and molwis were to have the most unrestrained liberty to inflict upon them every kind of suffering and ignominy, until they had coerced them to a renunciation of their follies. Bright prospects these! halcyon days for India!

Not content with theories, these men, as

full of mistaken zeal as Paul of old, very soon proceeded to try how far they might be reduced to practice. An old man, who belonged to the class of weavers called Kaikalars, and who had been nearly thirty years a Christian, died in the town of Tinnevely in the beginning of December last. Preparations were being made for the interment of the body in the burial-ground of Karupentary, the road to which was a public road, constructed in 1847 by means of a general subscription, aid from convicts, sale of avenue clippings, old stones, &c., for the express purpose of facilitating access to the burial-ground, and along this road persons of all castes, who had died in the Tinnevely dispensary, had been carried to burial without any objection; but on this occasion the zealots of Tinnevely determined that the few streets through which the road defiled at its commencement, and especially a new street called the Púdú Terú, should not be defiled by the transit of such an unclean thing as the body of a Christian. The acting joint-magistrate, in reply to a reference from our Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Sargent, as to the course which should be pursued, directed the funeral to take an unfrequented path, between paddy fields, which, at that season, were in crop and filled with water, and which was not only circuitous, but altogether inconvenient and unsuitable for the purpose, being in most places much above the tops of the paddy crop, and averaging, for the first half of the distance, from three to four feet in width, but subsequently diminishing to two feet. In this difficulty the Missionary wisely resolved that the interment should take place on the ground attached to the Mission-school in Tinnevely, thus yielding the point in dispute, and avoiding every thing that might have a tendency to provoke a tumultuous outbreak. But the fanatical party were resolved to have their triumph. Close by the house of the deceased, on the Mission-ground, the funeral took place, some thirty-six hours after death. A large concourse of Hindús had collected.

"After sunset, the grave being ready, the coffin was brought down the street, and placed by the side of the grave. Then arose from the whole tumult a yell or shout of victory, which was continued for several minutes, to the great annoyance and intimidation of the Christians. The catechist read only a portion of the appointed service, being fearful that the people would break out into some act of violence before the body could be disposed of. The coffin was next lowered into the grave, and that became the signal for another general shout, which was renewed again with

clapping of hands along the whole line of the thousands of spectators, when at the last the earth was being put into the grave. The tahsildar and village moonsiff were present, and, if they did not openly encourage the people, at least took no steps to repress such scandalous proceedings. The two heads of the Kaikalars were locked up in the cutwal's guard, by order of the head of police, from six to twelve at night, for merely saying that there was a custom for Kaikalars to be taken through the Púdú Terú, or new street. Next day the shops were shut up by order of the village moonsiff, and the people turned into the streets. This shutting up of shops is, amongst these people, held to signify that they are to turn out and crowd the streets as a demonstration to intimidate the authorities."

Meanwhile the question had come before the Supreme Court, and, so early as the day of interment, an order had been issued, directing the body to be carried to burial along the public road, but, in consequence of some informality in the proceeding, this decision became void and was reversed, to the great exultation of the obstructive party, who regarded it as the result of fear, and became confirmed in the interpretation put by them upon Her Majesty's proclamation, "that whatever the Hindús asserted was a custom would be absolutely upheld, and that no notice would be taken of any act of theirs in trying to uphold it."

Soon another opportunity occurred of manifesting their hostility, and showing the intolerance which was henceforth to be the portion of Christians on the sacred soil of India. A Christian witness before the cutcherry being attacked with cholera was sent by the magistrate to the Government dispensary, close to the large Tinnevely pagoda, and died there on Tuesday evening, December 21; but when the body came to be interred, the heads of the streets were blocked up by crowds of people, who refused to permit it to pass. It was not this or that particular street which was objected to, but any street. The police and peons, in their effort to bear it along the public road, were resisted and driven back by volleys of stones. The military were called into requisition, a collision ensued, and of the rioters six were killed on the spot, four died of their wounds, and nineteen were wounded.

The Madras memorial deals with this matter after the fashion which might be expected, the Missionary being misrepresented as having by his imprudence caused a collision between the military and the people, and impugning the decision of the Madras Government, which had found that the local autho-

rities, in the course they had pursued, had acted under an unavoidable necessity.

But this was not the only part of South India where Hindú zealots succeeded in arousing an ignorant population to acts of violence. "The population of Travancore is divided into two classes, the Sudras, or Nairs, and the Shanars, the former being the patricians, and the latter the plebeians of Travancore. All the principal appointments are, of course, in the hands of the Sudras, and no amount of intelligence, honesty, or rectitude, is sufficient to open their ranks to the despised Shanar. But while the latter have been growing in wealth by honest industry, and have grown also in intelligence (thanks to the Missionary schools in the province), the former continue as they have been for ages, ignorant, superstitious, corrupt, cowardly, and oppressive. In order, however, to make the distinction between them and the hated Shanars more marked and unmistakable, it had been ruled in 1829, by the then Queen of Travancore, that the females of the latter class, when appearing in public, should do so without attempting to wear any clothing from their waists upwards. They were, in short, to walk the public streets and avenues of the town in a state of semi-nudity. We have ourselves seen a similar practice obtaining in Tellicherry on the Malabar coast. To this order of the Rani the Shanars had for years yielded obedience; but as they succeeded in emerging from the moral darkness in which they had lived, and as many of them, by their frequent visits to Ceylon in search of employment, had seen how the females in other parts of the country were permitted to dress decorously, the rule was gradually more and more openly infringed. The converts to Christianity, moreover, determined to dress as nature and decency taught them that they should dress, and thus female native Christians were frequently to be seen wearing the upper garment, or, to speak more correctly, an upper jacket. But as the innovation spread and obtained recognition at the hands of many, the Sudras naturally regarded it with strong aversion. The consequence was that Shanar women had been frequently insulted in the markets and highways, had their clothes pulled down, and been otherwise ill-treated by these high-caste gentlemen, so that respectable women are afraid to be seen in public. Having thus assailed the heathen women, they were not likely to leave unmolested the female converts, and we, in consequence, find that the latter, when attending the market, have had their jackets pulled from their shoulders and torn to pieces.

It was evident, of course, that these Sudras would not suffer matters to rest here. It would have been astonishing indeed, if, while perpetrating these deeds of violence and indecency with impunity, they refrained from stretching their hands a little further. Hating Christianity and the Christians, both for having originated the innovation, and for having raised the Shanars from the horrible quagmire in which the Sudras would fain have kept them, they looked about for some opportunity to carry the war into the premises of the Missionaries themselves.*

At this moment, when the Sudras were thus excited, the Queen's proclamation made its appearance, the following *resumé* of which was immediately circulated among the high-caste men—"The Queen is not going to annex any territory as the Company did: she gives full power to the native rajahs to do as they choose. The Governor came to Travandrum on purpose to deliver up to the Maharajah all the power which the Company had unjustly taken away. The Queen is the enemy of the English (meaning thereby the East-India Company), and is angry with them for allowing Missionaries to come into the country to disturb the Hindú religion. The Queen is not of the same religion as the English, and her command is that no Hindús should become Christians, and she will punish with death any of her servants who will attempt to injure our religion. Why, then, are the Missionaries still staying in the country? They are opposing the Queen's proclamation. We must drive them all out, and punish those who have joined their religion. Our ancient rights are now restored to us: we must put down the low people: our houses, streets, temples, and our very persons are being polluted, because we cannot distinguish these polluting people from Sudras."

Believing that the days of Missionary action had gone by for ever, the Dewan immediately issued an order enforcing the indecorous custom of former days upon the Shanar women. The Missionaries appealed to the British Resident, and were informed, in reply, that the Christian women having violated the Shanar custom, had nobody but themselves to blame, and must take the consequences. The heathen now proceeded to enforce by violence the decision to which they had come. The London Missionary Society, in its Report for 1859, refers to these proceedings—

"In Travancore, the British Resident, though possessing adequate influence and power to protect the Missionaries and their

* "Lahore Chronicle."

deeply-injured people, permitted their heathen adversaries to pursue from week to week a series of most violent and disgraceful attacks, both on their property and persons, without adopting any effectual means for the protection of the injured, or the punishment of the offenders.

"Our Missionaries severally transmitted to the Directors a narrative of the lawless and destructive proceeding, of which the following, from the Rev. Frederic Baylis, of Neyr, under date January 18, is a summary—

"We are in much trouble and anxiety just now. The higher-caste natives, especially the Nairs (the Malayalim Sudras) are rising against the Shanars, especially against those of them who are Christians. Seven of our chapels have been burnt down, three in Mr. Abbs's district, three in my district, and one in Mr. Lewis's. Other chapels seemed in great danger, and probably are so still, but the people watch them at night as well as they can, and, as yet, they are safe. Some houses of the people at a place north of Nagercoil were burnt down a few nights ago, and nearly all the catechists have been obliged to fly from that part. Last night seventy nine houses belonging to Roman Catholics in Kotar, a large place very near Nagercoil, were burnt down, and a woman and her child perished. The British Resident's bungalow (used when he is out on circuit) has been burnt down. We know not how these things may end. Our bungalows, especially Mr. Lewis's, have been threatened; and last Thursday night the attack was fully expected, as it was known a large number of the Sudras were assembled, professedly for the purpose of setting fire to the bungalow at a place near. The deputy Peishkar, however, sent a few peons to watch, and the people, seeing the place was under his protection, dispersed."

In a communication of so recent a date as the 19th of March, Mr. Dennis, of Nagercoil, states, that altogether seven poor women had been sent to prison for three or four months, for wearing cloth to cover their chests.

An appeal was now made to the Government at Madras, and a petition presented to Lord Harris by the Shanars of Travancore, entreating that by his interference they might be preserved from the degradation contemplated by the Court of Trevandrum. It was indeed full time that the Queen's proclamation should be vindicated from the gross misrepresentations which had been put upon it, and which only required the sanction of those in authority to inaugurate, not an era of religious freedom, but one of the most rigid intolerance. Lord Harris's reply was the im-

mediate appointment of a Commission of Inquiry, which was sitting at the very time when our memorialists were holding their meeting at Madras, and helped very much to excite their anger. One speaker, Sadagopah Charryar, thus expressed himself on this point—

"The late lamentable riot at Tinnevely forms one of the prominent topics of the memorial you have just heard read to you. Some of the unfortunate sufferers in that event have come to Madras, and have tried in vain to move the authorities for an impartial investigation of the causes and consequences of the riot. Government have not only not thought it fit to institute a commission of inquiry, but have absolutely proclaimed to the world that the proceedings of the local authorities during the event have been quite warranted and called for by the circumstances. It is not for me to question the propriety of the resolution the Government has arrived at. But I draw attention to this only to show how different the course pursued by Government has been in regard to the trifling incident at Nagercoil. If what I have heard be true, there is now a Commission sitting to inquire into the causes and results of the affray at Nagercoil, at the suggestion, if not the orders, of the Madras Government. How different, then, are the measures and policy of the Government when its officers are concerned, and when a foreign State is involved in difficulties. I would only say, Look at this picture and at that. Here at Tinnevely nearly thirty lives have been lost, and yet Government sees no necessity for a Commission. At Nagercoil not a drop of blood is spilt, but, on the contrary, the disturbance has been quelled instantaneously by the vigilance of the Dewan, and yet you have a Commission of inquiry."

So far the sanguine expectations of the retrograde party had been disappointed. They had hoped, under the wing of the Queen's proclamation, to commence a furious crusade against Christianity and its professors; but, in the attempt to act accordingly, had been checked by the local authorities in Tinnevely and by the Government at Madras. We cannot wonder if they felt disquieted, and looked eagerly around for someone who would befriend them, and yield to them his countenance and support. From Lord Harris they had no hope. His lordship had already committed a grievous offence in their eyes. He had presided over a meeting of the Bible Society in St. Andrew's Church, Vepery, February 9th, 1858—the Governor of Madras actually occupying the chair on the occasion of a Bible Society meet-

ing—and had patiently endured the reading of a report, in which was introduced a passage such as this—

“Your Committee feel that the present time is a time when the most strenuous efforts should be made for the diffusion of saving truth among the sin-bound inhabitants of this land; for while the blood-bought experience of the past year has proved the utter insufficiency of mere secular instruction to humanize and soften the heart of man, the fact that the false religions of the people sanction such cruelties as have been committed, may well be made the ground of urging upon their acceptance the merciful and heart-enlarging doctrines of the Gospel of peace.”

His lordship, therefore, occupies a distinguished place in the pages of the memorial, as having contravened the great principle of religious neutrality, by which we are to understand his having had the courage to give his support to the religion of truth and of his own convictions, instead of falsifying himself by ignoring it, in the hope of conciliating by timid compromise the fanatical portion of the native community. In their distress and desolation these Hindú gentlemen looked from India to England, and selected Lord Stanley, the then Secretary of State for India, as the individual most likely to befriend them. Why they did so they candidly state. “Your memorialists, perceiving from the public prints that it was in contemplation to transfer the management of British India from the East-India Company to the Crown, waited patiently in expectation of some definite declaration of the policy intended to be pursued with reference to the national religions, and were at length gratified with the publication of your lordship’s reply to the deputation from the various Missionary Societies on the 31st of July; in which your lordship stated that your feelings were very much in sympathy with Lord Ellenborough and Sir G. Clerk; and that by neutrality, as regards the action of the Government, was meant neutrality as between the theological tenets of the nation and the theological tenets of the natives.” Assuredly that answer must have been of a very unhappy character, which could thus elicit the approbation of the most bigoted portion of the heathen and Mohammedan population, and lead them for an instant to indulge the idea that, in their presumptuous effort to arrest the progress of Christian truth, there was one, nay, two or three British statesmen to whom they might venture to look for support and countenance. Better far, like Sir John Lawrence, to be the object of their un-

mitigated aspersions, or to be maligned, like Lord Harris, of whom they are pleased to say that, “during his entire term of office he was increasingly obnoxious to the mistrust and ill-will of the natives, on account of the officious patronage he was in the constant habit of bestowing, both personally and in his official capacity, on Missionaryism and its agents.” But we will not pursue this point further. We shall merely remark, that honourable gentlemen cannot but feel they have placed themselves in a false position when they find the most bigoted portion of the native community of India—the haters and revilers of the religion of Christ—the men who are most intent on banishing from their country the alone element by which its improvement can be effected— weaving a chaplet of laurel with which to grace their temples, and selecting them as their friends and advocates because of kindred feelings with themselves. Truly such honours must be rather burdensome to the statesmen to whom they are presented. These heathen clients ask largely—they demand that the system of grants-in-aid may be abolished. That petition was urged in this their memorial of April 9th, and certainly it is singular that their wishes had been anticipated. In a despatch dated two days previously, April 7th, 1859, Lord Stanley had cast a doubt on the satisfactory working of grants-in-aid to Missionary schools, and intimated the probability that an alteration in that respect might be found necessary. “It has been alleged, that notwithstanding these precautions, jealousy has been excited by the assistance indirectly extended, through the medium of grants-in-aid, to Missionary teaching. I am anxious to learn your opinion as to the manner in which, on the whole, the grants-in-aid system operates; as to the necessity of making any and what alterations in the existing rules, and as to the feeling with which, in your opinion, it is regarded by the native community in those districts in which it has been brought into operation.”

To bestow grants-in-aid on schools in which the respective religious tenets of Hindúism and Mohammedanism are taught, and withhold them from schools in which Christian truth is taught, appears to be a strange kind of impartiality. But it is just the kind of neutrality which interested priests of the false persuasions of India desire and clamour for—that we should discountenance our own pure faith, in the hope of conciliating them, and, by pandering to their prejudices, persuade them to a sullen obedience. This is the sort of neutrality to which they have been long accustomed, and a cessation of this unworthy policy they are pleased to designate as coercion and compul-

sion, and Government interference. The despatch of April 7th, 1859, was undoubtedly intended to prepare the way for serious alterations in the great educational despatch of 1854—alterations which would have been quite consonant with the views and feelings of persons like the memorialists, who consider India as having attained her maturity of religious perfection, and as already possessing, in her unwieldy and degrading superstitions, all the elements of social happiness. Government interference, in the true sense of the expression, we deprecate as earnestly as the high-priest of Conjeveram and his associates. Let Christianity win its own way. To attempt to facilitate the process of conversion by undue influence on the conscience, is like disturbing the seed in the earth: it arrests growth. We wish the British Government honestly to avow its deep conviction that the extension of Christianity throughout the millions of India would be the greatest blessing which could be bestowed on that land; and, having done so, to stand aside, abstaining itself from all persuasives to induce this change, and permitting no hindrance or obstruction on the part of others. The answer of the Prime Minister of England to the deputation which waited upon him, July 30th, 1859, with reference to the formation of optional Bible-classes in the Government schools throughout India, may well claim a place in our pages.

"It is not only our duty, but it is our interest, to promote the diffusion of Christianity, as far as possible, throughout the whole length and breadth of India;" and again, "There is no indisposition on the part of the Government at home to take any step which can reasonably be regarded as calculated to assist the efforts of those who are endeavouring to convert the population of India to the Christian faith." Sir Charles Wood gave expression to like sentiments—"No persons can be more anxious to promote the spread of Christianity in India than we are. Independently of Christian considerations, I believe every additional Christian in India is an additional bond of union with this country, and an additional source of strength to the empire."

These statesmen have honestly avowed that which must be the conviction of every right-thinking man, that what India needs is the Gospel, and that the sooner it becomes professedly Christian the better for its people, and the better for ourselves. How shall our memorialists reconcile this with ideas they entertain of "irrevocable guarantees" having been given them by Her Majesty for the free exercise and *inviolability* "of their religion, and its requirements," and of engagements in-

volving "a full and impartial protection of the religions of the country," "which Her Majesty's ministers are bound to fulfil towards the people of India and their national religions." No! India is open to evangelization! The Missionary is willing to teach; the Christian public of Great Britain is willing to support him in his work; the people of India, the great masses of them, are willing to hear; and the British Government is resolved to protect. Let these memorialists go, then, and man the walls of the old fortresses, and defend them if they can, for we hesitate not to tell them, "their craft is in danger."

We now introduce to our readers a paper by the Rev. John Bilderbeck, our valued Madras Missionary, on the subject of the memorial to which we have referred. Coming from the pen of one who thoroughly knows the men and their communications, it will be found well worthy of their perusal.

"Remarks on the Memorial of the Madras Native Association addressed to the late Secretary of State for India.

"And 1st, I congratulate the friends of Missions on its appearance, for it enables them to see how the cause is telling, and how the powers of darkness are disturbed and annoyed at its progress. Having been born and bred in India, and spent the greater portion of my life in the Mission-field at Madras, I can compare times and estimate the character of events. Things now seem to be more promising. Our Ramasawmies and Veerasawmies have thrown aside the policy they once pursued, which was not unlike that of the snake in the grass: they now set up presses, publish papers, organize associations, hold meetings, and employ agents to effect various purposes, whether political or religious, and so are coming out like men. All this augurs well both for them and for us. The elements of light and darkness, truth and error, are thus brought more into bold contact, and we anticipate nothing but the most favourable results from it for the Gospel and its cause. Only let them give us fair play, for this is all we want. Indeed, is not Brahminism already beginning to feel uneasy, and idolatry to be insecure? Else why this alarm on the part of some, and confusion on the part of others? That there is consternation in the camp is evident from some of the speeches made at the meeting held in Madras for the adoption of this memorial. Sreekrishna Thatha Charryar himself high-priest of the Conjeveram pagoda, seems to

have been drawn out from his retirement and seclusion to appear as chairman on this occasion, and, to justify his so doing, stated he had heard 'from hundreds of voices that certain priests from the west, who are called Padres, and have for some years been established in these parts, have, with the assistance of their fellow-religionists in their own country, entered into a demonstration and covenant to annihilate the religions of this country, and to substitute their own creed in their places!' (*Vide* page 1 of the Memorial.) V. Ramanooja Jyengar, another of the twice-born, in moving the fifth resolution, expressed equal apprehensions, and sought protection for the tottering system, by saying, 'You see that the cause of our religion has received a terrible blow, and has been imperilled. Such being the case, I ask, is it not the bounden duty of every Hindú and Mohammedan to use his best endeavours to avert a calamity which must affect his interests, not only in this life, but also in that which is to come!' (*Vide* page 39.) If such be the fears awakened by our cause in its onward course, we may regard them as wholesome indications, and the memorial does good service in disclosing them. But though uneasiness is felt by some whose craft is endangered thereby, we are not to suppose by this that the people are opposed, as a body, to Missions. The really disaffected are, I believe, comparatively few, and the anti-Missionary body quite a small minority. Hence I remark—

"2dly, That this memorial is the clamour of a few, and not of the many. Such petitions are easily got up at Madras. Tents are pitched in an esplanade, commonly opposite Patcheappah's school, are well lighted up and carpeted; invitations are sent to clerks in public offices, and a few of their merchants; a supply of beetel and nut and rose-water is provided to treat principal visitors, and sweetmeat bazaars are opened about the place to attract every sex and age. A promiscuous assembly being collected within and without the tents, composed chiefly of persons who can hardly read or write their own language properly, much less English, a chairman is voted, and, amidst scrambling for sweets and beetel-nuts, a paper is produced, professing to tell some tale or other, generally drawn up in English, and those engaged to speak put forth addresses after a fashion, and then proceed to obtain signatures, right and left, from as many as they can catch. It does not require much close observation to ascertain whether the present memorial is one purely of native or English brain. But be this as it may, there is enough in the proceedings of this meeting, as

published with the memorial, to satisfy us that in this movement they did not receive the sympathy and co-operation of all their native brethren; that, on the contrary, they were regarded with doubt by some, and disapproval by others. 'Sadagopah Charryar,' a Brahmin, I think in the employ of the Sudder Court, was warm on this subject, for, while moving the second resolution, he said, 'In the first place I have to observe that some of our own countrymen, and I am ashamed to be obliged to call them such, have had the effrontery to call the movements, regarding the preparation of the address that has been just adopted, a *rebellious* proceeding. In my humble opinion there is nothing rebellious in our proceedings. We have constitutionally met for a constitutional purpose. We do not seek to annihilate any religions, but simply to defend our own.' (*Vide* page 35.) Observe, he here takes care to assure his hearers that it was not sought to 'annihilate any religions, but to defend their own,' for he was shrewd enough to see how the masses were generally affected towards Missions, and that he should fail to carry any proposition prejudicial to our cause if he did not at the same time promise some measure of tolerance for us. M. Vencatasawmy Naidoo, in seconding the fourth resolution, complained equally of the want of support from his people. He said that 'this Association had never ceased its legitimate labours, yet it had never met with encouraging support at the hands of the people for whose welfare it was established since 1852.' (*Vide* page 37.) Yes, antagonistic as Protestant Christianity is to every species of idolatry and superstition, still the people know there is much in it to commend itself, and to make it desirable, and my conviction is, that Missionary labours are too generally appreciated to allow the anti-Missionary body to gain any wide influence among them. Even those who appear, like Balaam, to ascend the hill to curse the tribes, are led, in spite of themselves, to bless our cause: they do more than speak with misgiving; they deliver testimony of some kind in our favour. For mark—

"3dly, They tell their countrymen that their wish is 'not to attack Christianity;' that 'Christians may carry on their operations in their legitimate sphere,' and that 'as thus moving harmlessly, we give them but small cause of apprehension.' (*Vide* pages 24 and 34.) Indeed, they are anxious that Lord Stanley himself should 'distinctly understand' this, that 'the weight of their objection does not lie against the attempts of the Mission agents, acting of and by themselves, and de-

pendent only on their own resources.* This is as much as to say, 'we Missionaries are not a disliked people; that we are unoffending in ourselves, and may quietly pursue our work without inconvenience to any, though perhaps not without benefit to some.' Indeed, I think it a great triumph to Missions, that, after watching the operations of their agents so long in the midst of them, these disaffected individuals are able to give thus much testimony, and even to assign it a place in a memorial professedly anti-Missionary!

"4thly, As to their alleged grievance, viz. Government influence in our work. This is a phantom of their own imagination, and, to demolish it, they are bringing down all their strength to bear upon it, at the risk of being thought 'rebellious' even by some of their own native fellow-subjects, and this, too, at a time when they should least seek to kindle such suspicions. Why, the cry everywhere is, that Government have hitherto stood too much aloof from all connexion with Missionary objects, though Missions have been of great advantage to the country. Can any of the memorialists undertake to say that the numerous native-Christian churches which have sprung up in their midst, and which are increasing year after year, and spreading a wide influence among the masses around them, are the fruits of such Government influence? or did they shoot forth and flourish while yet Government was all on their side, the one frowning and the other scowling defiance on our efforts? Yes, while Hindúism was in its full glory, receiving all the direct aid and patronage which Government could give to it, the Gospel still made its unpretending way, and gained its footing notwithstanding all the natural and moral obstacles which were thrown in its path, proving itself to be 'mighty, through God to the pulling-down of strongholds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing which exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.' We repudiate, therefore, the thought that a secular power or a fleshly arm had any thing to do with the progress or success of Missions: our cause needs no such weapon, nor for these purposes have we sought any such connexion with the powers that be. Others before us, not of our body, have tried what they could do by force, fraud, and favour, but we have been satisfied with merely propagating the Gospel as 'the power of

God unto salvation to every one that believeth.' The grant-in-aid in question, the introduction of the Bible in Government schools, the law of inheritance, and all similar subjects, are matters comparatively of very recent date, and have had nothing whatever to do with the measure of success which it has pleased 'the Lord of the harvest' already to grant to his servants labouring in the field. If rightly viewed, they will be found to have resulted perhaps as some of the indirect benefits which Missionary success produces, rather than being the causes of that success. Both statesmen and people in this country have no doubt been greatly indebted to Missionary information on various subjects affecting the individual and social interests of these people, before they adopted any measures of wise policy for their good. If atrocities practised in the name of their deities have been suppressed, it is owing partly to the pressure of public opinion as thus produced at home and abroad; and if benefits have been granted which the people before knew nothing of, they have been brought about almost in the same way. Aware as they must be of this, yet these memorialists blink at the fact, and will now tell us that Government, by us, are doing mischief, instead of acknowledging that we have rather aided it in its endeavours to benefit them, though for ourselves we have as yet received little or no consideration direct from Government. Aided by no connexion of the kind, we have now in Southern India alone more than 100,000 converts, gathered into various congregations, from heathenism, more than 18,000 communicants, and more than 90,000 children in our Mission schools; while many who have witnessed a good confession, among the old and the young, have died in the Lord, and gone to join the church above. Did Government procure them for us? Did we get out of our 'legitimate sphere' to obtain them? And can the memorialists affirm on the face of this, that 'Mission agents, acting of and by themselves, move harmlessly, and give them but small cause of apprehension?' No, indeed: they see the wedge driven in at its proper end: it is a 'calamity' they wish to 'avert,' but in their perplexity and confusion they know not whom to blame, and what to blame. Oh that they could see the finger of God, but 'there are they in fear where no fear is.' But why suspect Government influence? Because the Bishop of Madras presided at the anniversary of the Colonial Church and School Society, and members of the civil and military services took part in the proceedings; and again, because Lord

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* These professions we regard as a flimsy veil, for decency's sake, thrown over the true object of the memorial.—ED.

Harris attended the laying of the foundation-stone of a Mission-school, and also took the chair at an annual meeting of the Bible Society, and a Government chaplain, and others in the service, moved and seconded resolutions which had for their object the spread of the Gospel, and special exertions and sacrifices on its behalf. The puerility of these objections scarcely deserves notice. Do they mean to say that governors and Government officers lose their individuality, and cease to be citizens and members of society by accepting office? or that they are to turn their back on every thing connected with the interests of their church and country? Then what if these personages chose to exercise their liberty and privilege, as they did on the occasions referred to? How is Government compromised thereby? 'No,' say they, 'but it has the appearance of a Government demonstration.' But why should these have any more this 'appearance' than the meetings they themselves sometimes hold in Patcheappah's school, when sometimes the Governor, and sometimes a member of Council, and sometimes the chief judge of Her Majesty's Supreme Court presides, and members of the civil and military services, with all the pride and fashion of the place, come to grace that hall, and patronize their efforts in the cause of education? Were not some of the Hindú gentlemen, who were present and took part in the proceedings of the meeting for the adoption of this anti-Missionary memorial, holding situations under Government as much as any of their English brethren who attended the meetings of the Colonial Church and Bible Societies? and was Government necessarily implicated thereby? They forget this is the age of liberty, and that no Englishman, at least worthy of the name, will either deny himself this right, or refuse it to his neighbour.

The extension of the benefits of 'the grant-in-aid' to Mission-schools seems also to give the memorialists some umbrage. But why should it? Does not the scheme comprehend all classes, and recognise the claim of all to a share of Government support, without regard to creed? 'Yes,' say they; 'but the aid granted to Mission-schools at the Madras Presidency exceeds the amount of that conferred upon all other institutions in the proportion of nine to one.' If so, do they not see that they have but themselves to blame? For in all these grants Government is directed by the number, character, and proficiency of the schools. We outnumber them, and our establishments are more respectable, and also better worked. The fact is, our Hindú gentlemen love to

spend their time and money in amusements, in pic-nic parties to heathen shrines, in nautches, in feeding kites and Brahmins, and in celebrating festivals which pamper both senses and appetite. Objects of real utility seldom meet with support. There is, for instance, the Monegar Choultry, an institution founded with a special view to provide for the aged, the indigent, and the sick of their own class, yet but for the zeal and activity of European superintendence and Government assistance, its funds often flag; and, though appeals upon appeals are made to our native gentry, some of whom are on its Committee, yet they hardly give it proper support. If schools are got up by them, they soon begin to suffer from the same cause, unless there is an endowment or legacy left for such objects, as in the case of Patcheappah's school, which, indeed, so far as I know, is the only one of that description. No wonder if, under such circumstances of half-starved masters, uncertain attendance, niggardly appearances, and inefficient working, with no progress, their schools should have failed to receive support equal to ours. Instead of improving this state of things, and raising their schools to just consideration, they now want Government to give up the system of grants-in-aid 'altogether,' and to 'devote that fund exclusively to the establishment of Government provincial schools,' thereby not only to deprive Mission schools of the help some of them now get, but also to save themselves the necessity of maintaining any out of their own resources, and so being brought into unfavourable competition with us.

"As for the argument they bring against the introduction of the Bible into Government schools at Madras, by attempting to show that Hindúism is different in Southern India from what it is in the other provinces and Ceylon,* it is one simply contrived for the

* In the passage referred to by Mr. Bilderbeck, the memorialists are replying to certain arguments of Sir John Lawrence in favour of optional Bible-classes in the Government schools, in which he says—"Indeed, this very measure has been introduced by the Colonial Government in Ceylon, and the Bible is taught in the schools of that island. Why should not the same thing be done in India?"

To this they reply—"Your Memorialists have to observe . . . that neither is the religion of the population pure Hindúism, but for the greater part Buddhism, as professed by the Singhalese; the Hindúism obtaining there being, with a few exceptions, professed by emigrant coolies from India of the lowest caste, who, strictly speaking, are without religion, to whom the study of the Bible in the Government schools is of immaterial consequence,

occasion, and has no foundation in fact. They have thought it convenient to declare that those who emigrate from their continent are persons who have no caste to lose. Having had to do with emigrants at Madras, previous to their embarkation anywhere, I know something of them personally. True, they are generally poor people that go; but I have often found that a fair proportion of them were Sudras. The memorialists themselves are for the most part of the same class. Loss of property, and other trials arising from hard times, generally induce them to leave the country in pursuit of labour. I have also occasionally met with several persons among them who ranked higher in caste, and, when they leave, they generally do so with all the prejudices peculiar to their caste, and with the hope of still retaining their position here when they return after their period of service, which many of them do; and as they are not made outcastes when they come back, it is quite gratuitous on the part of these memorialists to profess to ignore them only for the sake of an argument against the Bible or its advocates. They speak of the royal family of Travancore as one among several Hindú sovereigns who give distinction to their country and character to their race, but they close their eyes to the fact that this rajah himself has not scrupled to introduce the Bible into his school. If the prejudices against the Bible be so strong and peculiar in Madras as they would represent it, then how can they account for the fact that our Mission-schools, where our Scriptures are taught, should be there so much better attended than any other schools where the Bible is excluded, fees being equally demanded in both? So much for the candour of these people in endeavouring to enlighten Lord Stanley on the subject! Another sore point with them is the representation made by the Bombay Missionary Conference in 1857-58. It is true that Lord Elphinstone and the members of his Council made some severe minutes on it, and but for this circumstance perhaps no attention would have been drawn to the affair; and it is strange that more should be made of it by natives at Madras than by those at Bombay itself: but it only discovers the

as they have nothing to lose, but much to gain, from the profession of Christianity. Widely different is the case on this continent, and especially within the Presidency of Madras, where pure Hindúism has had its seat for immemorial ages, which possesses the most ancient and celebrated temples, where the people have suffered far less than in other districts from the earlier foreign invasions, and in which the royal families of Mysore, Travancore, and Tanjore are of Hindú extraction."

animus of this little anti-Missionary body, who are ever finding fuel to feed their fire: it is, however, a flame which will soon eat itself up. It is assumed that the Bombay Conference recommended 'confiscation' of the temple revenues, but no such thing had ever entered their minds, and it seems that the word itself never appeared in their memorial. They only recommended the propriety of Government withdrawing from all connexion with idolatry, and suggested the appropriation of all surplus money from temple revenues which remained in their hands over and above what was necessary for keeping them in repair, not to the building of new heathen temples (which they conceived the Government were not engaged to do), but to objects of local good for the improvement of the people and the benefit of their country, such as irrigation, making roads, building bridges, and promoting education. And why may not Missionaries recommend these and similar measures as much as any other class of the community who are interested in the progress of civilization and improvement? But when the Bombay Missionaries found they were misunderstood by the authorities, and that they were represented as recommending 'confiscation,' 'spoliation,' and, as it were, 'robbery for burnt offering,' they at once, in justice to themselves, sent up an explanation, and this the memorialists profess to alight, though they do not now tell us what Government thought of it.

"The late Tinnevely riot is another of their grievances. The review of the proceedings connected with this affair, as published in the 'Fort St. George Gazette' lately, by authority, will be found not only to clear us of all blame, but also to set the evil of caste gravely before us. They would allow the carcase of a cow or of a cat, if it died in their stalls, to be carried quietly through any of their streets, but they would object, and even resist lawful authority at the risk of their lives, if the corpse of a Christian weaver were conveyed through the same street to its last resting-place, though it be the Queen's high road, and all because a heathen temple happens to stand in the way! This was a wanton resistance; for it has been proved that persons dying in the hospital, of whatever caste or creed, have been removed by that route before without hindrance, and that this disturbance was the result of some evil-designing men, got up on purpose to annoy Christians. It is to be regretted that the Proclamation lately put forth was not more clear. But, like all documents of this description, in endeavouring to take in every shade of opinion, and to conciliate all, it experienced the

common misfortune of not being properly understood by any for whose benefit it was no doubt well intended. We find this anti-Missionary body still harping upon it, and pleading non-interference with their customs and prejudices, and asking, or rather professing to ask, strict adherence to neutrality, a policy 'promised,' they say, by Lord Stanley, and 'solemnly confirmed by Her Majesty the Queen.' And yet this is their idea of neutrality, that they may carry their dead by any high-way they please, but no Christian corpse is to pass through similar roads if either temples or Brahmins appear on the same. In such case they may arm themselves with clubs and brickbats with impunity, but troops must not turn out to keep the peace, or enforce authority in the administration of even-handed justice. These, too, are the gentlemen who profess to see no evil in caste, and who would fain believe 'that caste is not recognised by Government in any way so as to give religious or just cause of offence to Christians or others.' According to their own view of it, 'caste affects both their *religious* and *civil* status in society, (*vide* page 15), and yet it can work no mischief either way in civil or religious life. What, then, produced the riot in Tinnevely, and revolution at Travancore? And in the face of all this, there is to be neutrality. Surely, under these circumstances, neither they nor we can afford to be neutral, for where is the point we can touch in promoting either the individual or social improvement of such a people, without affecting their system, their habits, or their prejudices? and where is the point they can touch without kindling our sympathies or arousing our concern? If Christianity be really the principle of our lives, and heathenism theirs, what is the half-way between on which Lord Stanley would have us and them to stand? And even if this could be pointed out, yet say—whether they or we—who will ever trust a neutral man? Is not honesty, after all, the best policy?

"Lastly, let me notice what seems to me to be the most serious point of all in this memorial: it is their wicked attempt to connect the late disturbances in the north-west with the objects of Christian Missions: the memorialists again and again refer to it. They think they invest the matter with importance by so doing, and are likely, thereby, the more successfully to inflame the minds of people against our cause. But there is no difficulty in exposing their duplicity in this matter. They would make Lord Stanley believe that Christianity was at the bottom, and yet what did one of them say—and he the life

and soul of this anti-Missionary party—in writing to one of his patrons in this country, when the rebellion broke out? I quote it from a pamphlet printed in England: 'for an explanation of the causes of this insurrection, for my own part, I think that more causes than one have contributed to bring about the mutiny, not the least important of which is the growing distrust of the power of England. The idea broached in Parliament of drawing troops from India for the Crimean war took intelligent natives by surprise, and the Chinese and Persian expeditions, undertaken simultaneously, were looked upon as involving the nation in a complication of difficulties. No doubt some of the causes you mention have had their share, the Oude annexation in particular; and one account says, that no fewer than 40,000 men of the Bengal army came from that province.' The same individual, writing again to the same person, further says, 'It is right that I should refer to the general feelings of the natives, in consequence of the late supersessions regarding the adoption of heirs, and the dispossessing of the zemindars, whose property is immediately bought up by the Government by a mere nominal payment, which bad feeling will certainly be increased if the succession to the Nawabship of the Carnatic be set aside, in defiance of the many treaties with the Company guaranteeing its continuance in the family of the present claimant. The kingdom of Tanjore has just been seized, in consequence of the death of the Rajah, about twenty days after that of the Nawab. Oude, Hyderabad, and Travancore, are threatened with the earliest convenient absorption, and the princes and nobility of the country are in a fair way of general extinction, till India will have no more than two classes, the English Government and the ryots.' (*Vide* Pamphlet, entitled 'The Way to regain India,' pp. 7, 8.) Now, in assigning this train of causes, not the most remote allusion is made to Christian Missions; and yet in the memorial Christianity is represented as having had every thing to do with it. They know full well, that in the Presidency of Madras, where they themselves live, every thing was comparatively quiet, while yet more has been done for the spread of Christianity there than elsewhere. We have there more converts, more churches, more schools, and more Mission agents than can be numbered anywhere, and still there has been no animosity manifested by the people, except such disturbances as unfortunately broke out in Tinnevely and Travancore, incited, it is to be feared, only by men of the stamp of these memorialists. No, there

has been nothing like a rebellion or general insurrection of the people; and may we not, in part at least, ascribe this, under God, to the moral influence of Missions? * My growing conviction is, that if we wish to secure the loyalty of these people to our Crown, and their integrity for commercial intercourse, we must give them the Gospel; for it is thus we can best advance their interests, as well as give stability to our empire. 'It is righteousness which exalteth a nation, while sin is the reproach of any people.'

"Having offered these remarks on the contents of this memorial, there are several other points on which I should wish to express my thoughts, but that the time needful for so doing is not at my disposal."

We shall conclude these articles with a vivid sketch of Missionary results in the southern provinces of India, extracted from the statement of the conference to which we have already referred.

* An extract from the Statement and Appeal issued by the General Conference of Missionaries convened at the Nilgherries, May 1858, remarkably coincides with these observations.

"Living and labouring as we were in the vicinity of this great rebellion, and often threatened by its rolling surges, we have yet been preserved. The Lord has covered us with his sheltering wings. Many natural causes doubtless contributed to our preservation; but a careful review of the several crises of danger through which we have passed clearly shows that it is to our God alone that we owe our safety. And may we not believe that 'He who feeds his flock like a shepherd, and gathers the lambs with his arms, and carries them in his bosom, and gently leads them that are with young,' looked with tender pity on his many sincere, but yet weak disciples in Southern India, and graciously shielded them from the raging fury of the heathen?

"How miserably short-sighted are some of the unbelieving politicians of this world in high places of power, who would tell us that Missions have led to this rebellion! The Lord himself has answered them; and we his servants can point to the great Missionary field of India, and say, Behold our peace and quietness. See the helping hand which this Presidency was able to hold out in resisting and turning back the tide of revolt! How small an European force was retained throughout the most critical period of the rebellion to garrison the entire Presidency! Listen to the prayers of many thousands of native Christians for the maintenance of British power, and look at their noble contributions for the relief of the sufferers! These are the fruits which Christian Missions are designed and calculated to produce, and not rebellion and bloodshed."

"In the Tinnevely, Travancore, Tanjore, and Madura Provinces 'the Lord hath made bare his arm in the sight of the nations, and this end of the earth hath seen the salvation of our God.' Here, He is saying to his church, 'Lift up thine eyes and behold, all these gather themselves together and come to Thee.' Here are numerous congregations of men and women who have renounced idolatry, and demonolatry, sitting at the feet of the Christian Missionary to learn of Jesus and his salvation. There are many infant churches with a goodly band of their own pastors and teachers. Here are many thousands of children who have been preserved from the polluting and soul-destroying influences of idolatry, and who are now being trained in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Behold their newly-built churches, and chapels, and schoolhouses, and see how delightfully they contrast with the hoary shrines of false gods and hideous demons, and silently but surely indicate their approaching doom! Listen to the many thousands of infant voices early taught to lisp the Saviour's name! Look at the goodly number of adults who from time to time meet together to remember Him who shed his precious blood on the cross for the remission of their sins; and at the multitudes who congregate each Lord's day to hear the wondrous story of man's redemption! Count up their contributions to the cause of the Gospel, and see how, like the Macedonian Christians of primitive times, 'their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality!' Contrast the lives and actions of those professors who are established in the Christian doctrine, with those of the heathen around them, and learn that 'the righteous is more excellent than his neighbour.' Stand by their dying couch, and see how their faith in Christ imparts peace and confidence, and lights up the dark valley in which their heathen neighbours can see nothing but confused images of the dismal and terrible.

That many of them have first put themselves under Christian instruction from very imperfect motives, and with very slight knowledge of what they were doing, and that many of them long continue very feeble and imperfect, even as nominal Christians only, is not denied; but then they are no longer worshippers of abominable idols, no longer under the dominion of a crafty and lying priesthood, no longer groping in the thick darkness of heathenism, and no longer entirely ignorant of Christ and his salvation.

That the majority of them are not the rich and great of this world is true, but this is the

'sign from heaven' that Jesus is the Messiah, and that it is indeed his Gospel which we preach and they believe. Here we see realized the prophetic description of the seer, 'An afflicted and poor people shall trust in the name of the Lord.' Such hath the great Sovereign Ruler ever chosen to bring down all the loftiness of man, and to make low all his haughtiness and pride, that He alone may be exalted. Among these the Lord is raising up the faithful heralds

of his cross, whom he will clothe with the might of his Spirit, and send forth to gather out from among the heathen around, a people for his name, and whom He will appoint to feed his sheep and his lambs. But we rejoice to find that this great work is not confined to the lower orders of the people. The Gospel is now reaching the more educated and respectable classes, some of whom have made an open profession of the Christian faith."

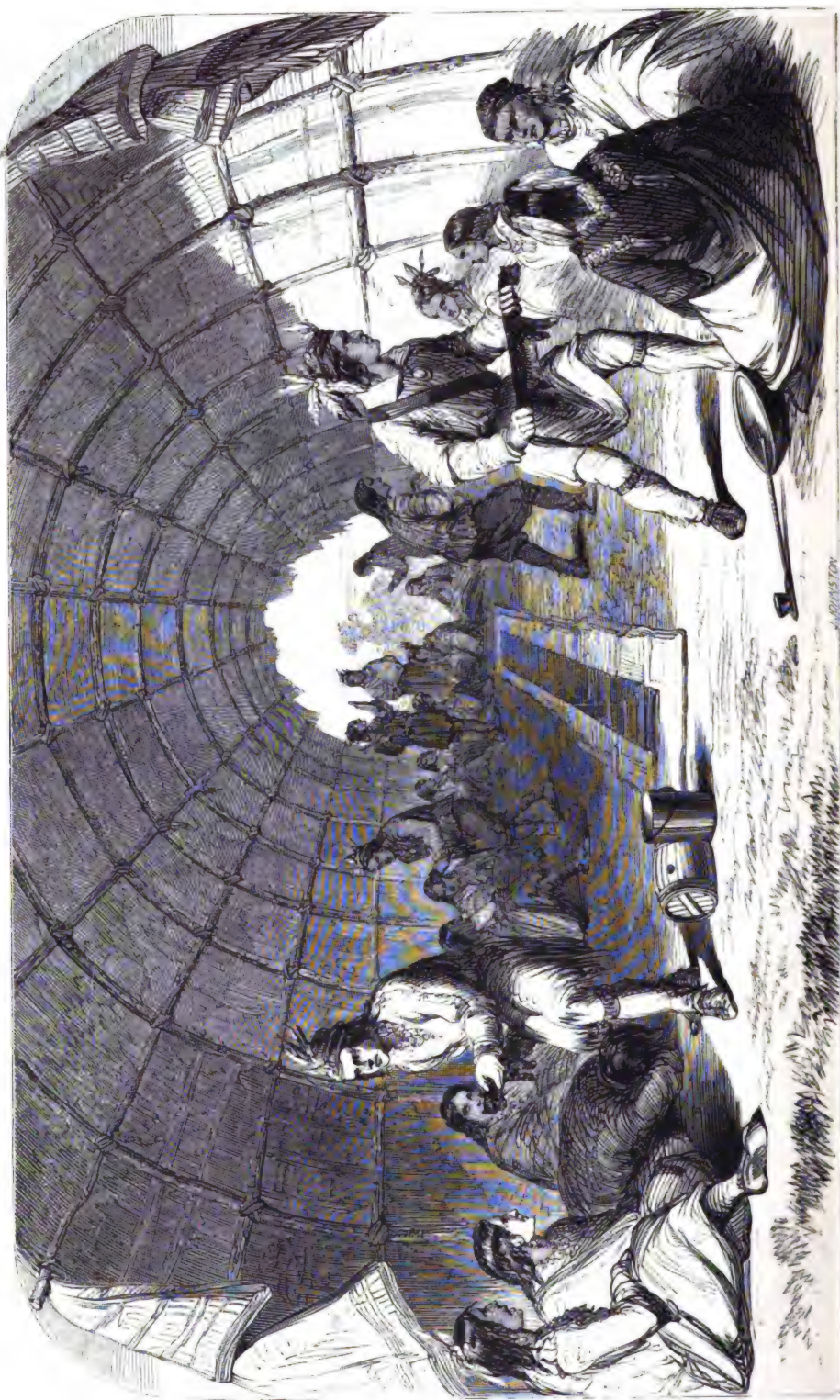
COMMISSARIAT SUPPLIES AT BENARES—THE LATE MUTINY.

WE gladly give insertion to the following brief note of explanation received from the Rev. C. B. Leupolt, of Benares—

"Since my arrival in England I have been several times questioned respecting the nature of the aid I gave to the Commissariat officers of Benares in procuring grain for our troops at the beginning of the mutiny in 1857. From remarks which have been made to me respecting this subject, I am sorry to see that the impression prevails in the minds of many, that no one could procure, at that time, grain for our troops except myself. I am sorry such a construction should have been put upon any thing I ever said on this subject. I never meant to say so, for such was not the case. As I am anxious to have this erroneous impression rectified, may I ask you kindly to insert the following in the 'Church Missionary Intelligencer.' I will state exactly what took place.

"Soon after the mutiny of the sepoys at Benares, Captains B. and G., Commissariat officers, came to me one morning, saying that they could not obtain any grain for the troops, and that they had been advised to apply to me, as I would be able to assist them. I replied that there was plenty of grain to be had in and about Benares, if they did not mind giving rather a high price. They answered that they did not mind the price, provided they could obtain the grain, &c. Upon this I advised them to ask Mr. Gubbins, who is well known and respected at Benares, to request each of the zemindars of his district to send in a certain quantity of grain, stating at the same time that I would go into the Mirzapore district to purchase grain myself, and to tell the people to bring in supplies. Mr.

Gubbins gave me his orders, and the only question with some of the zemindars was, 'Shall we be paid for our grain?' Several came and asked me this question. My reply was, 'Of course you will be paid; you know Mr. Gubbins.' The places where I knew that plenty of supplies could be obtained are some fifteen or eighteen miles from Benares, and as there was danger in my going into the country, I wrote to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society in Calcutta, informing him of our difficulties about supplies, and of the reasons which induced me to lend my aid to the Commissariat officers. I went into the district, and if there was danger it was shared with me by the late Mr. Pomroy, a young civilian, who, when he heard of my going, determined to accompany me. We purchased some grain, and made our wants generally known to the people, and supplies came in on every side. I went into the villages, because I considered it my duty to do so, and because I could go with confidence, being sure that I was safe among the people, for I knew them and they knew me; the danger arose only from the possibility of there being rebels about to whom I was not known. But even if I had not assisted the troops, there were others who could have procured supplies, such as Mr. H. Carre Tucker, the Commissioner of Benares, who was universally respected and trusted for his Christian principles as well as for his able administration, and Mr. Gubbins, who did procure supplies. As regards Captain B., he had then only just arrived at Benares; but he need only be known to the people, and he will be universally trusted, and obtain supplies so long as there are any to be had.—"*Scarborough, July 30th, 1859.*"



INDIAN MEDICINE FEAST.

EXPLORATORY MISSION JOURNEY TO THE MACKENZIE RIVER, NORTH-WEST AMERICA.

WE commence to place before our readers in this Number interesting journals of Arch-deacon Hunter, containing the narrative of his voyage from Red River to Fort Simpson, on the banks of the Mackenzie. As an exploratory tour, penetrating into countries as yet unoccupied by Missionary effort, it is the privilege of this periodical to present them to the friends of Missions throughout the world. They will be read, we doubt not, with deep interest; and while we sympathize with our devoted Missionary in his separation from his family, and the privations and dangers to which he is exposed, we shall catch, it is to be hoped, a portion of his spirit, and feel what need there is of earnest Protestant effort in these lands, if we would prevent the poor Indians of these remote regions receiving, in return for the heathenism which they have abandoned, the corrupt Christianity of Rome. Their heathenism has grown up in ignorance of the Gospel of Christ: it is a cold and dreary system, affording no warmth, no sustaining or consolatory influences. They have discovered its poverty, and desire something better. Rome, with an untiring zeal, which leads her to compass sea and land to make one proselyte, has availed herself of the opportunity: she has pushed forward her agents into the wilds of North America, and is diligently occupied in Romanizing the Indians. She has introduced among them a system, formed, not in ignorance of the Gospel, but in hostility to it. She prefers this system to the acceptance of the untutored native, wearied of his disgusting superstitions, and seeking rest in something better. Her creed, her priests, she persuades him to be just what he needs. Without any instruction in saving truth, she admits natural men to baptism. Submission to her authority takes the place of faith in Jesus Christ. She hastens to put the seal of her ceremonies upon her converts, and then leaves them just as ignorant of all that will sanctify and save the soul, as they were before. Unchanged in temper and character, with one exception, she is always successful in leavening them with a portion of that bitter enmity to Protestantism which is the distinguishing feature of her system. Hence, wherever the priests have succeeded in getting before him, the evangelist of the Christian church finds his difficulties greatly increased. Prejudiced and embittered against him, the wild tribes, who otherwise would

have gladly welcomed him, refuse to hear, but fly from him as an impostor and an enemy, who would destroy their souls. It is not to kindle in human hearts the elevating influence of the love of Jesus that Rome labours, but, leaving them unchanged, to concentrate all their evil passions into one intense stream of antipathy against the revealed truth of God.

In these her counteractive missions, Rome is most active at the present moment. The fact that the extremes of North America are traversed by her agents, is, in itself, a sufficient proof of this. The centres of the organization are in France. "*L'œuvre de la propagation de la foi, en faveur des Missions des deux mondes,*" proposes to aid by prayers and alms the Catholic Missionaries charged, as the directors are pleased to announce it, with the preaching of the Gospel. The prayers consist of a "*pater*" and an "*ave*" each day, to which should be joined the invocation "*Saint Francois Xavier, priez pour nous.*" The contribution is one sou each week, producing 2*fr.* 60*c.* yearly. Two councils, established, one at Lyons the other at Paris, distribute the funds amongst the different Mission fields.

In order to induce the faithful to support this institution, the church of Rome brings into requisition her own peculiar influences. It has been honoured on many occasions with the especial blessing of the holy see, and by many pontiffs has been enriched with numerous indulgences. These notes of credit on the treasury of heaven are of course available to the individual necessities of the various members of the institution. At the simple cost of two prayers and a sou each week a stock of merit is thrown open to them, which may be resorted to when pressed by a sense of their own transgressions, and in ignorance of that which alone justifies—the righteousness of Christ. In order to bring in more contributions, the jubilee of 1857 was extended to the cause of Romish Missions, and a pious offering to the eminently religious undertaking, the "*Propagation de la foi,*" was prescribed as one of its conditions. Such influences brought to bear on uninstructed and disquieted consciences produced precisely the results which might be expected. The year 1858 yielded the richest harvest of income that had ever been gathered in, the increase above that of 1857 amounting to not less than

2,500,000*f.*; the entire collection for the year being thus increased to 6,684,567*f.*

We have been curious to see how much was reaped from the British isles, and we find that the receipts stand thus—

England . . .	87,715 <i>f.</i> 30 <i>c.</i>
Scotland . . .	11,245 60
Ireland . . .	434,567 30

Impoverished Ireland, how munificently she gives under the pressure of priestly superstition on the conscience! Five times as much as the entire amount gleaned from the Protestant island of Great Britain!

How clearly this brings out the close connexion which exists between Home Missions and Foreign Missions. Popish Ireland yields to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith a larger income than any other country, France excepted. The Romish organization draws from Ireland a large portion of the supplies with which it operates to the injury of true Missionary work in other lands. What need, then, that Ireland should be evangelized! Unwholesome exhalations arise from thence: what need, then, that the swamp from whence they issue should be drained! They who are engaged in prosecuting that work are materially assisting the progress of the Gospel in the remote regions of the earth.

We cannot conclude these introductory remarks without introducing a specimen of the manner in which Romanist Missionaries deal with souls, and the kind of hope which they encourage poor sinners to build upon in the prospect of eternity.

R. P. Grollier, Missionnaire oblat de Marie Immaculée, in a letter dated Ile à la Crosse, Hudson's Bay, August 1, 1857, introduces to his superior, the Bishop of Marseilles, a young Indian girl, seventeen years of age, no doubt sufficiently interesting, but whom the reverend father, in the inflated style of these modern "*Lettres Edifiantes*" labours to make something almost supernatural, perhaps with a view to her early canonization for the special advantage of the poor Indians, whose superstitious feelings would be more easily kindled towards one elected from amongst themselves. "*L'an dernier, en arrivant à l'île à la Crosse, je fus frappé de l'air céleste répandu sur son visage; je lui demandai son nom, elle s'appelait Angélique: jamais nom si bien mérité.*" The poor girl was soon entangled in the exercises of the Mission, and pursued them with assiduity, until the time came when her family went forth to the hunting-grounds, there to pass the winter. There sickness visited her, and, as we are informed, her aspirations, with those of the prophet, were, "One thing have I desired of the Lord:

that will I seek after; *that I may die under the shadow of his sanctuary, assisted by his minister.*" She was accordingly carried back to the Mission station, and there "*le beau jour de la Pentecôte, elle recevait pour la première fois la pain qui allait lui communiquer une éternelle vie.*" The *miraculous* sacrament of extreme unction was reserved for her extreme pangs. The reverend father tells us why he calls it such—"Je dis, miraculeux, car c'est surtout dans nos Missions que nous en remarquons, les merveilleux effets. Notre aimable sauveur, qui l'a établi, non-seulement pour purifier l'âme, mais encore, pour soulager le corps, se souvient, en bon et tendre père, qu'au sein de nos forêts, où nous manquons de tout, nous avons besoin de ce divin remède comme unique adoucissement aux maux de nos pauvre sauvages."

Poor Angelique was assiduously visited, and continually spoken to as one who had nothing in prospect before her, save the joys of heaven. To make her confidence more strong, a plenary indulgence was dispensed to her at the point of death; and thus, if multiplied rites could secure her, she was safe. But what was she depending upon? to whom had the priest taught her to look for the salvation of her soul? To one exclusively—"the name, the only name under heaven given unto men whereby they may be saved?" Alas, no! There is nothing of truth retained by Rome which she has not diluted with human error. The gold is become dross, her wine mixed with water. Her last words were, "Jesus have pity upon me—Mary, my mother, succour me." It is well that the spirits of the just, in their separated state, know nothing of what is transpiring on earth. Otherwise, could the spirit of the humble Mary be aware of the gross idolatry of which she is the occasion, even amidst the blessedness of heaven she would be filled with anguish.

Red River, June 6, 1858—The last week has been one of anxiety and painful suspense. After making every effort to engage a crew for the canoe, our efforts failed. I have, however, (D.V.) determined to go to Norway House with the boats, hoping to see Sir G. Simpson there, and obtain a passage in the Company's craft. The first brigade for Portage la Loche passed down the river on Friday last, with a priest and a *frère*, for Athabasca. Yesterday afternoon (Saturday) I expected the second brigade, by which I am going to Norway House, to call for me. I have made every preparation, and am ready to embark at any moment. I have made arrangements to leave

my dear wife and children behind, and expect to be absent from them for about sixteen months. Having commended them to the care and protection of our heavenly Father, I go forth to this blessed work relieved from any painful anxiety on their account. He who has graciously called me to this special work will watch over, bless, and protect them. This morning (Sunday), as our church-bells were inviting my flock to the house of prayer, the boats came in sight in which I am to embark for Norway House, and, as I hope and pray, for the far-distant north. Some of my people flocked around me to bid me God speed. The boats went ashore some distance above the station, and there we could see the priests performing mass with the men. There are two priests and one *frère* in the brigade with me—one priest for Isle à la Crosse, and the other priest and brother for Fort Resolution, Slave Lake, the first port in the Mackenzie-River district. Such are my travelling companions to the north. The church of Rome sends, in all, her five Missionaries, and I go alone, and leave my more immediate charge to itinerate in this blessed work; yet not alone, for One is with me who is mighty to save, a Friend who sticketh closer than a brother, and who, I trust, has disposed and called me to this special work. I feel, indeed, that it is the leading of Providence, for with such a band of priests the whole of Mackenzie River would be overrun, without any apparent effort on our part to counteract the evil. Delighted am I to stand in the gap, and oppose the onward march of this soul-destroying system, the "masterpiece of Satan;" calling to others to come and aid me in the unequal conflict. We have lost much ground among those fine Indians in the north. Isle à la Crosse is gone; Athabasca is also occupied; and now the first post in the Mackenzie-River district, Fort Resolution, Slave Lake, receives its staff of agents, all zealous for Rome. We shall drive right through their ranks, and commence operations beyond them. The light of the Gospel is shining at Cumberland and English River; let us also cause it to shine in Mackenzie River, and pray and hope that the papal darkness in the centre may also be illuminated with the bright rays of Protestant truth. The church of Rome will now have two priests at Isle à la Crosse, two priests at Athabasca, and two priests at Fort Resolution. Thus is the sending them out two and two among those poor benighted Indians making the heathen darkness, if any thing, more visible.

My last three discourses to my people at

the Grand Rapids were on repentance, faith, and holiness; and my farewell address was founded upon the words, "Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." (Acts xxii. 21.) I have much comfort in leaving them under the diligent and faithful ministrations of my esteemed brother, Mr. Kirkby, and pray that a double portion of God's Holy Spirit may rest upon both preacher and people, that together they may grow in knowledge and in grace, and in meetness for the inheritance of the saints in light.

After prayers with my beloved family and Mr. Kirkby, I embarked in the boats for the far north. Whilst the Hudson's-Bay Company can allow five agents of the church of Rome to embark, I am only tolerated to do so, bound with this chain, "that I perfectly understand that it is only to Norway House that I am promised a passage." However, whether I am granted a passage or not, I am determined to persevere and push forward, and nothing but absolute necessity shall make me turn back and beat a retreat. I feel that the divine message is "go forward." It was a painful necessity thus to leave home with the sound of the bells in one's ear, but duty called me hence, and with a light heart, and looking above for comfort and guidance, I went forth. As we passed the Indian Settlement, the bell was also summoning the Indian flock to the house of prayer for the afternoon's service. A wave of my cap to my good brother Cowley and his excellent wife was all I could offer in passing, and also to the old Indian chief, Pigwys, who kindly saluted me. At his door was the British flag floating in the breeze, to mark the Christian Sabbath, given to him by the Earl of Chichester. Put ashore in heavy rain, below the Indian Settlement, and, shortly after, Sir G. Simpson and his secretary, Mr. Hopkins, passed in two light canoes. Hailed the Governor, who gave me a kindly shake of the hand, and then asked him for the passage to Mackenzie River, about which I had written to him so long ago as November last. To my great relief he kindly granted me the passage. He had no time to write then, but hoped to be at Norway House before my departure for the north; if not, I was to go on in the boats. This removed an incubus from my mind. So far, then, the door is open for the admission of Gospel light into that important and extensive district, equal, perhaps, in extent to the whole of Europe. Had the passage been refused, I had purposed to have gone on some way, but how I knew not. God has ordered it otherwise, and my path now seems open before me.

Thank God that we did not delay any longer in endeavouring to penetrate that far-distant but all-important region. Mackenzie River may yet be our's—may yet be consecrated, and offered up upon the altar of Gospel truth and evangelical Protestantism.

June 7—Slept last night in the boat, without undressing: no place to go to on shore. Started about four o'clock A.M., left the Red River, and entered the Lake Winnipeg. The brigade consists of five boats, manned principally by French half-caste: L'Esperance, with whom I have travelled before, is the guide. I have taken my passage in his boat, and shall proceed all the way to the Portage la Loche with him. We go first to Norway House for the Mackenzie-River outfit, and then proceed to the Long Portage, called also Portage la Loche, where we shall meet the Mackenzie-River brigade from Fort Simpson, and exchange cargoes. After sailing and pulling all day, we encamped at the Sandy Bar. Light showers of rain during the day: at night slept in the boat.

June 8—Left about four o'clock A.M. Put ashore near the Lime Straits with contrary wind. Conversed a little with the priests: they think my journey a long one indeed. All the priests are temperance men, also my guide, and the majority of the crew. I feel thankful that I have joined, and shall not be the first Missionary to take wine, &c., into the Mackenzie River. The crews are principally Roman Catholics: there are only two of my people in the boats, and my servant, George Corrigan, makes three: these will form my congregation for some time. All dread the quantity of whisky which will be brought into Red River this summer from the United States: report says 20,000 gallons. We shall all have to set our face like a rock against this great evil, which is threatening to overwhelm the Settlement; a plague far greater than that of the grasshoppers, which all are now fearing. Our camp presented a curious scene last evening, some fiddling, others gambling, with the usual Indian chorus as an accompaniment, others playing cards, and so forth. Poor things, one pities their ignorance and their folly.

June 9—Started at three o'clock A.M. Overtook Mr. Watkins going to Cumberland, and gave them a morning call from their slumbers. Passed on: Mr. Watkins will follow, and perhaps accompany us to-day. We are approaching that part of the lake where we shall diverge, he for the Grand Rapids, myself for Norway House. A strong head-wind. Saw some snow-drifts in our encampment. The wind cold, and there is a probability of

ice being still in the lake. A boat called, passing on to Red River. Sent a note to my dear wife. They report much ice to the north, and that all the boats from Red River are stopped with ice at Sandy Bar: this accounts for the coldness of the weather, and the backwardness of the vegetation. Remained in camp all day in the narrows of the lake. I feel sorry that Mr. Watkins did not join us, as we might have enjoyed some pleasant conversation together during our detention. The east coast of the lake is composed of granite, the west of limestone.

June 10—Left our encampment at thirty minutes past three A.M., but only made a short distance: the wind began to blow hard and contrary. We put ashore at the Dog's Head. I hope to prepare some letters to-day. Commenced writing to Mr. Venn, but the wind calmed, and we put off to sea again. Encamped in the evening at Cat-Fish Creek, with five other boats in company.

June 11—Started at three A.M., with a fine fair wind from the south: sailed all day. Passed Sandy Bar, which recalled the painful event of poor Miss Greenleaf's death.* All was pleasant now, the sun shining, a fine wind blowing, and the sea comparatively smooth. How different from that stormy morning, and its fatal catastrophe! We have had a beautiful and pleasant sail to-day, which has brought us a long distance through the lake: in the evening encamped at Fox's Islands.

June 12—Head-wind, and much ice in the lake. Started at forty-five minutes past two A.M.: went a short distance, but checked by the ice. The lake reminds one of Hudson's Straits strewn with ice. I had fondly hoped to have reached Norway House for the services to-morrow (Sunday), but I fear we shall not accomplish it. We made three or four starts during the day, but only went a short distance at each time: we encamped finally near Spider Islands.

June 13: Lord's-day—The priests and crews, who are principally papists, attended mass: the constant tinkling of a bell grated upon my Protestant ear. I was reading at the time Scott's sermon at Hull—"The criminal lethargy of England, contrasted with the aggressive policy of Rome." "The papacy is indeed," as Burke said, "a permanent conspiracy against the liberties of the world." One of the priests appeared to be addressing the poor men outside the tent. I fear there was little of the Gospel of Christ in his address—little that would lead them, as poor

* *Vide* "Recent Intelligence" for March 1836.

sinners, to the alone Fountain opened for sin and iniquity, that precious blood which cleanseth from all sin. It was only a short address. I heard all that was said, our tents being very near each other. It is painful on the Lord's-day to be thus separated from one's flock, and surrounded by papists; but if I can make any effort, however feeble, to check its onward progress in this land, I am ready to do so, at whatever sacrifice of personal comfort and ease. There are two or three of our people here whom I purpose to invite to my tent for morning prayer. The wind blew a strong gale all last night, and a high sea is now running on the lake. Held divine service in my tent twice with the people; the morning service in English, the afternoon in Cree. Addressed them from the words, "What I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch." The men gathered around my tent, and were very attentive. After the services the wind abated, and we moved on to the Spider Islands. After one point more, viz. Montreal Point, we shall leave the lake for Norway House.

June 14—A strong wind blowing all day from the north, and very cold. At the back of my tent there is snow and ice in the lake. With a box as my desk, and sitting on the ground in my tent, I have been writing letters all day to forward to England, &c. In the evening we saw two large canoes go ashore on the mainland; in all probability it is Sir G. Simpson on his way from Red River to Norway House. I am thankful for his arrival, as I hope to see him at Norway House, and receive letters from England and Red River.

June 15—We are still wind-bound at Spider Islands. A beautiful day, but the wind rather cold. Sir G. Simpson not moving with his canoes. Sir George started about noon: we left about three P.M., the wind having become more favourable. Passed Montreal Point, the Old Fort, and arrived at Norway House about nine P.M., an hour after Sir G. Simpson, who received me most kindly.

June 16—Finished my letters, &c., to send to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society and other friends, and purchased a few supplies for my long journey. Called upon Mr. Brooking, at Ross Ville, the Wesleyan Missionary, and remained to tea with them. On returning to the Fort, Sir G. Simpson directed his Secretary to read the despatch which he was sending to the gentleman (B. R. Ross, Esq.) in charge of Mackenzie River, with reference to myself. It stated that every facility was to be afforded me to establish a

Mission at Fort Simpson, and to collect information on the subject as to the best locality, and so forth; and that, during my stay in the district, I was to be regarded as the Company's guest. Herewith I hope to send you a copy of this part of Sir G. Simpson's despatch. Nothing could be drawn up in kinder terms, and, as in duty bound, I thanked Sir G. Simpson for his kindness and attention to my comfort during my long visit to the far north. At Norway House the gentlemen are now assembled from the different districts to meet Sir G. Simpson, and hold the usual annual council for the management of the Company's affairs throughout these widely-scattered territories. As the guide is anxious to move, we started about nine P.M., and went only a short distance from the Fort, so as to be ready for an early start to-morrow morning.

June 17—Embarked about three A.M., and sailed across Play-Green Lake, returning to Lake Winnipeg to cross its northern shore to the Grand Rapids. There are five boats heavily laden with half of the Mackenzie-River outfit, consisting of cloth, blankets, capotes, tea, sugar, gunpowder, ball, shot, guns, &c. &c. Remained for breakfast at the Kettle Island, and then embarked again, passed the Old Fort and Mossy Point, and stretched away across the lake for Pine Island, distant about fifty miles. Met eight boats from Cumberland, manned principally with my old Indians from the Pas: could only give them a salutation of welcome as we passed. Sailed on until twelve o'clock at night, and then put ashore at Pine Island to cook a late dinner and supper in one. The camp-fires have a cheerful and pleasant effect in the night. Made my bed in the boat, and retired about one o'clock in the morning.

June 18—About two A.M. we started again with a strong fair wind, and made for the Grand Rapids, about forty miles off: the wind and sea increased, and our heavily-laden boats appeared buried in the waves. At the entrance of Kisiskachewun River the waves were exceedingly high, the wind dashing the sea against the strong current, but our boats rode it bravely, and we sailed into the harbour in grand style about seven A.M., and then ascended the river a short distance for breakfast. Mr. Watkins has not yet arrived: he must still be in the lake. Walked up the lower end of the rapid, about three miles, where the boatmen leave half the cargo, and haul the boats up with the tracking line to the strong portion of the rapid. Here we found Bruce, with the first brigade for Portage la Loche, crossing his boats to the other

side of the rapid, to haul them up by water. Walked to the end of the portage, and saw the other priest and *frère* going with Bruce: their destination is Athabasca. Talked a little with the priest and his Irish *frère*, and returned to the lower end of the portage. I found here several Indians from Shoal River whom I had seen before: they feel no desire for religion. I talked with them a long time, and pressed the subject of redemption through Christ, but all to no apparent purpose. May the Holy Spirit melt their hearts, and prepare them for the reception of the divine and life-giving word! The boats arrived, and I put up my tent. My servant George commenced cooking operations, washing, &c. The priests were baptizing some children in their tent, decked out with a gaudy dress, worn, no doubt, to attract the ignorant Indians. They always wear long black gowns, with a black belt, and a large crucifix stuck in it, suspended round the neck. It seems a great abuse of baptism to administer it to heathen children, whose parents are still living in heathenism, untaught, uninstructed, and then leave them to grow up in heathenism. But any means seem right which will swell the nominal numbers of the apostate church of Rome. I pity and pray for the deluded people, but I dislike the system more than ever. I slept in the portage, and found that Mr. Watkins had not arrived.

June 19—The crews landing the cargoes, hauling the boats up the strong rapid, and carrying the pieces about a mile across the portage. Removed with my tent, &c., to the upper end of the portage, where we passed the night. I had hoped to have seen Mr. Watkins before I left: we passed him in the lake on the 9th instant, now ten days ago: he must have been much detained, as we have visited Norway House, spent a whole day there, and then crossed about a hundred miles of the lake to the Grand Rapids.

June 20: *Lord's-day*—The crews loaded the boats at an early hour. I dressed, and prepared to start. Went a short distance, and then put ashore for breakfast. Summoned all I could find for morning prayers: only two men and my servant boy, with myself, formed the congregation. I felt indeed that we were only two or three met together. How different from my large congregations at the Rapids! The priests performed their ceremonies inside their tent, the sound of the bell tinkling in my ears as I was engaged in prayer with my little flock. The crews are principally papists or heathens. The papists gathered outside the tent-door to witness the

ceremonies of the priests: the mass being in Latin, of course they could not understand a word: very few, if any of them, can read French.

To-day we have made a long distance: passed the strong hauling-place called the Painted Stone, then sailed with a strong wind up another rapid into Cross Lake. Looking down the rapid, one could see it was a gradual descent to the still water below, so that, in fact, we had sailed up a hill. Gained the other side of Cross Lake, where half the cargoes had to be carried to lighten the boats when they were hauled up a strong rapid. Here we dined, and sailed with a gale the remainder of the day, which carried us over some strong currents, and then into Cedar Lake, or Lac Bourbon, where the French had a Mission many years ago. The waves were very large, and we had to take a double reef in our sail: the guide, however, proceeded, and rounded the point called Rabbit Point about seven p.m., where we encamped. He said he never made such a good day before. Only four days from Norway House to Rabbit Point in Cedar Lake. I felt tired with the day, and retired to rest, as I knew we should leave again about three to-morrow morning. Near the Grand Rapids we met five canoes of Indians, whom I recognised as old acquaintances from Moose Lake. They hailed me as N'Okemam, "My chief," and came alongside to shake hands. "You are alone," they said, "without your family," as they all know and love my dear wife. Yes, I told them, I was going far north, and had to leave my wife and children behind; and then gave them some tobacco, and we parted.

June 21—Our boat in danger, the wind having suddenly changed. I had to dress in a minute, strike tent, and embark about three a.m. The waves were running high, and we had a side wind to make the long traverse from Rabbit Point to the other side of Cedar Lake. Passed five boats sailing in an opposite direction in the lake: they are the *Isle à la Crosse* brigade, with Mr. Deschambeault in charge. It was singular to see the two brigades sailing in opposite directions. Crossed the lake, with the spray flying over our boat, and entered one of the small branches of Kisiskachewun River, where we remained for breakfast. Passed Muddy Lake, and entered the river again; encamped on the banks of the river in the evening. Sat up writing letters, expecting to reach the Pas to-morrow evening.

June 22—Sailing and pulling up the river, hoping to reach the Pas: encamped late about four miles from the station, to my great

regret, as I was anxious to have spent the night with Mr. George.

June 23 — Arrived at the Pas about five A.M., knocked up Mr. George, and had much pleasure to find himself and family well. Mr. Watkins not arrived. Visited the dear little church, and then took breakfast with our kind friends. Finished my letters for Red River, and gave what assistance I could to Mr. George in arranging his accounts, &c., during the short time I could stay. The Indians flocked around me, and I was sorry that I had no time to hold a service with them. This station is especially dear to me with all its associations. May our Heavenly Father continue to watch over it, and abundantly to bless his own work in the hearts of the people! After two hours' intercourse the boats left, but only went about four miles to the Old Wife's Fall, the wind being contrary. Returned again in the evening, and spent a few hours with Mr. George, assisting him with his accounts. Left about two A.M. in a canoe, and found the crews still asleep. The little fields at the Mission looking well. The Indians have planted a very large quantity of potatoes, and have now an abundance of white fish and sturgeon.

June 24 — Left the Old Wife's Fall about ten A.M., sailing, pulling, and tracking up the river. The river very low this year, about a hundred yards wide, and abounding at present in sturgeon and white fish: enjoyed them much after living so long upon salt provisions. A fringe of poplar and willows along the banks, and abundance of drift-wood, some of them large pine-trees. The water from the Rocky Mountains of white appearance, and rather muddy. Banks of the river low: no good place for settlers, except at the Pas and higher up the river, commencing at the Nepowewin. The side of one of our boats broken out with the violence of the wind whilst sailing. Encamped on the banks of the river in the evening.

June 25 — Started at three A.M., sailing and pulling up the river. We generally breakfast about eight, and then go on all day till eight or nine P.M. A lively scene on shore, the fires blazing, and the men busily engaged in cooking operations. There are forty-four people in all, including crews and passengers, in the five boats. The guide informs me that there are forty-eight portages to be crossed before we reach Portage la Loche. I employ the day in reading. I am now perusing "Livingstone's Journal," having finished the last number received of the "Quarterly Review," "Burke's French Revolution," "Milton," newspapers, &c. The heat excessive at mid-

day since we entered the river. We hope to reach Cumberland House to-night. Met Mr. Budd in a canoe, proceeding to the Pas to meet Mr. Watkins. He reports very favourably of the Nepowewin station, and thinks the work progressing. He hopes to reach the Pas to-morrow (Saturday), to be in time for the services of the Lord's-day. He is looking remarkably well, and it gave me great pleasure to meet him by the way. We had heavy rain in the afternoon, which compelled us to encamp in the little river leading from the Kisiskachawun to Cumberland House. Heavy rain all night. In the morning found myself and bed in a pond of water.

June 26 — Heavy rain in the morning. Left our encampment about nine A.M.; entered the Cumberland, or Pine-Island Lake, about nine A.M., and went ashore at the Pemican Island. One boat was unloaded to proceed to the Fort for pemican for the journey, as we require twenty bags to take us to Isle à la Crosse, about twenty days' journey from hence. We have now been travelling about twenty days; to Isle à la Crosse will take about twenty days more; and some seven or eight days from thence to Portage la Loche; in all averaging about fifty days from Red River to the Portage la Loche. Went to the Fort to procure a little provisions for the journey: found the Fort servants almost starving, living only upon fish, which were precarious. Mr. McGillivray in charge for the summer. There are several families here, and a great number of children. It is very desirable that a schoolmaster should be appointed to this post, as the people are most anxious to have their children taught. One of the priests very assiduous in baptizing a child, already baptized by Mr. Budd: the father is a French half-caste, and the child was baptized by Mr. Budd at the earnest solicitation of the parents. I believe the mother endeavoured to keep the priest from re-baptizing the child, but he ignored our baptism completely, and, after sending twice for the mother, who had left the house to escape his persecution, the priest succeeded in performing his ceremonies and absurdities over the child. This shows the intolerant spirit of Rome, that it entirely ignores all other churches, and will go to any length, "the end justifying the means," such as re-baptism, &c. It becomes a serious question, whether we ought not to re-baptize all we admit from that apostate church, for their baptism, from all I can glean, is a series of mummeries, such as rubbing, wiping, &c.; and such a departure from the simplicity of the ordi-

nance, that, in self-defence, I rather incline to the opinion expressed by some in this country, that we should baptize all we receive from them, using some such words as these, "If thou art not already baptized, I baptize thee." Rome only appears anxious to baptize them into her system, and then leave them to grow up, like her own people here, in ignorance and superstition. I noticed some of the crew wearing amulets around their necks, in addition to crucifixes, &c. Left the Fort about three P.M., and returned to the island: here I saw some of my baptized Indians from the Pas, who came to see me; and shake hands. I gave them a few little presents, and left about five P.M. Sailing in Pine-Island Lake: heavy rain, in which we encamped about seven near the narrows of the lake. This is the place to which I once thought of removing the Cumberland Station, but its present site is far the best. Mr. Hunt's boat has been down to Cumberland House this summer, and returned with the goods which remained there, belonging to his station, last winter.

June 27: Lord's-day—Started about three A.M.; the weather very cold, with misty rain and wind from the north. Went ashore for breakfast at eight. The priests saying mass, with the bell tinkling as usual. Called my people for morning prayers, two men and my servant again, making, with myself, four in all. Sailed to the end of Pine-Island Lake, and entered the Sturgeon River, or Rivière Maligne, and made three portages. Evening-prayers with five present. Priests with the men using "vain repetitions," something repeated over and over at a fearful gallop, and without any attempt at any thing like devotional feelings.

June 28—Started at three A.M., and made two portages. Overtook Bruce with the first brigade of six boats about two P.M. Saw Kinnokapow, or John Rowand, whom I baptized and married in 1847. The priest asked him, he told me, if he wanted to be baptized: he told him he had been already baptized. I held a service with him and his family: he is the chief of this river and of the Rat-River Indians. He seldom or ever visits the Pas, yet he loves religion, he says, and still observes it. He wishes for a schoolmaster to teach his children and people, but I fear they are too few. He has commenced to plant potatoes this summer on an island in Beaver Lake. I am thankful to find my work thus springing up as I go along, all recognising me as their "praying chief," and feeling very rejoiced to see my face again. Whilst ascending a rapid, we saw a large sturgeon: the

men jumped into the water, and one of them, with an axe, struck it, and, after a little struggle, brought it into the boat: it was a large one, about five feet long, and weighing, perhaps, from fifty to sixty pounds. Encamped in the river about eight P.M.

June 29—Started as usual at three A.M., made one portage, and then halted for breakfast. Being St. Peter's day, the priests working with their paraphernalia, the tent put up, the bell tinkling, and doing great things, no doubt, in their own little way and estimation. The poor men understand nothing: they kneel at a distance from the tent, and look about perfectly indifferent to the mummeries going on within. We generally start every morning at three, and encamp between eight and nine P.M., leaving only about five or six hours for cooking, sleep, &c. The first thing we do when we encamp is to search out a good place for the tent, clear the trees and sprigs, and then get the canvas tent and set it, spread the oil-cloth for a flooring, bring up the bedding, and commence preparing tea and supper: sometimes it is dinner and supper combined in one meal. After prayers, retire to rest, sleeping in undress costume, say, without coat and waistcoat. In the morning the call is given. We jump up, get the bedding tied up in an oil-cloth, tent taken down and put in a bag, poles tied together, and all carried into the boat. This occupies about as long as I have taken to record it, for it is all the work of about five minutes; a very short time our friends will think for making a morning toilet for a long day's journey. About eight we stop for breakfast, when we can attend to the toilet, if not too cold; and then we start again, and go on till eight or nine at night: this is the usual day's routine. We have now been twenty-three days travelling, and expect to take about twenty-seven more to the Long Portage, and, from thence, about twenty days down current to Fort Simpson. Rivière Maligne is a very shallow river, here and there with a stone bottom composed of smooth limestone rock the men get into the water and drag the boat over the shallow places; at other times they make portages in the usual way. The boats generally take two or three days to ascend the river to Beaver Lake. Large limestone rocks along the shore. Went with half cargo to the end of the river, and overtook Bruce with his boats, and also met Mr. Campbell with the Athabasca brigade. Bruce sailed away across Beaver Lake, and our boats returned for the remainder of the cargoes. All the boats arrived but one. Slept outside without my tent. During the night

a thunder-storm with heavy rain: in the morning my blankets were completely soaked. The rocks being precipitous, it was difficult to put up the tent; but I paid dearly for not doing so, being completely drenched, bed and all.

June 30—After the rain cleared off we sailed across Beaver Lake and entered the great river, called by my French *voyageurs*, "*Rivière de la Pont*:" made two portages during the day, and encamped about nine P.M. Saw an Indian from Mr. Hunt's station going to Cumberland House for supplies.

July 1—Started about three P.M., sailing among high granite hills, and made several portages during the day. Passed the Carp Portage, which the sturgeon are unable to ascend. Here we caught, or rather scooped up, several white fish in the eddy of the rapid, by means of a small net attached to a hoop, and fastened to a pole. Encamped at the Birch Portage about nine P.M.

July 2—The crews making the Portage and hauling up the boats. Started at nine A.M.: made the Island Portage, and then dined. Here we entered a small lake called Pine Lake. A strong head-wind, with showers, during the day. Arrived at Pine Portage, where we slept. The men carrying the goods and hauling up the boats. I amused myself with drying my blankets, which had been wet since we left Beaver Lake.

July 3—Left about four A.M., and pulled across Lake Heron. Visited an Indian tent: some of the Indians remembered me from my visit here in 1847. They gave us some fresh deer's meat in exchange for flour, tobacco, handkerchiefs, &c. The morning very fine, but cold. Bruce's boats are only a short distance a-head. This lake is very beautiful, surrounded with high granite hills. The morning being clear, and the sun shining, the whole scene was very pleasing and exhilarating. Passed a narrows, where we saw Indians and obtained some fish. Kinnokapow's daughter was among them. We then entered Pelican Lake, and pulled across to a small rapid: the men employed in making the portage and hauling the boat by water. Three portages within a very short distance, called by the Indians the Medicine Portages. At the last the water runs over a ledge of rocks about ten feet high. Here we encamped for the night, and I baptized a little girl, whose mother I baptized some years ago at Cumberland, a daughter of Wapistania. I have, however, strong suspicions that this child was re-baptized almost immediately by the priest, together with her father. Wrote

a letter on the rocks to send to my dear wife, as we daily expect to meet Mr. Hunt's boats going to Norway House.

July 4: *Lord's-day*—Heavy rain. Started about five A.M., with fair wind, to cross the Lake of the Woods to Frog Portage. Saw Mr. Hunt's boat ashore. Went and gave my letter to the steersman to take to Norway House. They left Mr. Hunt and family well on Friday last. The lake full of islands, surrounded by high granite hills looking hoary with age. Made what is called the Half-Cargo Portage, and arrived at the Frog Portage. Found here Charles Thomas' wife, with four children, from Deer's Lake, awaiting my arrival for baptism. Mr. Hunt had written to Mr. Charles Thomas that I was passing in the Long-Portage brigade, and Charles sent his children accordingly. There are many children waiting to be baptized at Deer's Lake, about two or three days' journey hence. I would gladly have gone if I had time, but this is impossible now: perhaps Mr. Hunt will go, as it is only four or five days' journey from his station. Baptized Charles Thomas' four children, using the Cree service, as the mother understood it. Charles Thomas is the postmaster in charge of Deer's Lake, and has two girls in Mr. Hunt's school. At Frog Portage we leave the waters which flow down to Cumberland and Lake Winnipeg, and fall upon the Mississippi, or English River. The Frog Portage is about 360 yards, and in very high water I believe the waters join. The English River is studded with islands, and surrounded with granite hills covered with stunted pine and poplar. At the morning service to-day I had five present. The priests at mass in the morning, and vain repetitions in the evening. Left the portage in the evening, and encamped in the river.

July 5—Started at three A.M., and crossed a small lake: I then arrived at the Grand Rapid. This is a very large and dangerous rapid. A poor man was drowned here not many years ago. I remember baptizing his orphan children as they passed the Pas. We are now approaching Mr. Hunt's station, and hope to reach there to-morrow. Granite rocks on all sides: the river swells out into a lake, studded with islands, and again contracts into a river: the scenery very grand, and some of the hills in the distance one can almost imagine subdivided into fields, with hedge-rows, like one's own beloved hills in Devonshire. The river is broad, containing a large body of water. Reached the Key Portage, and encamped here, with heavy rain and thunder. We should have proceeded further, but were arrested by the rain.

July 6—The men loading the boat at four A.M. Bright sunshine, and every prospect of a fine day. I hope to reach Mr. Hunt's station this evening, and spend a happy night there; but this bright vision may be disappointed, and therefore I must not dwell much upon it. In no country does one learn patience better than in this, and under no circumstance, perhaps, is it called into more vigorous exercise than in such a journey as the present. The morning very cold. After breakfast, arrived at the Island Portage. Here one of the boats became entangled with ours, and both were hurried down the rapid: myself and servant jumped into the other boat, and succeeded in bringing it safe to land, the crew, with the exception of two, being on the line ashore. Went up several strong currents, and then reached the Rapid-River Portage about seven P.M., too far, I fear, to reach Mr. Hunt to-night, except I had a small canoe here to proceed on at once. I shall pass the night now not far from his door, and hurry on again to-morrow, only able to make a short call. Encamped here for the night.

July 7—Left the Rapid-River Portage at four A.M., and took breakfast at the Half-Cargo Portage. We have now passed the Rapid River, which I visited before when going to Lac la Ronge. All will now be new ground to me, which I have not visited before. Frost during last night: the boat covered with frost in the morning. The day is, however, very fine and warm. We shall soon see Mr. Hunt's station. On rounding a point the Mission station came into view. It is a picturesque spot, and when the pretty and unique church is completed, which is being erected on the point, I think the whole will form a compact and excellent Mission station. The parsonage and schoolroom speak much for Mr. Hunt's taste, and are good substantial buildings. There is a nice large garden in front, with potatoes and vegetables of all kinds growing. It is quite refreshing, after thirty-

one days' journey in the wilderness, to fix the eye upon this lively and interesting spot. I need hardly say that I received a hearty and truly Christian welcome from our dear brother Hunt and his amiable and devoted wife. I was glad to find them in health, and with six lovely children around them, five boys and one girl. Brother Hunt and myself were soon deep in conversation on business matters, for I purpose to stay here a few hours, allowing the boats to go on, as I can easily overtake them in a canoe, the two Mountain Portages being near. After dinner I joined in prayer with Mr. Hunt and family, and we then walked out to see the Mission premises. The church is progressing: the frame is quite completed, and much of the external boarding finished. It will be a good and substantial building, and prove a great attraction to the Indians around. Large bands of Chipewyans are now flocking to this station, so much so, that the schoolroom is crowded to excess. I regard this station as a centre for Missionary operations in the English-River district, and should be glad to see a brother associated with Mr. Hunt, that they might itinerate throughout its length and breadth, and carry the life-giving word to the tents of the Indians far and wide. There are zealous priests in the district, and Mr. Hunt requires every help and assistance we can give him to strengthen his hands. I was much pleased and encouraged with all I saw, and enjoyed taking part in the evening service in the schoolroom in Cree. I said a few words by way of exhortation to those present, and Mr. Hunt concluded by reading some prayers from my Cree translation of the Prayer-book. After tea and evening prayers, I left our kind friends in a canoe to overtake the brigade. Came up with them encamped in the second Mountain Portage about half-past eleven P.M. A thunder-storm came on. Got my tent put up, and went to bed for a few hours.

[To be continued.]

HER MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION—GOVERNMENT PROCEDURES IN INDIA.

IN our last Number we referred to the memorial of the Native Association at Madras, deprecating Governmental interference in religion. So far as that petition requires what is only just and equitable—that there should be no such interference with any individual as should induce him, under the influence of force or fraud, to forego his religious convictions, whatever they may be, and thus to obtain the favour or avoid the disfavour of those who have authority over him—we heartily concur in it, provided it be understood to extend to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India, as well European as native. And this we conceive to be the true meaning of the Queen's proclamation: the Queen's delegated authority in India was not to interfere with the religious belief or worship of any of her subjects; and the European, whether in office or out of office, was to be as free to follow out the dictates and requirements of the Christian faith, as the Hindu or Mohammedan to comply with the superstitious usages of their respective creeds. The interference of authority in religion is earnestly to be deprecated. We do not want the native to be scared from the profession of his creed by penal disabilities, nor induced by temporal advantages to attach himself to a system which in his heart he disbelieves. So long as he is under the delusion that his criminous deities are real gods, let the Hindu, by all means, continue to worship at the shrines of Vishnu or Siva; but let Christianity be permitted to exercise freely and without hindrance its persuasive influence. God has commanded it to be preached and taught: let it have free course throughout the land. He has said, "Let there be light:" let the light shine forth! In this respect, too, let there be no Government interference. Let Christianity, without molestation, be permitted to use its own proper and legitimate means of appealing to men's understandings and hearts. It uses no carnal weapons. It would neither bribe nor force. It desires no insincere disciples. They are a source of weakness, not of strength. Christianity is reasonable; it is truthful; it is powerfully persuasive: it has arguments to convince the understanding, and kindly words to move the heart. Let it be free to approach every man. Its mode of action is, first to win hearts, and then to use those whom it has attached as media of its transmission to

others around, that thus the circle of its illuminative influence may be enlarged. Let it be free to use these its own divinely-appointed agencies. "Freely ye have received, freely give;" this is the arrangement by which the wisdom of God provides for the continuous extension of Gospel light and influence. Every recipient of the light becomes communicative of light. Every new Christian, if faithful to his responsibilities, increases the illuminating power of the Gospel. To interfere with this is to interfere with the very movement of life in the Christian system: it is to tamper with the pulsations of the heart. Herein, then, like the Memorialists of Madras, we deprecate Governmental interference. We pray, we demand, that no governmental action, no official procedure, no legislative measure, no despatch, or minute, or emanation from authority, whether it be public or private, be suffered so to intervene between the Gospel message and any one soul, whatever be the false religion to which it be enslaved, as to prevent the Gospel approaching that man, and inviting him to repentance and reconciliation. We ask that each man have his opportunity, and that each man have his option to improve or to reject it. We ask that God, whose message it is, without the officious interference of human authority, be free to speak to the heart of his own creature. Where his providence sends the Gospel, we ask that human authority interpose no hindrance. The light of the natural day gilds not only the mountain brow, but the lowly valley; it irradiates not only the jewelled diadem of kings, but visits the homely cottage of the peasant, and cheers him as he goes forth to his daily toil. It enters the prison as well as the palace, and makes even the gloomy cell of the convict to look cheerful. Let, then, the better light of which it is the type shine forth as freely, and penetrate every nook and crvice where a portion of our lost humanity is to be found.

And in this great work of spreading abroad its saving light, let Christianity be free to use its own agencies; and every Christian man be at liberty to avow and commend it, as he has opportunity, to those around. Let no man, because he is an official of the Government, be intimidated from acting as a Christian: let no requisitions be made upon him with which he cannot comply without disloyalty to his heavenly King. British

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Christians, then, as well as the Native Association at Madras, have their Memorial to present—one which, if necessary, will, we trust, be carried to the foot of the Sovereign's throne, namely, that, in the matters to which we have referred, there be no Government interference.

There is the more reason we should be prepared to do so, because, unlike the memorialists at Madras, we feel that we have, as Christians, *bona fide* grievances to complain of. We would there was as little interference with Christianity on the part of Government, as with the religion of the natives, and that the same scrupulousness which exists as to offending the native was in practice as to the principles and feelings of Christian men. We have to regret that the administration of authority by the Supreme Government at Calcutta is any thing but fair and impartial, and that the native and his superstitions absorb so much of its solicitude, while for the conscientious convictions of the Christian who is in office there appears to be no consideration at all. It is with great pain we thus write. It is delightful to be enabled to commend the action of those in authority: it is always painful to criticise and disapprove. We are fully sensible of the arduous position of those men who are placed in high and responsible situations; but when the free action of the Gospel, the alone ameliorative for suffering humanity, be interfered with, the duty is plain—the Christian press of this free country must speak out.

What is it that has occurred? In a Punjabee regiment of infantry a movement in favour of Christianity has exhibited itself.

We shall state of what class of men this regiment consisted. It had been raised from the outcast Muzabee or Sweeper caste of the Sikhs, with which other Sikhs will not eat, and, thus depressed and degraded, they constituted the depraved *materiel* from which Thuggee chiefly recruited itself in the Punjab. The whole caste, therefore, had been placed under *quasi* surveillance, careful registers having been prepared, for every police jurisdiction, of their families and residence. Their numbers are limited, not exceeding 5000 for the whole Punjab. They are ferocious and misanthropic by nature, but, by judicious treatment, are reclaimable.

The first attempt to use these men for industrial purposes was on the works of the Baree-Doab canal, where many of them were employed. It was then decided to employ the Muzabees on the Lahore and Peshawur road. Hearing of this, and full of hope that they were going to be formed into a pultan, or re-

giment, they left the canal in considerable numbers, taking with them their wives and children, and causing, by their departure, no small amount of inconvenience. On the Peshawur road they were organized into an industrial body of a thousand men, and, on the northern portions of it, rendered good service; but, after a time, their employment in the direction of the frontier was not found expedient, several of them having joined the hostile colony of fanatic Syuds* at Sitana. They were therefore transferred to the Baree-Doab canal in 1854.

On their return they were kept, for the most part, at task-work, and were found most useful.

On the outbreak of the mutiny, the presence of the Muzabees at Madhopore effectually checked the tendency of the large body of Poorbeea workmen on the canal works there to rise against the Europeans; and, on the defeat of the Sealkote mutineers by General Nicholson, at Timmoo, a party of fifty Muzabees was armed and sent, with European officers, across the Ravee, to patrol along the frontier towards Jummoo. By that time, however, all the fugitives from Timmoo had escaped across the boundary.

Previously to this, in consequence of the severity of the work at Delhi, and the paucity of hands, Mr. (now Sir R.) Montgomery had written to Madhopore, inquiring if three companies of Muzabee pioneers could be raised and sent down quickly. The three companies were enrolled, their accounts settled, and, on the day but one after the receipt of Mr. Montgomery's letter, the whole body started by forced marches for Delhi, where they did excellent service. At the latter end of July 1859, two other companies of Muzabees were enrolled and taken down to Delhi by Lieutenant Home,† to whose influence, in a great measure, is to be attributed the rapidity with which Sir R. Montgomery's wishes were carried out.

At the capture and spoil of Delhi, these men obtained possession of some Christian books, the reading of which put some of them on inquiry. They came to their officers, the only Christians within their reach, and begged for information. On the arrival of the regiment at Umritsur, our Missionaries there were made acquainted with the inquiring state of these

* One of the numerous frontier tribes which have required to be kept in order with a strong hand, and, during the mutiny, received some merited chastisement from Sir Sydney Cotton.

† He led the assault at the Cashmere gate, and afterwards lost his life at Mallaghur, when the forts were blown up.

men, and they proceeded, as in duty bound, to discharge the functions of a Missionary, and gave them Christian instruction. The result was the baptism of some of them. The regiment soon after was moved into cantonments at Meanee, and there being no Missionary at this place, the officers, some of them, afforded to the Christian converts in the regiment such means of instruction as were in their power, and, on the Lord's-days, united with them in Christian worship. No invitation appears to have been addressed to the heathen of the regiment—so far, at least, as the officers were concerned—to attend these assemblages, but if, of their own accord, they preferred to do so, they were not prevented. These officers have been ordered to cease interference with the religion of these men. There is an officer in the Punjab at present, a proselyting Socinian, who is very anxious to draw away disciples after him, and has been tampering, amongst others, with a Christian convert, in the ranks of another Punjab regiment. We are anxious to observe whether a similar missive from the Government will reach this individual.

But wherein, we would ask, consisted the interference? The officers did not even take the initiative in the matter. Certain books fell into the hands of these soldiers, and moved them to inquiry. They had not been forced upon them: had they been, in all probability they would not have read them. It was in the exercise of their own free will they did so, and they wished to know more upon the subject. What should the officers have done? We can well imagine the reply—"They should have refused to answer. They should have told the men, that to do so was at variance with the wishes of the authorities." Refused to answer! But how could this be reconciled with Christian responsibility? "Be ready *always* to give an answer to *every* man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear."* Here is Christian responsibility. The wishes of the Government and the obligations of Christianity are at variance. Christ commands his servants to be ready to answer every man at all times, who comes to inquire on the subject of Christianity. The Government interferes, and imposes silence. Assuredly there is interference here, but whether is it interference on the part of these officers with the religion of their men, or interference on the part of the Government with the religion of its servants and the religious liberty, and freedom to inquire, which the

Queen's proclamation intended all her subjects to enjoy? What effect would, in all probability, have been produced on the mind of these inquiring natives had their officers declined to answer them? Indignation against a Government which thus unjustifiably interfered with the free action of their minds, and obstructed them in their search after truth; and contempt for their officers, who, even in matters so important as those of religion, placed themselves in such a position of servility to the Government.

But in what more have these officers offended? They assembled the native Christians of their regiment on the Lord's-day, and united with them in Christian worship; and not only so, but they were not careful to exclude the heathen. But wherein was their interference, for every man was left just to do that which he thought best? The native Christians in the regiment wished for Christian worship. Were they to be prevented? That would have been interference. They might justly have complained, that, so far as they were concerned, the Queen's proclamation had been violated, inasmuch as their religious worship was interfered with, and instead of enjoying the equal and impartial protection of the law, they were molested and disquieted by reason of their religious faith and observance. Of the heathen, none were present at the service but such as wished to be so; and had they been excluded, they also with justice might have complained of interference with their liberty to decide for themselves in matters of religion.

Again, in May last, some civil officers attended the Missionary chapel at Umritsaur, on the occasion of the baptism of some native converts, and the Government in Council has called upon them for an explanation, thus attempting to enforce the notorious despatch of 1847, which, on its arrival in India, was suppressed, because unfitted to be published.* We wish to be informed whether Mohammedan or Hindu officials are similarly molested, when, in their official capacity, they attend their religious ceremonies. The neutrality which, while it checks and discourages the free action of Christianity, leaves the old debasing systems free to pursue whatever course they please, to celebrate the orgies of their idols, and to bring together crowded multitudes under every demoralizing influence, is not even what it pretends to be, a cold-hearted neutrality: it is favoritism, a pampering of false religions at the expense of truth.

* 1 Pet. iii. 15.

* See vol. ix. p. 83.

The Native Association which memorialized Lord Stanley will now, we conclude, be exultant, as the policy which they wished for at Madras has been acted upon at Calcutta. But that which they pretended, the friends of Missions have in reality to complain of—Government interference in matters of religion. The great privilege which it has been the object of the Queen's proclamation to secure has been infringed upon, and that freedom of action in religious matters which the royal document recognised as the right of every man, provided that, in his use of it, he did not interfere with the exercise of the same liberty upon the part of others, has been invaded by the Governor in Council. The Christian officer has a right, if he desires so to do, to unite with other Christians in his regiment for the purpose of prayer and mutual edification. The man who fills some official status under Government is not therefore to be precluded from identifying himself with the public action of that Gospel which he believes. It is such a confession as his Lord has enjoined upon him, and to absent himself, in order to please his superiors, would be to sacrifice his Christianity to his office.

Now we think that the country has a right to inquire, and to demand an explicit answer to the question—Does the Government intend to carry out the restrictive policy of the despatch of May 1847?—"The Government is known throughout India by its officers, with whom it is identified in the eyes of the native inhabitants; and our servants should therefore be aware that, while invested with public authority, their acts cannot be regarded as those of private individuals." In other words, the Government servant must divest himself of all sense of individual responsibility in matters of religion. He must resolve himself into a mere state machine, which is just to move according to the impulse and orders of the Government. To be faithful to the Government, he must learn to disregard the most solemn obligations of the religion he professes. To be faithful to the Government he must be unfaithful to his God. Do the authorities think that they will find their *employés* more reliable, because, as a condition of service, there is required from them an evasion and abandonment of the highest religious obligations? How can real earnest Christian men continue in office under such circumstances? The Government must fill up its vacancies with those who are only Christians in name. Will they prove more trustworthy, or carry with them, in the fulfilment of their duties, the blessing of Him, who

says, "Them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed?"

Instead of the era of religious liberty, and the freedom from religious interference, which we had hoped the Queen's proclamation would inaugurate, the Government is committing itself to a policy more restrictive and inquisitorial than at any previous period; one which that document never authorised, nay, by which it is expressly violated.

"The Proclamation issued by the Queen, on assuming the Government of India, prohibits the interference of the public officers with the belief of the people. The prohibition has reference necessarily to their official character, and the principle embodied in it is judicious and sound. For the last fifty years it has been the rule in India that the functionaries of the Government should abstain from using their official influence for the diffusion of Christianity among the natives, and the proclamation simply incorporates the ancient rule with the new Government. At the same time the public servants have always been considered at liberty, in their private and individual capacity, to aid the promotion of Christian truth. The line of distinction was first defined under the Government of Lord Minto, and it has been distinctly recognised under every succeeding administration. It was in the year 1808 that the Serampore Missionaries had resolved to solicit subscriptions for the translating and printing of the Scriptures in the languages of India, and Dr. Marshman waited on Lord Minto to request his support. He asked time to consider the proposal, and consult his colleagues. At the next interview he said, that if he could possibly step out of it himself, and separate his public from his private character, he would at once head the list; but it was considered unadvisable for the head of the Government to appear in such an undertaking. Amongst his councillors the most eminent and influential was Mr. Edmonstone, the Secretary to the Government, but he was not deemed to lie under any such restriction, and he put his name down at once for a subscription of thirty pounds. Three years after, the Auxiliary Bible Society was established in Calcutta, and its first meeting was held in the hall of the College of Fort William, a Government institution, and a Judge of the supreme native court, and a Secretary to the Government, were respectively appointed President and Vice-President of the Society. The Government of Lord Minto was distinguished by its opposition to Missionary efforts, and, in the year succeeding the esta-

blishment of this Society, placed eight Missionaries under a sentence of banishment, of whom only one was enabled to remain in the country. Even in that anti-Missionary age, and under that anti-Missionary Government, all the subordinate members of Government were considered at liberty to assist the progress of Christian truth, as private individuals, and it was only the head of the Government, the representative of the Crown, who was deemed to be debarred from taking any share in it. The principle thus established has been ever since considered as the rule and practice in all questions connected with the diffusion of Christianity. Lord William Bentinck systematically abstained from subscribing to any Missionary object while Governor-General; and it was not till he had laid down the Government that he sent Dr. Marshman fifty pounds, to testify his esteem for the labours of the Serampore Missionaries, "as soon as he was at liberty to act in his private capacity." In like manner, Lord Dalhousie, while his purse was open to every benevolent object, withheld his subscriptions only from those institutions which were established with the direct object of proselytism. But neither did Lord William Bentinck nor Lord Dalhousie intrench on the long-established liberty of every subordinate officer to encourage the spread of Christianity by his subscriptions as a private citizen, while, at the same time, every exercise of official influence was strictly interdicted. It is evidently in the spirit of this liberality that the terms of the proclamation have been selected. If at any future period any attempt should be made to abridge this freedom, and a Christian officer should be prohibited from taking the same interest in the baptism of a Hindu convert, which a Mohammedan officer is freely allowed to take in the circumcision of a convert to Islamism, it will be the duty of the people or Parliament of England to interpose their authority, and to prevent so invidious and unjustifiable an innovation.*

That unjust and unprecedented exercise of authority has been attempted. A Christian official, the Commissioner of Umritsur, has been called to account because he exhibited the same interest in the case of a convert to Christianity,† which a Mohammedan official

would be free to show in matters connected with the extension of his creed, without any inquiry whatever on the part of the authorities. In the native army of the Punjab the old system of discountenancing the spread of Christianity amongst the men, which prospered so remarkably in the native army of Bengal, under the auspices of the Governor in Council has been resumed. No Christian officer may communicate with a native soldier on the subject of Christianity. Even although, from independent sources, with which the officer has had no connexion whatever, the man has been led to inquire, and, with an anxious desire to ascertain the truth, comes voluntarily to the officer, and asks for information, still, under governmental restriction, the officer may not answer him: if he does, it is interference with the religion of the men, and brings down a sharp rebuke from Calcutta.

In the case of these particular inquirers, men from among the Muzabee Sikhs, we cannot but think this act of Government interference has been singularly unhappy. Here we have a class of men, isolated from the rest of the population by caste distinctions, nay, even from their own co-religionists, so much so, that between them and the other Sikhs there exists a strong antipathy; a despised class, suffering under a sense of wrong, whose conversion to Christianity was a matter of perfect indifference to Sikh, and Hindu, and Mohammedan, so utterly despicable were they in the eyes of every one; a class bound together by a companionship in degradation, the whole constituting a *materiel* so homogeneous, that if any one portion of it became well affected towards Christianity, the predisposition was likely to pervade the entire body; these men interfered with just at a most critical moment, discouraged and thrown back; who can tell the adverse effect which may be produced upon them by a Christian Government forbidding their Christian officers to help them in their earnest inquiries after Christianity? The European has been interfered with. There can be no more arbitrary act than that which constrains a Christian officer to ignore a movement in favour of Christianity amongst the heathen soldiers whom he commands—a change which he knows will make them far

* Marshman's "Life and Times of Carey," see Preface, p. xiii. &c.

† Time precludes the possibility of reviewing in this Number the correspondence between the Governor-General in Council and the Punjab authorities on this case. We can merely say that we rejoice at the manly vindication of personal Chris-

tian liberty which graces the letter of Sir R. Montgomery, as well as that of his subordinate. The Governor in Council, finding so bold a front presented to him, backs out of the matter. But what security have we that, under more favourable circumstances, a similar interference will not be attempted and enforced?

more valuable and reliable than ever they were before. But it is not only the European, but the native, who has been wronged, for the Government has interfered with him in his inquiries after truth, and deprived him of the aid which he might otherwise have received.

Her Majesty's proclamation has been violated. That proclamation conceded equal privileges to all her subjects, and prohibited interference with any of them in matters of religious belief. Yet some of them now, at this moment, are "molested and disquieted by reason of their religious faith:" and if so invidious and unjustifiable an innovation is to be prevented, the time is come "for the people and the Parliament of England to interfere." The Parliament is not sitting, but the people can move. If these acts of the Calcutta authorities be permitted to pass in silence, it will be ruled as a precedent, and repeated just at moments when it is calculated to do most mischief. We in this country have contended for the removal of all obstructions to the free expression of religious opinion, and the spread of Christian knowledge throughout the land. The Government replies by increasing the restrictions and diminishing the amount of liberty which has been hitherto enjoyed. We have contended for the admission of the Bible into all schools; but the question which has now arisen—the right of every *employé* of the Government to fulfil his Christian responsibilities without being molested by the Government, and, while he renders to Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, to render to God the things which be God's—is still more urgent and pressing. God's people throughout the land are no longer to be "burning and shining lights;" they are to be coerced into the condition of dark-lanterns. They may have light, provided they keep it to themselves; but no ray must be emitted on the thick darkness around, lest it interfere with the religion of the natives. The matter must be taken up, and petitions and memorials express the strong feeling of Christian Britain on the subject. On the details of Bible classes in schools there may have been differences of opinion, but on this question there can be none: all scriptural Christians can act together.

But what has induced this interference upon the part of the Indian Government with the free action of its officials in matters of religion? We refer to a Minute from the Governor in Council to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, dated May 10th, 1859, on the subject of the admission of Missionaries into gaols, in which his Lordship reverses a decision of Sir John Lawrence, who had permitted access under regulations. On that

subject we shall have a few words to add in another paper. But our purpose at present is simply to refer to the principle avowed by Lord Canning as that which ruled the determination to which he came—"the practice advocated in these papers is not in accordance with the principle of neutrality in matters of religion, which the Government will observe in all its measures, and which it will require its servants to observe in all their official acts."

It is, then, the old principle of neutrality which has risen up out of the ruins of the great earthquake of 1857, and resumed its ascendancy over the councils of the Supreme Government at Calcutta: it is the old presiding *lar* of the East-India House. The Chinese have a god called "the kitchen god." He occupies a niche over the oven, and is supposed to exercise a benign influence over all the culinary arrangements. In the discharge of these duties he becomes, as months pass over, somewhat murky and begrimed with smoke. Just before the close of the year he disappears, and the uninitiated might conclude that he would be seen no more; but after an interval of absence, during which he is supposed to have attended at the court of the *dii majores* to give an account of his presidency over the family committed to his charge, he re-enters the cookhouse, the field of his dominion, and, all cleansed and brightly burnished, re-ascends his throne; while, to grace his return, offerings are presented and burners placed before him. We had hoped that neutrality, the antiquated *lar* of former days, had been superannuated, and that we should see no more of him. Alas! he was only taken down to be cleaned, and is now set up again in his old niche beside the Government house in Calcutta.

This *lar* of neutrality is not so innocuous a personage as the cook-god of the Chinese. The latter is satisfied with the plates of vegetable stuff placed before him. At the shrine of the Indian demi-god more costly offerings have to be placed: the honour of one nation, the welfare of another, evasions of what is right, evil compromises with what is wrong; and, as the result, temporal and eternal interests trifled with, and precious souls sacrificed: these have been heaped up within the shrine of the Moloch of neutrality.

In truth, Juggernaut is not without a rival in India. There is a soul-destroying system which, under the fostering care of the British Government, has had its thousands of victims. Witness the youths which, year by year, came forth from the Government institutions without any religion whatever; and

why? Because, any reference to God's truth would have been inconsistent with neutrality. How many of these, if opportunities had been afforded them to use, or not to use, as they felt disposed, might have been happy in the possession of the Christian's hope, useful when living, and blessed in their death? Witness the Sepoys, so dealt with as to become imbued with the idea, that to follow out a process of Christian inquiry, which might eventuate in conviction, would be to expose themselves to the disfavour of the authorities, and bring them to an ignominious dismissal from the service. Abandoned thus to the undisputed influence of idolatry, which, provided we might have their service, was free to have their souls, they became distrustful, sullen, and disaffected, and at length rose upon us in one fearful outbreak of rebellion; and now, not satisfied with former sacrifices, a new offering is needed, and every Christian officer of the Government is required to immolate his conscience at the shrine of governmental expediency. Every godly man is placed in a most distressing position: he must hurt his conscience, or damage his prospects; he must expose himself to the frown and rebuke of the Governor in Council, and become a marked man; or else, to please his superior, displease the Lord that bought him. He must forego his convictions, or resign his official status, the reward of many years of patient industry in Indian exile; and all this to appease the great governmental delusion of neutrality, which, in its voracity, is never satisfied, but still cries, Give, give.

And yet it is not to neutrality that these sacrifices are made, but to that one-sided action which the Government is pleased to call neutrality—a principle of which, if we might invest it with an imaginary personification, it may be said that there is no more frequent donor at the shrines of heathenism, for it is ever coming thither with gifts and offerings to conciliate the gods and their worshippers. It brings with it, too, robbery for burnt-offerings, for it defrauds—nay, violently despoils—Christians of their rights, that it may lay them at the feet of Siva and Vishnu.

Let us hear the testimony of American Missionaries on the subject, in a recent publication of much interest, and whose judgment on the subject will be regarded as the more reliable, because, as far as they could conscientiously do so, they have not hesitated to render their meed of approbation to the Government of India. Thus, for instance, they say, "Without wishing to appear as the advocate of the East-India Company—for we

are free to admit that many errors have existed, and some still exist—yet we feel that it requires us to say, notwithstanding all these, the Government has been a great blessing to the people, and, of late years, has been steadily gaining moral strength, and rapidly advancing in the estimation of such as know her best, and are able to appreciate improvements and right Governments." And, again, "Need the author tell, as a Missionary, that the fullest liberty was afforded him and his associates for the successful fulfilment of their work. . . . We were permitted to travel from one end of India to the other, without let or hindrance."*

Now let us introduce their testimony—

"There can be no doubt that the whole spirit of Government has been to pet and patronize superstitions, and to discourage every attempt to disturb or alter them. Toleration and neutrality have been the avowed views, and its settled policy was non-interference in religious matters; and there can be no question but that this was, all things taken into consideration, the best and wisest plan that could be adopted. But then the policy was one thing, and the practice quite another, and quite different. According to the latter, Government lent its aid and influence to the support and encouragement of idolatry and false religion; for not only were grants made to heathen temples, but the Sepoys were allowed to worship their regimental colours, and display their Ramhita exploits on the different parade-grounds. Besides all this, there has been a great favouritism shown to men of high caste, and the native army was almost exclusively made up of men of this character; and that which has been so fostered, even to infatuation, has sprung up and resulted in untold misery and desolation. God has, by the mutiny, spoken in an unmistakeable manner to the Indian Government, and we trust that the lessons taught will not pass without being duly considered. We cannot believe that India is to be lost, but rather benefited greatly by the changes which are now to be inaugurated and carried on to completion. It is only such a development as has been made, and made, too, in such a manner as to impress all classes, that could convince the governing powers in Leadenhall Street, London, of the folly and sinfulness of their former course and opinions. The Government must no longer mislead the people by false statements, wicked compliances, or the repressing of any truth whatever. All that

* "The Futtehgurh Mission," by Rev. J. J. Walsh, p. 125. Ditto, p. 127.

tends to foster superstition and encourage false religions must be discontinued, and perfect liberty of conscience must be allowed to all classes, independent of all aid or sanction from the powers that be. Let the temples of Kalee and Juggernaut receive no more or less protection and encouragement than the churches of Christians. What is required is, that all classes, whatever be their religion, should enjoy equally the most perfect freedom of worship consistent with good morals, and every degree of proper toleration; and, with respect to Government schools, high or low, we must insist on no more exclusion of the word of God. This is a point of vital importance to the welfare of India and her rulers. We must have no more such graduates as Nana Sahib to go forth into the world to sow the seeds of rebellion, and imbue their hands in the blood of Christians, whom they have been taught to despise and hate in the nurseries of infidelity, supported and encouraged by Government.

"This may be regarded as strong language but for its truth and propriety we appeal to facts to sustain us, and on such occasions we think truth ought to be spoken boldly and honestly. The exclusion of God's word, and the expurgation of the name of the Saviour from the books taught in these schools, is a stigma under which good men have withered and suffered.

"We know of one of the ablest and best men in the civil service, who, because of his refusal to have any connexion with these schools, was not only refused promotion granted to others, but was degraded by being kept in a position of less power and emolument. He was hung, after undergoing the ceremony of a mock trial at Bareilly, by the mutineers. This system must be changed. To allow a place to the Korán or Shasters, and not to the Bible, can be characterized only by the strongest language of disapprobation, and deserves the reprobation it so justly merits at the hands of all Christian men. The very statement that the most puerile productions might be read and studied, but not a word of God's revelation of mercy and love, is enough to condemn the system hitherto pursued by Government.

"We trust that this will be one of the good effects accomplished by the present rebellion; and if so, what a glorious result will be achieved for the future interests of the people of India!

"We might also speak of the cultivation of opium by Government, and of its being forced, in violation of edicts, into the Chinese market. It is indeed a most humiliating thing

to see Christianity and heathenism in such conjunction. And we advert to this because, as if to show his peculiar displeasure at this, God has desolated the very place where it has been most cultivated.* Futtehghurh was one of these places. We trust that this will be discontinued. The principles here stated we think are just and true, and time is required for their introduction and development."

And what have we gained by this policy of compromise; this dereliction of principle for the sake of expediency; this resolution to prefer our interest, as we consider it, to our duty; this sensitiveness to man's displeasure, and indifference to the displeasure of God? Has it been so successful, so enriching, as that we need care to pursue it? Has it conciliated the Hindú, and made him attached and docile? Has India fructified under the influence of neutrality; and is it, in its increasing revenues, yielding us a noble return, and placing to our credit a large balance after the costs of expenditure have been met? Have the inert masses of India's population, after generations of lassitude, become endued with an unwonted energy; and, with the increase of intellectual activity and industrial habits, are the vast resources of the country becoming rapidly developed? No: India is now a drain on England. Unable to provide for its own wants, the Government of India comes as an embarrassed merchant into our markets, and solicits loans. God has not blessed our policy. We would needs be neutral—no interference with the religion of the natives—but in more than one instance a direct and positive interference with the free action of the Gospel; and God has left our rulers in India to their own wisdom. Since May 1857 we have been visited, in our Indian affairs, with disaster upon disaster. The thunder-cloud of the great rebellion arose, at first small as a man's hand, but rapidly extending itself, and becoming more dark and ominous. Some there were who marked the portents of the gathering storm, and they raised a warning voice, but in vain. They who guided the helm were wrapped in incredulity. Our oriental dependency, the "Great Eastern" of politics, was the admiration of the world; all was on a scale of unprecedented magnitude, and all the machinery supposed to be of superior excellence and in first-rate working order. Suddenly an important branch of it, on which great reliance had been placed, but in which the powerful

* Additional rebukes on the Chinese coast itself have not been wanting. Mark the unexpected reverse at the mouth of the Peiho.

explosive of disaffection had been allowed to accumulate, bursts with a powerful crash, and involves all in confusion. And now that the decks have been cleared, the mangled sufferers put aside, and the traces of the dread catastrophe as much as possible obliterated, new dangers threaten. Another portion of the machinery has given way, one, too, which had stood the test of the preceding ordeal, and on the stability of which every reliance had been placed; and again it was because the safety-valve had been neglected: the European soldiers of the Government threatened to follow the ill example of the native army, and to break out into mutiny. These men had fought bravely, and shed their blood freely in maintaining the Queen's supremacy in India. They had taken their place side by side with the Queen's troops, and had met and repelled the sudden and fierce rush of Sepoy rebellion. Take, for example, one regiment, the recollection of whose services rises up most distinctly before us—the 1st Madras Fusiliers. This was one of the four European regiments on which Havelock relied when advancing from Allahabad to Cawnpore, and from Cawnpore to Lucknow. They led the way over the bridge at Pandoo Nundee; with the gallant 78th they drove the rebel Sepoys from the gardens at Unao, carried the earthworks at Basserut Gunge, and drove the Nana out of his defences at Bithoor. On the advance to Lucknow they carried the bridge over the canal, defended as it was by a battery of four guns, including one or more heavy ones, the houses close behind being loopholed and full of riflemen. At the head of this regiment the gallant Neill fell, shot from a loophole. But why recapitulate services which are yet fresh in the national recollection? Yet these gallant and acclimatized Europeans, who, in the strain and pressure of the great rebellion, were found so faithful and unflinching, on the simple occasion of their transfer from the Company's to the Queen's service became mysteriously altered. Could they not have been conciliated? A timely acknowledgment of the great services they had rendered, bestowed on them as an expression of royal favour, might have quieted the temporary irritation, and happily concluded the affair. Just one little movement by the hand of a subordinate would have turned the brass cock, and given vent to the imprisoned vapour. It was not done, and our "Great Eastern" is deprived of another arm of power, at the moment when she most needs it.

"The transfer of the Company's troops to the Crown presented an opportunity of at-

taching those troops for ever to their new ruler. This might have been done by graciously and gratefully acknowledging their long and noble services, and especially their heroic deeds in the suppression of the great Indian rebellion; by granting to them some new privileges, the nature of which might have been carefully deliberated upon by competent advisers; and, lastly, by offering to the worn-out or discontented men their discharge, and to the rest such bounty as the state would afford. Estimating the Company's European army at 30,000 men—a number it never reached—and allowing 3*l*. per man for bounty, a sum of ninety thousand pounds, at the very outside, would have covered all their claims, and utterly removed all grounds of complaint. The opportunity was lost, and the result is an expense to Government of at least three times the amount above mentioned, by the discharge of 5000 soldiers, each soldier costing 60*l*., on a moderate calculation, before he is fit for duty in India."*

Instead of 5000, it is probable the number will rise to 8000 or 10,000. But it were well if it were only a matter of expense. New complications threaten. The war on the Chinese coast has unexpectedly rekindled out of its ashes, and so suddenly and fiercely have the flames shot forth, as to inflict upon the British forces a serious disaster. India itself is still restless: the heavings of the late hurricane, which swept over its population with such tremendous force, have not yet settled down. Excitement is said to exist among the Mohammedans of the Punjab, and two regiments of Madras cavalry have shown symptoms of disaffection at Hyderabad. It is just the moment when not a man can be spared from the East; yet at this moment are they returning in thousands from the regions where they are most wanted. "While our ministers at home are taxing their energies to find the soldiers who are to renew the Chinese treaty at the point of the bayonet, while they are counting man by man the companies of raw recruits on whom they can rely to escort our ambassador to Peking, the Governor-General of India is perplexed with the cares which devolve upon him in consequence of the necessity under which he is placed of sending to England, from India, some seven or eight thousand hardy and acclimatized soldiers, who, when they arrive home, are to be especially and particularly excluded from serving their country in the field. While, with some difficulty and with uncertain results, Lord

* "Homeward Mail," Aug. 22, 1859.

Palmerston will have to send out to India two brigades of British infantry, Lord Canning, with comparative ease and great decision, is busy in despatching to England soldiers who are to be soldiers no more, each of whom will cost the country at least 100*l.* before he is dismissed. A Sepoy mutiny has been followed by a European secession. It is hard to believe that Englishmen in India have lost all the characteristics of their race. Yet here, in spite of threats and remonstrances, are 8000 or 10,000 of them deserting their standards in our utmost need. The Commander-in-Chief, we are told, warns them. Lord Canning, we know, discharges them. Is it quite certain that these warnings and this discharge might not have been unnecessary on the part of Lord Clyde and the Governor-General, if these thousands of Englishmen had been treated, we will not say with fairness, but with tact?"* The fact is, so long as, under the specious plea of neutrality, we discountenance Christianity to conciliate the native, we shall ever want that blessing of God which makes a man's ways to prosper.

We have been requested to explain how this neutrality question in India really stands, whether it has ever been settled by treaty on the occasion of the cession of any territories to us, or whether it is merely the ancient traditionary policy of the Company, and no more. Now Mr. Charles Grant lived nearer the fountain-head of Indian acquisitions than we do. His "Observation on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals, and the means of improving it," was written chiefly in the year 1792, that was, during the administration of Lord Cornwallis, the first Governor-General of India. The foundation of British empire had been there not only laid, but well consolidated. Had there been built upon those foundations any treaty binding us to neutrality on matters of religion? Let us take the judgment of Mr. Charles Grant. After enlarging on the utter demoralization of Hindu society, and the causes of it, he proceeds to inquire into the ameliorative measures which might be adopted. "We now proceed to the main object of the work, for the sake of which all the preceding topics and discussions have been brought forward—an inquiry into the means of remedying disorders which have become thus inveterate in the state of society among our Asiatic subjects, which destroy

their happiness, and obstruct every species of improvement among them.

"That it is in the highest degree desirable that a healing principle should be introduced, no man surely will deny. Suppose it to be in our power to convince them of the criminality of the annual sacrifice of so many human victims on the funeral pile; of the profession of robbery, comprehending murder; of the indulgence of one class of people in the whole catalogue of flagitious crimes, without any adequate punishment; of the forfeiture of the lives of others, according to their institutes, for the merest trifles; of the arbitrary imposition of burthensome rites, devoid of all moral worth; of the pursuit of revenge, by offerings to vindictive deities; of the establishment of lying, false evidence, gaming, and other immoralities by law; of the pardon of capital offences for money; of trying to purchase the expiation of wilful and habitual iniquity by ceremonial observances; and of the worship of stocks, stones, impure and malevolent deities; no man living surely would affirm that we ought, that we are at liberty to withhold from them this conviction.

"Are we bound for ever to preserve all the enormities of the Hindu system? Have we become the guardians of every monstrous principle and practice which it contains? Are we pledged to support for all generations, by the authority of our Government and the power of our arms, the miseries which ignorance and knavery have so long entailed upon a large portion of the human race? Is this the part which a free, a humane, and an enlightened nation, a nation itself professing principles diametrically opposite to those in question, has engaged to act towards its own subjects? It would be too absurd and extravagant to maintain that any engagement of this kind exists; that Great Britain is under any obligation, direct or implied, to uphold errors and usages, gross and fundamental, subversive of the first principles of reason, morality, and religion."

If, then, by neutrality we are to understand some mysterious obligation which constrains the Government, either here or through its representatives in India, to discountenance Christianity, and, by interposing its influence, intercept its transmission to the native mind, we disclaim the existence of such a bond and obligation.

We have written strongly on the subject; but the interests at stake are of first importance. Moreover, the Governor-General's minute on the admission of teachers into gaols, with severity reproves the free expres-

* "Times" Newspaper, Sept. 13, 1857.



INDIAN MEDICINE-MAN PREPARING HIS CHARMS

sion of opinion on these vital questions, on the part of the officials of the Indian Government—

"In conclusion, I am desired to remark, that the question relating to the policy of Government in matters connected with religion has been very unnecessarily raised in connexion with the subject in hand, and that it is singularly unbecoming in officers, in the position of some of the writers, who have taken part in the correspondence, to advocate and maintain views on this most important and delicate subject so directly opposed to the strong and lately-reiterated commands of Her Majesty's Government.

"The Governor-General in Council desires that the practice of originating remarks, and raising or prolonging discussion on subjects of general policy, a practice which has been of late indulged in by subordinate executive officers in some parts of India, and which has been too easily tolerated by the local adminis-

tration, may be entirely discouraged and repressed. "I am, &c., C. BEADON."

It is evident that the Government at Calcutta regards the Queen's proclamation as sanctioning this unhappy policy, which it designates as neutrality: and now, strong in its determination to carry it out more determinately than ever, it will admit of no entreaty or remonstrance from its subordinates. No autocrat could more imperiously enforce silence upon his subjects, or prohibit the free expression of opinion. The Christian press of England must therefore speak out the more; and we have to tell the retrograde party in the Government of India, that the old traditional policy is doomed, as sinful in the sight of God, dishonouring to the British crown, repugnant to the feelings of the great mass of Indian officials, and cruel to the natives; and that we shall never rest until we see it broken down and prostrated in the dust.

INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS.

THE Indian tribes in their natural state, as the Gospel finds them, are lost in a maze of gloomy superstitions as dark as the depths of their dense forests; with this difference, that through the most extended forest the Indian can find his way, but amidst the gloomy traditions of his forefathers he is completely bewildered. When the Indian wishes to surprise his enemy, he only travels at night, and then his prayer to the moon, the wife of the sun, is, that she may not shine. The war-trail through the forest is then dark indeed, but not so dark as the pathway of his religious life. The whole creation, as it seems to him, is peopled with spirits, good and bad, who are unceasingly at warfare with each other—a warfare which he cannot see, and yet in which he is mysteriously engaged. Every thing that is new, or strange, or unintelligible to him, whatever can hurt him, or whatever can help him, is, in his eyes, a *monedo*, that is, a mysterious power or spirit. His life is spent in observing the movements of these spirits, as made discernible by sorcery and magic, and in guiding himself accordingly, so as to imitate them.

The traditions of the Indians, confused as they are, resolve themselves into some such points as these—Mankind existed: bad spirits destroyed them. Some escaped as spirits. *Menabozho*—a word, the signification of which is lost with them—is the great spirit who re-peopled the earth, made the sun and moon, and

all other spirits. The sun is a *monedo* (*maneto*), which gives light. "The earth, covered with spirits, is itself a spirit. They call it the big plate, where all the spirits eat. Birds make the winds, the east wind excepted. The spreading and agitation of their wings hide the sun, and in that way make wind and clouds." The bear, the buffalo, and beaver are *monedos* which furnish food. They render ceremonies to the bear, "begging him to allow himself to be eaten, although they know he has no fancy for it. "We kill you, but you are not annihilated." His paws and his head are objects of homage: these are the last parts eaten. They clean them, ornament them, give them the pipe, and offer them food. Women do not eat these parts. *Missabé* is the great spirit of the hunter. He lives in mountains, or precipitous rocks. He it is whom the hunters invoke, and the tobacco, sugar, &c., which they offer him, are found in the depths of the rock, and of the isolated boulders of the prairies.

The *Medawin* is the society which teaches the higher forms of spiritual existence, and the influence they exercise among men. The *Meda*, (medicine-man) who is to be distinguished from the Indian physician, is the seer or soothsayer, fortune-teller, diviner, and prophet. The term applied to the acts of the last-named office is "*To Iesukä*," or divine. The word becomes a substantive in "*Iesukad*," while the ceremony is "*Iesukau*, and the lodge itself "*Iesukaup*."

There is no limitation to the power of the diviner. The range of questions put to him embraces past, present, and future, things seen and unseen. One asks the precise spot where the body of an Indian, drowned in Lake Superior, may be found. Another, why the animals of the chase have left, and where they may now be found, &c. The answers, like the oracles of old, are usually equivocal. Much address and cunning mark the proceedings of the priests; the ignorant people being excited and imposed upon, and their gifts passing rapidly through the singers and musicians to the grand Jossakeed,* who orders a feast at the expense of the dupes of the day.

The practitioners in these arts belong to the fraternity of the Medawin. They who would join this must be initiated through the vapour-bath lodge, of which an idea was given in the engraving of our last Number. The flexible branches are converged towards the centre,

* The chief juggler.

so as to make a circular vault; blankets are spread on the top. In the middle of the lodge a layer of sand is strewed, on which are placed a number of smooth stones, which, being heated, and water being then poured upon them, produce the vapour. Within this vapour-lodge tent the mysteries of initiation are fulfilled.

The Indian physician must not be confounded with the Meda. He heals bruises or sores by emollient cataplasms, and attends cure of wounds and cuts with great care and attention to the cleanliness of the injured parts. He administers simples culled from the botanical catalogue, and has a general knowledge of the most common disorders of the digestive organs. He is unremitting in his care and attention to his patients, and on this his success mainly depends.

Archdeacon Hunter's journal affords us an opportunity of introducing some engravings illustrative of the manners and customs of the Indian tribes.

EXPLORATORY MISSION VOYAGE TO MACKENZIE-RIVER DISTRICTS.—ARCHDEACON HUNTER'S JOURNAL.

THE portion of Archdeacon Hunter's narrative introduced into our last Number, conducts us as far as the Rev. R. Hunt's station on the English River. That has been hitherto our most advanced post northward in North-west America. Beyond extended the vast regions which reach as far as the Arctic Sea. Of these regions, Archdeacon Hunter's journal affords us more explicit and reliable information than we have previously possessed; and thus enables us better to understand our position, and what the Lord means should be done. Of the exceeding misery of the Indian tribes, full and heart-stirring information will be found in these pages. It will be seen, also, that Rome is rapidly pushing forward her agents in advance of us. Already, as far north as the Great-Slave Lake, a Romish Mission-station is to be found, and the French priests, using the Canadian servants of the Company as their stepping-stones, openly declare their intention of grasping the territories beyond. But as yet, in the Mackenzie-River districts, they have not permanized themselves, and here is the opportunity of which Archdeacon Hunter is so anxious we should avail ourselves. We trust that the church in Rupert's Land will be found rising up with a holy resolution to the occupation of these districts, providing the men, and helping to provide the means. We feel that the time is now come when that church, in its congregations of settlers and converted Indians, should take

the lead in the further Missionary operations which are needed in North-west America, and that the duty of the Church Missionary Society becomes more of a supplemental character. It will be for the advantage of the church herself. As she puts forth effort she will gather strength and consolidation, and take deeper root in the land. As she ministers to others, she will be enriched herself. The church in Rupert's Land, girding herself for the work, and putting forth effort proportionate to the measure of her resources, may well look to the Church Missionary Society to back her up and sustain her in the undertaking. Nothing is more important than that the churches raised up in different parts of the earth should powerfully feel their responsibility to become active agencies for the dissemination amongst the surrounding heathen of the light they have received. This is the legitimate field for the employment of the nascent energies of those churches, which otherwise, if not healthfully occupied, must react on themselves, and issue in unhappy consequences of various kinds.

July 8—The crews hauling the boats and carrying the goods at the second Mountain Portage. A great number of Mr. Hunt's people being here, I invited them to attend prayers. Sung a Cree hymn, read a passage of sacred Scripture in Cree, and gave them a short address, and then concluded with prayer.

They all appeared to enjoy the service, and I was glad thus to part from them. It is a great cause for thankfulness to Almighty God if I have been permitted in any way to extend the Redeemer's kingdom on these two important rivers, the Kisiskatchewan and the English River, each forming a centre of operations from whence the blessed sound of the Gospel may go forth far and wide. If, in the good providence of God, a door of entrance and utterance is opened for me in Mackenzie River, I hope to plant the standard of the cross on its banks also, whence it may proceed down to the Arctic Sea, and warm and cheer the hearts of those living in those frozen and ice-bound regions. I count not my life dear unto me that I may accomplish this work, and I trust that the good hand of my God will be upon me, and bless and prosper my way exceedingly. It is a day of very small things, only a faint ray of Gospel light penetrating into those dark regions where Satan has held undisputed sway for ages: may that ray grow and increase exceedingly, until the day dawn and the Day-spring from on high light up those benighted regions like its own beautiful aurora borealis! Jesus has souls there: they also must be brought in, and perhaps the time to favour them is now arrived. Now is the day of salvation for Mackenzie River; now the messengers of the churches are invited to come in, for the set time to favour the poor heathen there, "yea, the set time, is come." Let us enter in, then, with joy and gladness of heart. Difficulties have providentially been removed, we are permitted to establish the Mission, and my first thought and desire at the dawn of this year is about to be realized, that Mackenzie River also may live before Him! God put it into my heart to offer myself for this special work, to pioneer the way into Mackenzie River, leaving my flock, my beloved wife and dear little ones, and going forth to itinerate through the length and breadth of that cold and distant region; and now God has so far heard my prayers, and brought me on my way; and from His past gracious dealings I gather confidence and encouragement for the future. I trust I am willing to go wherever I find work to be done, and hope to travel the greater part of the sixteen months during which I shall be absent, except the very severe months of winter, when the thermometer will sometimes be 50° and 60° below Zero. To God be all the praise, and may He be glorified either by my life or death! If Christ be honoured and souls saved, then will my heart rejoice, and my soul

be joyful in God my Saviour. Sailed across a small lake and took dinner on the portage: afterwards we came to the Little Muche Muneto Rapids, four in number: ascended two, and encamped there for the night.

July 9—Started at four A.M., and ascended the other two rapids, the last very strong, with steep ascent. Our safety depended upon the perseverance of the men in hauling, and the soundness of the rope: however, thanks to a kind Providence, we ascended in safety. How like the world is the tossing and tumultuous waters below, and how like heaven the calm and unruffled surface above. Again, how like the pleasures of the world and the temptations of Satan is this rapid: it looks smooth and pleasant at its commencement; gradually there is a slight upheaving of the surface; this goes on increasing more and more, until you reach the boiling and tumultuous waters below where destruction and death await you.

Left the Little Devil Rapids, and arrived at the Great Devil Portage. This is a long and disagreeable portage, about one mile in length, and one has to walk partly through water and mire to cross it. Here we encamped for the night, the men crossing the cargo and hauling up the boats. A thunder storm, with rain and mosquitoes in abundance. It rains almost every day. This is the most disagreeable portage we have crossed; hence, perhaps, its name.

July 10—The crews brought the boats to the head of the rapid and loaded them. We left at ten A.M. Pulled through Devil's Lake and Hill Lake, and reached the Big-Stone Portage, where we had a thunder-storm, with heavy rain: the mosquitoes and sandflies almost insufferable. I was truly glad to leave the portage. Tracked up several strong rapids, and encamped late, about ten P.M., quite weary and tired.

July 11: Lord's-day—Started at three A.M. A beautiful clear morning. We soon reached the Deep-Channel Rapid, where half the cargo had to be carried, the crews toiling up the boiling waters with the boats. Prayers in Cree, hoping to catch the ears of some of the heathen and Roman Catholics present. Mass and tinkling bell as usual. We afterwards proceeded on our journey. How unlike the quiet and happy hour of the Sabbath! But believe I am in the path of duty, and have much comfort in reading God's word, both in Greek and English. I purpose to read through the Greek Testament, and also my Cree translations, &c.

Ascended the Little and Great Trout Portages, where we saw some men from Isle à la

Crosse, and also some Chipewyan Indians, who speak a very peculiar guttural language. I would gladly have said a word to them about Jesus, but could only point them to God's word, and the way to worship God. Crossed a small lake, ascended a rapid, and encamped at the Willow Portage. Read Greek Testament, Ryle's "Bishop, Pastor, and Preacher," and Cree Prayer-book. Encamped about nine P.M.

July 12—Pulled across Black-Bear-Island Lake, and put ashore on an island for dinner. Very warm weather. Proceeded and encamped about nine P.M. A very fatiguing day: read when heat and mosquitoes would allow.

July 13—Started at three A.M. Reached the Hammer Portage and took breakfast; then a short distance to the Birch Portage, where I met Isaac Rat and his wife, and baptized their infant child: afterwards the Pin Portage, where we dined. These three portages are very close to each other. We shall now cross the Pin Lake. The scenery on the river is very pretty and picturesque, with beautiful ranges of hills rising one above the other, reminding one of Devonshire scenery. The vegetation seems good, but the whole is a very rocky country, composed of granite. The water in the English River this year is very high, which makes all the rapids very strong and difficult of ascent. We make generally two or three portages each day, but we shall now have more of lake road. Heavy rain with distant thunder. Encamped in Pin Lake.

July 14—Lying by all day in Pin Lake, with heavy rain and head-wind. Some of the men, when they awoke, found themselves lying in ponds of water. I fared better, but still my oil-cloths were in water from the heavy rain.

July 15—Started at half-past two A.M. Passed Pin Lake, Mouse Lake, and Serpent Lake; ascended the Serpent Rapids, which are very difficult, the men walking up to their waist with the tracking-line; and then pulled to a point in Sandfly Lake, where we encamped about nine P.M., after eighteen hours' travelling.

July 16—Started about three P.M. Finished Sandfly Lake and entered Sandfly River. Saw many pelicans in these lakes. The road very circuitous. There is little or no land for cultivation, the whole being a rocky, hilly country. We have fewer portages now, and more of lake road. From here to Isle à la Crosse is one day in a direct line, but the river makes a grand *detour*, and we shall take four days yet to the Fort. Entered a small lake, where we fell upon a camp of Chipe-

weyan Indians: many of them had the brass tokens, crosses, and amulets of Papistry hung round their necks, a sign of the heavy yoke of Rome. One old man, who could speak Cree, was anxious that we should come and settle among them, teaching them to build and farm, and instruct their children. Many of the Chipewyans were also anxious, he said, to embrace the English religion, as distinguished from Popery, which they call the French religion. Here the priest, decorated with a badge of purple trimmed with braid and fringe of gold, and a large cross, with divers ceremonies, was anointing or baptizing some of the infants, and performing wonder-working rites, I have no doubt, in the estimation of the poor ignorant Indians, who, instead of being baptized, require to be taught the first rudiments of our holy religion; but all Rome seems anxious to do is to affix her mark, the "mark of the beast," upon her poor deluded and ignorant followers, and thus swell the number of her so-called converts. I did pity the Indians, and hope the day may yet come, when, instead of being taught to trust in the tricks and mummeries of Rome, they may be led to "behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world." Gladly would I, years ago, have planted the standard of the cross here, but we could only overtake Lac la Ronge, and so far bring the light of the ever-blessed Gospel into the Isle à la Crosse district. The priests saw their advantage and secured the promising field, which I pressed our friends to enter years ago, when at Cumberland. Blessed be God, I am going through the enemy's camp. Isle à la Crosse, Athabasca, and Great-Slave Lake will know that there is the pure and simple Gospel of Christ, and thus the light will shine upon the dark incubus of Rome. The crews secured deer-skins, meat, and fish from the Indians. Pulled through Hay River, a broad river without any rapid, but a strong current, and then entered Knee Lake. Encamped on a gravelly point near the end of Knee Lake at ten P.M., after nineteen hours' travelling in a very hot sun, with a severe headache. Read much during the day—Greek Testament and Cree.

July 17—Started at three A.M. The sun rose gloriously at half-past three. Finished Knee Lake and came to Knee River and Rapid. Saw a large flock of pelicans near the rapid. Ascended, with full cargo, Knee Rapid, Middle Rapid, and the Crooked Rapid. At the Middle Rapid one of the boats caught the current broadside, and was hurried down the rapid, injuring two of the men on the tracking line. One of the men to-day took

his pistol, threatening to shoot his brother-in-law. I was anxious at the time, but all passed off quietly in the end. The vegetation seems much more vigorous here than at Mr. Hunt's station: less of rocky mountains, with fine high banks along the river, covered with poplar: the soil dry and sandy. Sailed half through Primeau Lake, and encamped in a thunder-storm and rain in the lake about half-past eight P.M. No limestone. Less of rapids and more of lake way,

July 18: Lord's-day—Started at five A.M. Finished Primeau Lake and entered Scooping-up River. Fine grass growing along its banks; the banks high but the ground stony. The current strong. Came to the first rapid, where we saw large flocks of pelicans. Here we took breakfast and I had prayers with my three people. Priests at mass, with a white robe and a large red flaming cross on his back: his box elevated and converted into an altar, with candles burning, &c. One of my men said the priest looked like a wife with a white gown on, flowered and fastened round the waist. The men carried the cargoes and hauled the boats up the rapid. The heat most oppressive. A heavy thunder-storm; the lightning vivid and the thunder terrific. I felt a little alarmed, as we have thirty-five kegs of gunpowder in our boats, and an explosion would be most direful. Sailed up the river, ascended a strong rapid, and encamped in the midst of the thunder-storm. Another boat turned broadside in the rapid, and ran down, striking against the stones.

July 19—Heavy rain all night; started about seven A.M. Ascended a strong rapid. Here another boat caught on a stone and was turned round with the force of the current, and went bounding down the rapid, knocking amongst the stones, and at last was arrested in the middle of the rapid. Here our guide had to go and assist them. The boat, after much delay, was brought up in safety. Here we took breakfast in heavy rain. The weather cleared, and we started, ascending the river. Made the second portage in this river about half a mile long, where we dined, called the Shugoona Portage. Started and came to the last portage in this river: enjoyed a pleasant walk across it, the flowers growing very luxuriantly. Started again and ascended some rapids, and encamped on a high bank near the end of the Scooping-up River, about nine P.M.

July 20—Started at three A.M. Entered and crossed the Shugoona River, ascended a rapid, where one of the boats again turned round, and finally entered the Isle à la Crosse Lake, so called from a game played by the

Indians on an island near the Fort, which game they called the crosse. Went ashore for breakfast on a point in the lake. Headwind from the south, pulling in the lake. We hope to get to the Fort to-day. The wind favourable in the evening, sailed late: the wind commenced to blow hard, and the night was dark. Put ashore on an island about six miles from the House. To-day the thermometer was 114 in the sun.

July 21—Started at four A.M. and sailed to the Fort. Received a very kind welcome from Mr. and Mrs. Finlayson; the latter, the late Miss Flora Bell, whom I baptized at the Pas some ten years ago. After breakfast, baptized her infant child, whom she intended to take down to Mr. Hunt for baptism: a journey there and returning of some twenty or thirty days, for the purpose of getting her infant baptized. She was truly thankful for my arrival, and I had equal pleasure in performing the rite. All the servants here are Canadians and half-caste, and belong to the church of Rome. The Roman-Catholic Mission is on the left-hand side of a bay, and I am told the little chapel is decorated in histrionic style. All Rome cares about is to have her rites and ceremonies gone through, and her poor followers, with bended knee and averted eye, may remain in the grossest ignorance. No Indians settled about the Roman-Catholic Mission: it seems to be no object with them to improve the temporal condition of their converts, or to alleviate the miseries and starvation of the poor natives. Left the Fort at seven A.M. Finished the lake, and entered the Deep River, a broad and deep river, with high banks and no current: the land appears good for farming, and nicely sloping to the river. A severe thunder-storm, with heavy rain: covered up the boat and remained under the oil-cloth. Started again about six o'clock: finished the Deep River, and entered the Clear Lake. Encamped in a little sandy bay about half-past nine P.M. We had some difficulty to make our fires for cooking, the wood being saturated by the late heavy rains.

July 22—Started at four A.M. Finished Clear Lake, then passed through a short river, and entered Buffalo Lake, where the Northwest Company had a Fort in former times. The lake is large, but we hope to pull to the end of it to-day, and then enter the Methy River, or Rivière la Loche. We are now getting towards the height of land. The water in the lake very green and dirty. Towards the end of the lake, on the left, there is a blue mountain to be seen in the distance. Passed the old Fort. As we approached the end of the lake a heavy thunder-storm came on, with a

sudden gale of wind and rain. We had much difficulty to get ashore, but a gracious Providence brought us safely to land, thoroughly drenched with the rain. Heavy rain the whole night. Encamped about sixteen miles from the Rivière la Loche.

July 23—Started at four A.M. with a fair wind, heavy swell in the lake, and murky weather. Entered the Rivière la Loche about eight A.M. Saw many Chipewyans encamped here. Took breakfast near a house built by a man who is now dead. Heavy rain. The weather cleared a little, and we started, accompanied by some dozen canoes of Indians. Passed a burial-ground, where we saw several graves near the river, one with a large cross erected at its head. Pulling up the river, which is narrow, and, when the water is low, is difficult of ascent for heavy-laden craft. The water is high this year from the constant rain. Heavy showers of rain during the day. Passed the Pembina River, and arrived at the barrier, where many Indians were waiting to assist in taking up the cargoes in their canoes for a little payment in clothes, &c. Gave a shirt, handkerchief, &c., to take up six pieces for me. Ascending the Little River, which is full of miniature rapids, some of them very strong and difficult to ascend. Encamped late at night, about eleven P.M., at M'Leod's encampment.

July 24—Started again at seven A.M., and ascended the remainder of the rapid to the end of the portage called the Burial-place, which we reached about eleven A.M. Passed a great many canoes loaded with part of the cargoes. Started again, pulling up the Small River. Heavy rain the whole morning, and thoroughly drenched, besides being tormented with myriads of mosquitoes. When the water is low, this is perhaps one of the most difficult rivers in the country for the ascent of heavy craft; the water is high now, and we are making rapid progress. Some years it has taken them eleven days to ascend the river: we hope to get up in two. Read some Cree to the Chipewyans, and spoke to them on the subject of Christianity. Some of them were anxious for baptism: this I thought inadvisable without previous preparation and instruction. They are anxious for a Missionary, and would gladly welcome his arrival. Encamped in the river about eight P.M.

July 25: Lord's-day—Started at three A.M., and reached the Portage de Pas for breakfast and morning service. Rain. Walked across the portage, which is about a mile and a half long, some parts knee deep in water: the sandflies and mosquitoes most tormenting. Left the portage, and three or four miles'

pulling brought us to the Methy Lake. We are now at the height of land where the water descends in two opposite directions to Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Sea. This lake is about eighteen miles long. Pulled to the narrows of the lake, which is about half way. At the end of the lake we shall enter a small river, which terminates at the Portage la Loche. Here, in the narrows, there are some houses built by a Canadian, who has a few cattle, and grows potatoes, cabbages, &c. This appears a good spot for a Mission station. Encamped in the narrows, and hope to arrive at the Long Portage for breakfast tomorrow morning.

July 26—Crossed the lake from the narrows to the portage, about eight miles, and entered a small river, which becomes very narrow only a short distance from the lake: it is very crooked, so much so, that there is scarcely room for the boat to turn. At length, landed at the long-deaired spot, the Portage la Loche, or, as it is also called, the Long Portage. Where my tent is now erected there are small sandhills. Here the cargoes are landed and hauled across the portage with oxen and carts, about twelve miles in length. Many freemen here, with horses, seeking employment in carrying pieces across the portage. The soil sandy, with small pine growing in it. Slept the night at this end of the portage. Mr. Roderrick Ross, my brother-in-law, in charge of a boat from Athabasca, spent the night with me.

July 27—Sent my baggage across in an ox-cart, and rode on horseback to the middle of the portage, about six miles. The road miry and wet; the soil sandy, with pines growing along the road. As the cart had to return, my baggage was then put on three horses, and I walked to a small lake, about two miles further on, called "Anderson's Encampment." Here the gentlemen always encamp, and transact their business, while the cargoes are being transported across the portage. It is a small lake on the height of land, without, I believe, any outlet. The road very dirty with sand, and bulldog-flies, mosquitoes, and sand-flies very annoying. Encamped on the borders of the lake.

July 28—Reading and writing letters. Bathed in the lake: beautiful, clear water, with a sandy bottom: enjoyed it very much. There are two or three little lakes in this neighbourhood. I am told there are excellent white fish in this lake. Encamped on the spot where Sir J. Richardson had his tent when on the expedition in this direction. Mr. Anderson and family, Mr. Ross, Mr. Mackenzie, and Mr. Macfarlane, came to the en-

campment, and gave me a most hearty welcome. They are very glad that a Protestant clergyman is entering the district, and one gentleman promised 50*l.* towards the Mission. All the gentlemen are Protestants, and the majority of the men in the district; and many of them will subscribe towards the Mission.

July 29—Writing letters, &c., all day. Bathed with the other gentlemen twice in the lake to-day.

July 30—Mr. Anderson and family left the encampment to walk to the south end of the portage, and embark in Bruce's brigade for Norway House. This gentleman has been several years in charge of the Mackenzie-River district, and is deservedly respected and beloved by the officers. He is a staunch Protestant, and very anxious for the introduction of Protestant Missions in the district: he has kindly promised to subscribe towards this object. Sent letters and parcels to my dear wife, the Bishop, and other friends. Very warm weather; impossible to write in the tent from the heat.

July 31—Still at Anderson's encampment: fine weather the whole week, but exceedingly hot. There are ten carts and oxen employed, and about a hundred horses, in carrying the cargoes across the portage. We hope to leave on Monday next. Bruce's brigade left early this morning. Bathed twice to-day in the lake, which I find very refreshing. Busy writing letters as well as I can, sitting on the ground in the tent, with a box for a writing-table, and annoyed with mosquitoes, sand-flies, bulldogs, and excessive heat, from which I always suffer much.

Aug. 1: Lord's-day—Heavy rain in the morning. Morning-service; Mr. Ross, Mr. Macfarlane, and Mr. Mackenzie present, and several of the men. L'Esperance's brigade started in the afternoon.

Aug. 2—Preparing to go to the other end of the portage. Two oxen and carts came for our luggage. Started on horseback, in company with Mr. Macfarlane. After a four miles' ride, reached the point where we look down about 1000 feet into a beautiful valley, surmounted by an amphitheatre of hills, with the clear-water river meandering through the valley, like a clear silver stream, in the far distance. They say that when the autumnal tints are on the trees, it forms an enchanting view from this spot. Here the carts cannot descend to the river: all the cargoes have to be carried down, either by men or horses. I dismounted, and walked down the most precipitous part, and then rode to the camp along the banks of the clear-water river: the whole distance of the descent is about a mile. On

arriving at the camp it presented a lively scene: the merchandise arranged along the bank of the river, rows of bales, boxes, powder-kegs, flour-bags, sugar-kegs, ball, shot, &c.; eight beautiful large boats floating in the river, ready to receive their cargoes, and proceed down stream to Fort Simpson; the whole plain strewn with canvas tents, and shelters of nondescript character, the men reposing here and there in the shade; bands of horses and the oxen employed in the transport service; and at a little distance to one side a camp of Indians, from Athabasca, in their leather lodges. The weather continues excessively hot. We are sadly tormented with bulldogs and mosquitoes. I shall be truly thankful when the weather becomes a little cooler. In the evening the boats were loaded, and preparation made for a start in the morning.

Aug. 3—Left about four A.M. with the first brigade of four boats. A passage was appointed me in the light boat with Mr. Ross, the gentleman now in charge of Mackenzie River, and Mr. Macfarlane. It has very commodious stern-sheets, and we started gaily, with nine oars, from the Portage la Loche. Passed down rapidly the clear-water river, meandering in the valley between the high hills on each side. After three hours' pulling we came to the White-Mud, or rather White-Sand Falls, and Portage: here the water leaps down over several ledges of limestone rocks, about thirty feet in all. The rapids are very grand. Walked to a ledge, where we obtained a fine view of the falls. Here the cargo and boats are taken across the portage, about a quarter of a mile in length. Pulled down the river a short distance, ran a rapid, and then arrived at the Bread Portage, about a mile in length. Walked across through the ancient bed of the river, which has been thrown up by volcanic action. Holes worn in the limestone rocks by the action of water. A strong smell of sulphur along the river, and the water discoloured along the beach, perhaps from the presence of iron. Left the Bread Portage, and, after an hour's pull, reached the Gros-Roché Portage. Here the boats ran down with the greater part of the cargo. Started again, and made the Bon Portage: walked across about two miles, and encamped for the night. Horses employed here in carrying the pieces. The river runs through a valley, with high sand-hills about 1000 feet high on each side.

Aug. 4—Left the Bon about seven A.M., and pulled down to the Cascades, about half a mile portage. Watched the boats running down the cascades, a pretty and exciting

scene. These five portages are all in the clear-water river. Pulling down the river all day, in the evening ran the Pembina Rapids, and passed the mouth of the Pembina River, which also flows into the Mery River. Went on shore to cook; then, our beds being made in the boat, slept there, whilst we drove down the current all night. Towards morning, entered the Athabasca River, a beautiful, broad river, like the Kisiskachewan, only much wider.

Aug. 5—Sailing down the Athabasca, or Elk River: the water white and muddy, like the Kisiskachewan. Went on shore at the Tar Springs, where they filled four kegs with mineral tar. Salt and sulphur springs in the neighbourhood: high banks along the river, with large poplar and pine growing. This river takes its rise in the Rocky Mountains, and flows down into Athabasca Lake. Passed the site of the old Fort at Pierre au Calumet: saw the Birch Mountain in the distance. The river broad, with islands and sand-banks. Drifted all night down current, two boats being tied together.

Aug. 6—Passed the little river leading to the lake. Sailing during the day. About two p.m. reached the entrance to the lake, abounding in shoals, covered with drift wood. Went ashore on a low, grassy point, almost covered with water, opposite Goose Island, the wind being contrary, and too strong on the lake. Started again about six p.m., the wind having abated, sailing and pulling across the traverse to Fort Chipewyan. The sun had set when we arrived, but a small fire was made on the rocks, as a beacon to direct our course to the establishment, our sails having been noticed on the lake by the people at the Fort. Landed between nine and ten, and received a hearty welcome from Mr. Christie, Mr. Ross, my brother-in-law, and Mr. Shaw. After sleeping out for two months, looked forward to the pleasure of reposing in a bed in the house. Sat up late, after a bountiful supper, provided by the kindness of Mr. R. Ross.

Aug. 7—After an excellent breakfast of white fish, &c., I baptized two sons belonging to Mr. Christie, having on a previous occasion baptized his three children when stationed at Cumberland; also received four children of John Flett's, who had been baptized by a priest. This Fort is pleasantly situated upon high rocks, surrounded with stockades and bastions in the four corners: the buildings are good, and being much improved. I saw potatoes and barley growing very luxuriantly, and, at the Roman-Catholic Mission, turnips, &c. From the high rocks, where the flag-staff stands, you command a good view

of the lake, which abounds with white-fish, and its waters covered with wild-fowl. Left about eleven a.m., and called at the Roman-Catholic Mission, about one mile from the fort. Here I saw Mr. Ferrand and the two priests just arrived, one of whom remains here, the other proceeds on to Great-Slave Lake. They have rough buildings, and are erecting a new chapel, the old one being too small. This is a good place for a Mission, and a great pity it had not been occupied by ourselves. Peace River in this district is also an excellent place for a station, especially at Dunvegan, where wheat, barley, potatoes, &c., can be raised in any quantity. I should strongly recommend this station to be occupied as soon as possible: it is still open to us. Pulled across the western extremity of the Athabasca Lake, and entered the Rocky River, its principal outlet; a broad river, with low banks and granite rocks along shore, having something of the appearance of the Norway-House River. Went down a small rapid, passed the confluence of the Peace River, and entered the Slave River; a magnificent and broad river, running down to Great-Slave Lake, in some parts half a mile wide. Drifted all night, sleeping in the boat. I am the first Protestant Missionary to descend this river: no minister of the Gospel has penetrated beyond the confluence of the Peace River. Mr. Evans, a Wesleyan minister, visited thus far many years ago, but did not establish any stations in the district. May the divine blessing accompany the present effort!

Aug. 8: Lord's day—Rain in the morning. The sun arose beautifully, tinging the whole sky with red. Sailing down the river. High rocks along the banks, composed of granite and also some limestone. Ran a rapid, and then landed at the Cassette Portage, which occupied three hours in passing. After running two falls, the last rather high, we pulled to the Driftwood Portage, crossed the same, and encamped for the night.

Aug. 9—Frost in the morning. Left the portage, and a very short pull brought us to the Burnt-Wood Portage, where Mr. Mackenzie, with the second brigade, came up with us. After leaving this portage, we came to the Mountain Portage, where the boats and cargoes have to be taken over a hill of sand from 400 to 500 feet high, and lowered down to the river. Went with Mr. Mackenzie to view the rapids; a grand and magnificent sight, the water rushing with great velocity over the granite bed and among the numerous islands, and boiling up in some places like a giant's cauldron. Saw many young pelicans along shore, which made for the

water, and launched out boldly into the rapid on our approach. The men took six hours to cross the boats and cargoes. After leaving this portage, we came to the Drowned Portage, so called from an accident having occurred here in the rapid, when four men were drowned. The mosquitoes numerous and tormenting as we walked across the portage. Gathered some strawberries, but we could not indulge in this luxury from the annoyance of the mosquitoes, which were literally in clouds about one's face and hands. Part of the cargo came here, and the boat ran down the rapid. The water muddy, leaving a sediment along shore. Since leaving the Portage la Loche we have crossed, in all, ten portages, and now we have a smooth current to Great-Slave Lake and Mackenzie River to the sea. In all, fifty-eight portages from Norway House to this point. After leaving the portage the river assumes a tranquil appearance, and flows on in one large stream about half a mile broad between sand-banks. Stopped at Gravel Point to cook supper, and then embarked to sail down current all night. Passed Salt River, where large quantities of salt may be obtained, about twenty miles up the stream, lying upon the plain. Sailing all night down this magnificent stream. Abundance of limestone along the shore.

Aug. 10—Sailing and pulling down the river. Fell in with a large black bear swimming across the river: the boat came close to the bear, and several shots were fired, but he escaped, wounded, into the woods. Rain at intervals. Heavy rain during the night. Drifting down the river. Passed, during the night, a high bank, where four men were buried alive who had encamped under it.

Aug. 11—Approaching Great-Slave Lake: the banks low. Entered the lake about eight A.M. Sailed to an island, about six miles from Fort Resolution, where we remained for breakfast. Heavy rain, strong wind, and distant thunder. After breakfast, made for the Fort. Passed the Roman-Catholic Mission, about two miles from the Fort: it is being occupied this year for the first time: two priests and a *frère* will now be located there. At the Fort the flag was hoisted, in honour of our arrival. This is the first post belonging to the Mackenzie-River district: formerly it was classed with the Athabasca district. There are two other posts on this lake, viz. Fort Rae and Big Island. Fort Resolution is a neat establishment, surrounded with stockades and small bastions in the corners. The English servants of the Company here are delighted with the visit of a minister: "it made," they said, "their hearts light to

see a minister of the Gospel." Went with Mr. Ross to see the interpreter, who is very sick from rheumatism: spoke a few kind words to him. He is a Roman Catholic. Mr. Grollier, the priest, came over from the Mission to the Fort: he declares his intention of visiting Fort Simpson this fall, and says he has the permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's-Bay Company at home to establish a Mission at Fort Good Hope, on the Mackenzie. He evidently intends to oppose my proceedings, and will be much assisted in doing so by the Canadian half-caste and their wives, who are all papists. Baptized three children belonging to Orkney men at this establishment. Mr. Grollier here again to-day. He dined with us. He has evidently been persuading Norn's wife not to be baptized or married by me. Her husband, who is an Orkney man, is exceedingly anxious that the ceremony should be performed, but she is unwilling, and very obstinate, very much to the sorrow of her husband. All I could do was to baptize their two children. Blowing very hard in Slave Lake, the waves rolling in like a sea. We remained at the Fort all day. Potatoes, turnips, peas, &c., growing here. We enjoyed the new potatoes and turnips at dinner. An excellent lake for white-fish and trout. Limestone along the shore at the Fort.

Aug. 12—The two priests came over to the Fort this morning. One of them, Mr. Grollier, is going in the same brigade to Big Island and Fort Simpson. He expresses his intention to interfere with the Indians, and persuade them, if he can, to adopt his corrupt faith; in other words, to oppose the establishment of our Mission at Fort Simpson. One of the priests at Isle à la Crosse, Grondin, leaves next year, to be consecrated Bishop for the north, and Bishop Taché comes up to replace him for the time. This I learned to-day from the priests. If we wish to secure this large and important territory for the preaching of the pure Gospel, now is the time when we must send an efficient staff of Missionaries into the district, men capable of learning the Slave language, and who are willing to live as do the Company's gentlemen. The servants employed by the Company in this district are, many of them, Roman Catholics, but the gentlemen are Protestants, and desirous for Protestant Missionaries. It would be a great gain if the Company engaged English half-caste, or some of the Indians at the Indian Settlement, for this district, as their example would be beneficial among the Indians. The Chipewyans, Slave, and Hare Indians, and various tribes down to the Loucheux,

speaking dialects of the same language—the Slave language. I hope to collect some words, and perhaps translate a little into their language during the winter. Detained all day at the Fort with a strong head-wind. Saw a relic of Sir J. Franklin's, in the possession of Mr. Ross, viz. a gun which he used on his expedition in these regions.

Aug. 13—The wind having abated, we started about four A.M.: two very large dogs belonging to Mr. Ross with us in the boat. Wind from the south; our course west. Pulled to the Round Island and Birch Island, passed the entrance to Buffalo Creek, the Island of Death, where a party of Indians were slaughtered, and Sulphur Point; and encamped in the evening in Buffalo River, about half way to the Big Island. It is said that Great-Slave Lake is larger than Lake Winnipeg, with a low limestone beach, and lined all along the shore with immense quantities of drift-wood. A priest with us in the brigade: the first time a priest has visited Big Island and Fort Simpson.

Aug. 14—Started about four A.M., with wind from land. Sailed to Hay River, where we took breakfast; then made a straight course for Big Island, about forty miles distant: reached it in eight hours. The wind was good and moderate, which was very providential, as our boats are very heavily laden. Mr. Ross went straight from Hay River, instead of Rocky Point, the usual place of the boats parting. Mr. Ross goes the south side of Big Island, and direct on to Fort Simpson: we go the north side with all the boats, to call at the fishing-post named Big Island. Here the fishery is made to supply Fort Simpson. The boats arrive in the fall, taking six and seven days from Fort Simpson, and return in two days and nights, loaded with fish. The Big Island divides the water into two channels, forming the commencement of Mackenzie River out of Slave Lake. Arrived at the Big Island at seven P.M., at the new buildings which are in course of erection, as they are removing the Fort to a more eligible spot.

Aug. 15: Lord's-day—Morning service at six A.M. Mr. MacFarlane, Mr. Clark, and Mr. Reid present, also several of the Company's servants. Mr. Clarke is in charge of Fort Rae, at the north end of Great-Slave Lake, which he describes as an excellent place for a Mission station. About two hundred Indians on the debt-book, and as many more in the district. Deer pass in ten thousands, so that a station could be easily maintained, and he reports the Indians as very tractable. There is an abundance of wild-fowl and fish, excellent trout, and a quantity of hay for cattle. His

only fear is that the priests will visit and secure the spot before we enter the district. The feeling of the Company's officers is very strong in favour of Protestant Missions for the whole district. Started after breakfast: passed Birch Island and Jack-Fish Point: the wind fair. Passed the rapids, which the gentlemen recommend as a good place for a Mission station. The banks of White Mud are high, and the soil appears good. A green point near a small creek is the most recommended. Grass and wild-fowl in abundance, and every eddy would form a fishery. Went ashore here for breakfast, and pushed off again into the strong current. Entered the little lake, and put on shore about seven P.M. at May Point for supper. Here we found abundance of wusask wutoomina berries and raspberries. Hoisted sail, and went on all night. Mr. MacFarlane and Mr. Clarke joined in singing some hymns, and we had evening prayers in the boat.

Aug. 16—At daylight found ourselves approaching the Head of the Line where the strong current commences: ascending the current, they track to this point, hence called Head of the Line. It takes about two days and a half from Fort Simpson to ascend, and we hope to run down in about eight hours. Mr. Grollier, the priest, giving books to the Indians in the syllabic characters, in the Slave or Chipewyan language, containing prayers, hymns, and catechism. He went ashore to see a sick Indian: the Roman Catholics in the brigade do all for him they can with the Indians. I feel the want of an interpreter in the Slave-Lake tongue. Mr. Grollier speaks it. The priests are very diligent in acquiring the native languages, and speak them with fluency. From the Head of the Line the current runs down very swiftly. Passed the site of the old Fort, where the whites were cut off by the Indians. Saw the Horn Mountains in the distance. Passed Rabbit-Skin River, where the Company make hay, the Green Island, and came in sight of Fort Simpson about eight P.M. Mr. Ross arrived about five A.M. The Fort stands on an island on the left-hand side: we could see the flag floating in the distance to welcome our approach. The buildings are very neat, consisting of five principal buildings, besides out-offices; the whole wearing an appearance of great neatness and order, and speaks well for Mr. Anderson, who has brought it into its present state during the seven years which he resided here. He has left the district this year, and Mr. Ross is now in charge. The Mackenzie River is about one mile wide at Fort Simpson, and the west branch, or

River Liard, is visible from the house. Mr. Ross read to the priest, Mr. Grollier, Sir G. Simpson's instructions as to the establishment of a Protestant Mission at this dépôt: he has, however, declared his intention to do all he can to unsettle the Indians here, and baptize as many as he can.

Aug. 17—Rose, and commended myself, and this special work afresh in prayer to God, seeking divine wisdom and grace to direct and aid me each day that I continue in the district; that I may be privileged to sow the seed faithfully, and that it may spring up to the praise and glory of God. Here, in the far north-west, the Gospel finds, at the first time of its publication, representatives from two opposite and diametrically opposed churches, Protestantism and Popery, the true and false Gospel coming in contact at their extreme outposts, like two waves rolling from opposite directions of the ocean, which here meet and dash against each other. May God give me wisdom under these circumstances! The half-caste French servants and their wives will do all they can for the priest, sending the Indians to him, and so forth. Once a Mission is established here, and the language mastered, all will go on well, with the blessing of God.

Married two of the Company's officers, Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Pruden, and baptized their children: all the gentlemen present. Visited the men's houses, and spoke with the French half-caste and the Norwegians. Visited the Indian tents with Mr. Pruden, who kindly interpreted for me, and invited them to come and see me.

Aug. 18—Visited the Indians in their tents again, with Peter, an English half-caste from Red River. The poor Indians are urged on by the papists to go to the priests. Baptized Murdoch, my first convert: he speaks English, and may be useful hereafter as an interpreter. In the evening all the gentlemen, servants, and Indians, were present in the hall for service. Addressed the Indians afterwards, stating the object of my visit, and my great desire to communicate to them the blessing of salvation through a crucified Redeemer. Mr. Pruden kindly interpreted. Some seem in doubt, as the priest and myself came together, which to go to. Explained to them that we purpose to establish a Mission here, with the sanction of the Company, and that the priest was only allowed to come to see the papists. Mr. Ross kindly said a few words, and Mrs. Mackenzie, who speaks the language well, also spoke to a few of the Indians who remained after the service. It is most unfortunate that my first appearance here should be in company with

a priest. The papists, especially their wives connected with the Indians, are urging them to go to the priest, saying that "the Protestants will all go to hell in a heap," &c.

Aug. 19—Visited the tents again, but found the Indians unwilling to receive me: some ran away from me, and all avoided me as much as possible. The papists have been urging them against me, and it is said the priest is showing them, in a book, that all the Protestants—the English—go to everlasting misery. The priests, who are Frenchmen, do all they can to disparage and throw contempt upon the English name. In the evening two boats arrived from Peel's River, with Mr. and Mrs. Hardisty, and Messrs. Dunlop, Lockhart, Gaudet, and Taylor.

Aug. 20—Married Mr. and Mrs. Hardisty, and baptized the latter. Visited the few Indians again who are here, and in the evening had public family prayers, which was well attended.

Aug. 21—Mr. Grollier, the priest, left with the Fort Resolution-boat, in the afternoon, to return to his station. Reading and preparing for the duties of to-morrow, Lord's-day.

Aug. 22: Lord's-day—Full morning service. A very good congregation present. The singing remarkably good. Messrs. Ross, Lockhart, and Dunlop, and also Mr. and Mrs. Mackenzie, assisted. Preached from Luke xiv. 22, "And yet there is room." Great attention was paid during the service, and all seemed to feel the privilege of attending this, the first service on the banks of the mighty Mackenzie. I truly enjoyed the service, and can only pray that this may be the commencement of regular Lord's-day services in this place. I felt to-day, what a pity that so many years should have gone by without the ordinances of religion being administered in this place, the principal dépôt for an immense region of territory. Held evening service, and the gentlemen afterwards sang several chants and hymns.

At night the Loucheux Indians from Peel's River were performing their national dances outside the fort, painted and bedecked with feathers, &c. Their dances are of a very excited character, accompanied with singing, shouting, yelling, and beating time with their feet, making the ground almost to shake under them. They are a fierce race, and generally at war with the Esquimaux at the mouth of the Mackenzie. They frequently kill and murder each other. Across the mountains, beyond Peel's River to the west, are the Youcon Indians, among whom the Hudson's-Bay Company have a Fort. Mr. Hardisty is just arrived from thence, after travelling the whole summer. He describes them as very numerous,

but very wild and difficult to manage. After leaving Peel's River, it takes them three days to cross the mountains to La Pierre's house, whence they descend in a boat the Porcupine or Rat River to its confluence with the Youcon River, where the Company have their post. The Youcon River is here five miles wide, and flows on, a mighty stream, to the sea: supposed to empty itself into Norton Sound. I hope next spring, immediately the ice breaks up, to descend the Mackenzie as far as Fort Norman and Fort Good Hope, and there to see a large party of Indians, also the Loucheux, and perhaps some Esquimaux from Anderson's River, where Mr. Ross thinks of establishing a post among the Esquimaux. At the mouth of the Mackenzie they are too treacherous, and can only be visited with a strong party well armed. Mr. Macfarlane has explored part of the Anderson River, which is to the east of the Mackenzie, and purposes to carry on his explorations this winter. The mouth of the Anderson River is in Liverpool Bay, and the Esquimaux there are reported to be a fine race of Indians, mild and tractable. Should the Company establish a post there, it would be very desirable that a Missionary should be located there also.

Aug. 23—Reading and preparing to leave for Fort Liard, on the western branch, where I purpose to spend a month, and then return to winter at Fort Simpson. Conversed with Mr. Gaudet, who is anxious to be admitted into the Church of England. Mr. Gaudet had some conversation with the priest before he left, but Mr. Grollier was unable to answer, to Mr. Gaudet's satisfaction, the questions which he put to him.

Aug. 24—Admitted Mr. Gaudet into the church, in the presence of two or three of the gentlemen. Received from Mr. Ross a reply to my communication, and also a statement of the views and wishes of all the officers of the district, with reference to the establishment of Protestant Missions throughout the whole of the territory. A copy of these documents I send herewith, and commend them to the serious attention of our friends.

Left in the afternoon, with three boats, to visit Fort Liard, ascending the river which flows down from the Rocky Mountains, and unites with the Mackenzie River just above Fort Simpson. The light boat assigned to me. Mr. Dunlop was my fellow-traveller. He is proceeding to take charge of Fort Halkett, in the Rocky Mountains. Mr. Mackenzie and family were in another boat. Mr. Mackenzie has the charge of Fort Liard. All the gentlemen came to the beach, and wished us a pleasant and safe voyage. The flag was hoisted, and the gentlemen waved their adieus. Encamped

about two miles from the fort. The weather, during my stay at Fort Simpson, was very warm; the thermometer in my room was 80°, outside, in the shade, 78°.

Aug. 25 — Tracking and sailing all day. Encamped a little below the Long Rapid. Slept in the boat, that I might not be disturbed in the morning when they start. The banks of the Liard River are high, the beach lined with large boulders, sand, and limestone.

Aug. 26 — Tracking all day: finished the Long Rapid about four P.M. Encamped opposite an island on a sandy beach. The sun very oppressive, and mosquitoes troublesome. Poplar and pine along the river. The rapid runs through a bed of limestone.

Aug. 27 — Tracking up the river. Encamped at the end of the Grand View. The Nahanni mountains, part of the Rocky Mountains in sight. Reading all day.

Aug. 28 — Tracking up the river all day. Slept at a point near the Nahanni Mountains. Heavy thunder-storm, with rain.

Aug. 29 — Divine service, being Lord's-day, close under the Rocky Mountains on the bank of the river. Mr. Dunlop assisted with the responses. Saw several bears during the day. The men shot a young moose in the river. Passed the Nahanni River, and encamped in the evening near the mountains.

Aug. 30—Tracking up the river. Rain in the evening. Slept in the boat as usual.

Aug. 31—Tracking: the mountains in sight all day; the river very circuitous. Limestone along shore.

Sept. 1—Arrived at Fort Liard about six P.M., after passing Muscaigo River. Black River a little beyond the Fort. We have taken eight days from Fort Simpson. Near Muscaigo River there is a high bank of limestone close to the river. The soil at the Fort is sandy, but free from stones. The potatoes are excellent, which we enjoyed at supper. A barley-field, with a large stack of barley, was a pleasant sight. The flag was hoisted, and the guns fired, as usual at our arrival. There are very few Indians at the Fort, but they are expected shortly to arrive in large parties. The boat for Halkett will go on as far as Devil's Portage, and then the crew will return and go down with me to Fort Simpson. Fort Liard would be an excellent place for a Mission station: there is no portage between it and Fort Simpson, only tracking the whole way. There are three good fishing lakes in the neighbourhood, viz. the Opposite Lake, Lake Bouvais, and Sandy Lake, and it is an excellent place for moose, beaver, and bears.

Sept. 2—Walked out with Mr. Dunlop, and gathered some raspberries. Conversd with

the few Indians here, who received me very cordially. Prayers in the evening.

Sept. 3—Administered the Lord's supper to Mr. Dunlop and Mrs. Mackenzie, the first communion in the district. Mr. Dunlop was anxious and thankful to receive the Lord's supper before proceeding to-morrow to his solitary post among the mountains at Halkett.

Sept. 4—Mr. Dunlop left for Fort Halkett with a boat and crew of nine men. A few Indians arrived. Spoke to them on the subject of Christianity, whether they would like a Missionary to be located among them, and where would be the best spot for a settlement. They appeared thankful for the interest taken in their spiritual and temporal welfare, would gladly welcome a Missionary to live among them, and pointed out the opposite Lake, about three hours' journey from the Fort, as the best spot for location: a good fishery and good ground. Prayers in the evening. Some years ago the Fort here was destroyed by the Indians, and the master, his wife, child, and servants, cruelly murdered. How great a blessing if the Gospel could be planted here!

Sept. 5—My first Lord's-day at Fort Liard: may I be blessed in the sacred duties of this day! Divine service in the morning, Mr. Mackenzie and family present, and some of the men who understand English. I spoke again to some of the Indians, and they express their desire for instruction. In the afternoon went to the men's houses and read prayers to them in Cree. In the evening, family prayers.

Sept. 7—Many Indians here getting their supplies for the winter. Spoke to them through Mrs. Mackenzie.

Sept. 11—Saw a comet under Ursa Major, with a long brilliant tail.* Phantas, an Indian herd, endeavoured to shoot his wife, but was prevented by the other Indians. The weather remarkably fine.

Sept. 13—Conversed with La Pe and some of the other Indians. They would like a Missionary to reside amongst them, to teach them and their children. The men threshing barley, about forty bushels in all. The Fort hunter came in to-day with the meat of a large black bear, which he shot last evening. I partook of some of the ribs roasted for our evening meal.

Sept. 15—The Siccunnee band of Indians arrived in twelve canoes made of the pine bark, of a very peculiar shape, with guns firing salutes both from the Fort and the canoes, and the flag hoisted to hail their approach. They brought dried moose-meat, bladders of fat, bears'-meat, several black-

bears' heads, bears'-skins, moose-skins, &c. Shook hands with the chief, called Yah Kay, or Snowfoot. They come to the Fort twice a year. They are a mixed race with the Beaver Indians.

Sept. 16—Conversed with Yah Kay, the Siccunnee chief, and his people: explained to him the object of my visit, the advantage they would derive from the instruction of themselves and their children, the erection of houses, and the tillage of the soil. Gave them some religious instruction as to the existence of a Divine Being, the fall of man, and his recovery by Christ, the necessity of a Divine change through the agency of the Holy Spirit, &c. He expressed himself as gratified by my visit; that these things had taken him by surprise, as the ideas were all new to him, except the existence of a Divine Being, which he had heard of before, and firmly retained in his memory; and he would be glad to have his people and children taught and instructed. Gave him some suitable presents, and left him much pleased, and, I hope, profited, and his people present, by our mutual conference. He is a middle-aged man, very active, and of mild disposition: he has been suffering lately from indisposition. A good supply of medicines would be an invaluable treasure among them, as many of them are sick and dying. Heavy rain, with a strong cold north wind.

Sept. 17—Had a long conversation with the Siccunnee chief. He was much interested in looking at a compass, a box of mathematical instruments, lucifer-matches, &c. I am much pleased with him, and think he is very favourably disposed towards Christianity. The Siccunnees are a large tribe of Indians, who hunt several hundred miles to the south of this post. They abandon their canoes here, and return on foot, carrying their supplies on their backs. Heavy rain all day.

Sept. 18—To-day the Siccunnees, to the number of thirty, are getting their supplies, and leaving for their winter hunting-grounds. This is a large band of Indians which could easily be brought under Christian influence. There are about 100 Indians trading with this post, who, with their wives and families, would compose a large body for Christian instruction. At the far end of the opposite Lake would be the best locality for a Mission station. To-day I heard of an Indian woman who had abandoned her female infant child to perish. Infanticide used to be of common occurrence in this district, especially female children. Mrs. Mackenzie mentioned to me one or two instances which had come to her own knowledge. The aged, also, when sick, have been known to request some one to strangle them with a line, and tendered payment

* This was probably the brilliant comet seen about the same time in England, in the same part of the sky.

for it. One old man was actually strangled in this way, and his son assisted in pulling the line. On passing English River I also heard of a poor old woman who had lately been murdered by the Indians because they thought she was becoming a wetikew, or cannibal. In all probability she was deranged, and suffered a cruel death by being knocked on the head by the axes, perhaps, of some of her relatives and professed friends. Truly "the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty." Will not our dear Christian friends make some additional effort to send these poor Indians the light of the Gospel, which will turn them from cruelty to compassion, and from bloodshed to peace and love? Heavy rain in the morning: in the afternoon the weather cleared, and the tops of the distant mountains were covered with snow. During the night there was hard frost.

Sept. 19: Lord's-day — Morning service in the Fort: Mr. Mackenzie and family, and some of the Fort servants, present. Addressed them from Matt. xx. 28, "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." In the afternoon visited the men's houses, conversed with Bouché, and pressed upon him the importance of being baptized, together with his wife and family, and also married. He understands Cree perfectly, and I have read and conversed with him several times. He is an engaged servant of the Company. He and his wife seemed much moved, and promised to follow my advice. Read in Cree to the French people in the next house, including the interpreter, Francis Hoole, his wife and family. I hope I have made a favourable impression upon these people by reading and conversing with them, and showing them some little acts of kindness. Francis Hoole has interpreted for me, and has promised to do so when I ask him. He cannot speak English: I therefore speak to him in Cree, and he renders it into Siccunnee and the Slave language for me. Evening prayers as usual. Bouché was present, and remained afterwards, requesting that I would read to him again in Cree.

Sept. 21—The men returned from Halkett on a raft, having made the Devil's Portage in eleven days, which is a quick trip. Mr. Dunlop writes me that the houses at Halkett are very good: he hopes to pass a comfortable winter, and to have abundance of provisions. His receiving the Lord's supper at Fort Liard will be the cause of many pleasant and grateful thoughts in after life, so he writes. Baptized Bouché, his

wife, and four children, and also married him to his wife, who is a Loucheux woman, using the Cree service on the occasion, as they both understand that language. This is the first Loucheux I have baptized. Bouché is an industrious man, and has saved 200*l*.: he talks of settling in Red River, perhaps at Mapleton, when he leaves the Company's service. A party of the Slave Indians arrived, with their chief, called Grand Blanc, in pine-bark canoes. The usual ceremony was gone through of firing salutes from the Fort and the canoes. They brought a cargo of dried moose-meat, moose-skins, bear-skins, &c. Conversing with Grand Blanc and his people. He said he knew there was a God, and had always taught his young men to do what was right; that his friends and relatives had died without hearing of Christianity; that he was thankful for my visit, and would be very glad if a Missionary would come and teach them and their children. When he returned to his camp he said he would distribute the tobacco I gave him among his people, and tell them all I had said. He could not write it down, he said, but he would keep it in his head, and tell them the whole of my message. He also asked for a paper, that he might know the Sundays to keep them, and also when Christmas-day was. I drew up a paper for him thus, ||||| × ||||| × ||||| ×, the long strokes for the week-days, and the crosses for the Lord's-days, and made a large cross thus X over Christmas day. He thanked me much for this rude ecclesiastical almanac. He is a kind old man, very loquacious, and well disposed. Shook hands with him and all his young men before their departure, and gave him some suitable presents. So far God has blessed my labours here. The Siccunnee and Slave bands of Indians have received a good impression, and are all well and kindly disposed towards us; and even the Roman-Catholic interpreter has so far relaxed, that he is even ready to aid me in addressing the Indians; and Bouché and his family are baptized, whom the papists thought to obtain. Our way is quite open here, and whenever a Missionary arrives, he will be well received. Mr. Mackenzie has promised to give him the room which I am occupying until he can build his house, and to assist him in every way to establish his station. The people here employed in taking up the crop, about 400 bushels of potatoes and forty-two baskets of barley: this, with abundance of meat and grease in the store, and large fisheries in the neighbourhood, speaks well for the resources of the place.

[To be continued.]

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUNJAB.

THE Val de Bagnes, near Martigny, is a steep, narrow, and rugged valley, which extends, in an east and west direction, some forty miles among the mountains which separate Switzerland from Piedmont. In the gorges, or upper valleys, are numerous glaciers, some of which protrude into the lower valley, in the depths of which the Drause, a tributary of the Rhone, pursues its course, crossed here and there by slender bridges, the handiwork of some industrious Swiss, whose patches of cultivation might be seen here and there. In the year 1818, a glacier fell and blocked up the bed of the river with a conical mass of ice and snow, more than a hundred feet high, and behind this barrier the pent-up waters accumulated, until they formed a lake half a mile in length, and estimated to contain 800,000,000 cubic feet of water. In the month of May the dyke burst, and the vast accumulation of waters, with extraordinary force and rapidity, rushed down upon the doomed valley. Charged with ice, rocks, earth, and trees, it bore down every opposing object, and houses and bridges, horses and men, were involved in one common destruction. And yet, fearful as the havoc was, it might have been more overwhelming. Some men, at the risk of their lives, had, by incredible exertions, diminished the danger. At the very time when the waters were at the highest, and dreadful noises showed what a strain there was on the icy barrier, they had cut a tunnel through it 600 feet long, so that before the dyke burst the waters of the lake had been reduced by nearly one half. Had it not been for the devotion of these brave men, the loss of life and property would have been far more overwhelming. Relieving each other by gangs, and working without intermission night and day, they had persevered, amidst inconceivable dangers and sufferings from cold and wet, until their task was accomplished; an instance of true heroism, in which life was risked, not for fame and riches, not to destroy men's lives, as in the battle-field, but to save them.

The rebellion in India was like that breaking forth of waters. The elements of disaffection had been long accumulating, and at length, overbearing all restraint, they rushed forth with bewildering impetuosity. North India, after the mighty inundation had swept past, was a scene of desolation. And yet it might have been far worse. English ascendancy might for a season have disappeared

from the face of India. The wild excitement, which involved in confusion Behar and the North-west Provinces, might have found a ready response westward of the Sutlej, in the land of the five rivers, and southward of the Nerbudda, in Western and Central India. But there were men who, by their intrepidity and devotedness, were the instruments, in the hands of God, in so reducing the danger, that, however fearfully and violently shaken, the prestige of the British name survived the shock, and, although it was amidst scenes of wreck and spoliation, regained its supremacy. Had the fall of Delhi been delayed a short time longer, we should have had an universal instead of a partial outbreak; and the capture of Delhi without further delay was rendered possible by reinforcements from the Punjab, headed by the gallant Nicholson. The Punjab, and not Calcutta, was the basis of operation for the overthrow of the centralized rebel power at Delhi. The seat of Government contributed nothing to that great crisis of the rebellion. It could not even cover with timely protection the districts more immediately within its reach, and Cawnpore became the scene of a frightful butchery, and the Residency at Lucknow was left for months an isolated point, in the midst of a tempestuous sea of insurrection. Through the Punjab, India was saved, and to the authorities of the Punjab must be awarded the palm of superior merit.

Nor was all this done without extreme hazard. They who put forth such effort for the re-capture of Delhi, imperilled, in so doing, their own lives. They placed themselves in the position of those, who, as they laboured to avert the danger from the hamlets further down the valley, knew not the instant the pent-up waters might break forth upon themselves; and, like those men, they so far succeeded in diminishing the weight and extent of the catastrophe, that it was not to utter destruction. Yet how critical the moment was will appear in the course of our observations.

But first let it be remembered that the Punjab was not annexed to our Indian empire until the year 1849. How was it, then, that British power had become so consolidated in that province, within the short space of eight years, as that, in a moment of extremest danger, the Punjab was found to be the main pillar of our strength?

We have special reasons for applying ourselves closely to the investigation of this sub-

ject. The administrative policy of the Punjab and of the Calcutta Government has not been the same, especially on the subject of religion. In Calcutta it has been the old time-serving policy, called neutrality, ignoring our own convictions in the hope of conciliating the native; always disposed to treat the false religions of India with consideration, the true religion of the Bible with indifference, if not with avowed opposition; to receive the one with all graciousness in full Durbar, to admit the other at the most to a private audience. The policy of the Punjab administration has been, on the other hand, open and candid. There has been no interference with the conscience of the native; no attempt, by official interference, to overbear his convictions, however mistaken they might be. But the Punjab authorities have never disguised their convictions that Christianity is the alone religion of God. They have never hesitated to identify themselves in their private capacity with the various persuasive agencies through which it commends itself to men's attention, and which are the only agencies it employs. They never considered that official duty required that they should reduce themselves to religious indifference; and as there was no evasion on their part, so on the side of the natives there was no distrust, and this open, candid dealing was far more intelligible to them than the more astute policy of Calcutta.

Now the attempt is being made to supersede the more Christian and manly policy of the Punjab, and substitute for it that which, with such ill-success, has prevailed in the councils at Calcutta. We had hoped that it would have been otherwise. The administrative action of the Punjab has been so admirable, it has wrought so effectually, and has been so evidently blessed of God; its superiority over the procedure which emanated from Calcutta has been so unequivocal, that we had entertained the hope of seeing the policy of the general government of India improved by following the example of the Punjab. We had hoped that, instructed by the eventful discipline of two long years of trial, the Government at home, as well as the authorities abroad, would have felt the necessity of a more candid and manly course of proceeding. We had hoped that the Queen's Proclamation would have ensured to every man religious liberty; and that every religion, of whatever character or pretension, provided it was contented to abstain from the use of all carnal weapons, would be free, by argument and persuasion, to commend itself to men's acceptance. Instead of this, Chris-

tianity is to be deprived of the communicative agency of those who believe it to be true. The Missionary indeed is free publicly to identify himself with it, but the officials of the Government, however they may enjoy it in private, in public are to withhold themselves from all recognition of it, lest their acts be considered to be the acts of the Government which they represent, and so the principle of neutrality be violated. And forasmuch as the Europeans in India who, in some sense or other, are the *employés* of the Government, are very numerous, a large and influential body of Christians in India is thus interdicted from rendering that help, which Christianity is justified in expecting from those who believe it to be true. And now, as a correspondent from the Punjab observes, "trying times are at hand. Now, for the first time, officers are required to act against their consciences, and many, it is to be feared, will be constrained to give up their commissions." And is this our gratitude to God? Is it thus we acknowledge the action of his providence in preserving the English throughout India from utter extermination, and enabling us to retain our hold on that rich heritage which the mutineers and their abettors so pertinaciously sought to wrest from us? Neutrality! Why the clique of bigoted and interested supporters of the old systems understand neutrality in a very different sense from that which is affixed to it by Government officials. They understand by it, not merely silence on religious topics, but a diligent avoidance of every act of Government which, by ameliorating the social condition of the people, weakens the heathenism of India. It is this which the native cannot understand, that the Government should so loudly profess neutrality, and yet continue to interfere with customs and practices which their religion has sanctioned, and which have been practised from time immemorial among the natives of India. Let us introduce native testimony on this subject. We quote the words of a native official on this subject, an Inspector of Government schools in the Benares division, who, during the past year, has inspected the schools of thirteen districts, containing a population of fourteen and a half millions.

"As for 'neutrality,' the word is inexplicable to me. I cannot understand its meaning. Our position is this—The Brahmins find the new generations more disrespectful and disobedient to them than the old ones; so impatient as to discuss with them the possibilities of the existence of oceans of milk and wine, of mountains of gold more than 500,000 miles high, and the powers of the Brahmins to give

salvation to souls, when many of them cannot save themselves from being dragged to gaols. From being worshipped, and fed, and considered as gods on earth, the Brahmins have been reduced now to work in the most menial capacities. They cannot bear this: they see plainly that Hinduism is declining every day, and a day will soon come when the Brahmins will be reduced to the same level with the Sudras. They trace and find no other cause of it but the intercourse of the natives with Europeans, *alias* the advancement of civilization. The Mohammedans killed Brahmins, but they did not undermine the people's belief in their superiority. They themselves believed in so many Peers, and Fakeers, and nonsensical things, that the Brahmins were quite safe from having any attack on their absurd dogmas. When Aurungzebe demolished the temple of Vishweshwar, his brother Darashikoh lavished wealth on the Pundits and Sunyásis of Benares. Well, the Brahmins trace their downfall, which they term the downfall of Hinduism, to the intercourse of the natives with Europeans, and so they curse the Europeans. It is not the reading of this or that book, but the civilization itself, which is opposed to Hinduism. The promises of 'neutrality' now and then of the Government mislead the people: they form new hopes, and then, feeling disappointed, curse the Government. It is not the introduction of this or that book, but the stop of the civilization itself, which they understand by 'neutrality.' They will never give the credit of 'neutrality' to the Government till they find Hinduism prevented from declining. If Lords Stanley and Ellenborough really aspire to gain credit for neutrality from the Hindus, they must close their hospitals, as the Hindus cannot, strictly speaking, preserve their caste after swallowing the medicines administered there; they must not allow cows being killed in India, as a Rajpoot cannot remain a Hindu if he does not try to save the cow, even at the risk of his life; they must make the Institutes of Menu again the law of the country, and punish severely those who disrespect Brahmins; they must give up their possessions beyond the Indus; and they must not import any book or inculcate any idea which leads one to disobey or disrespect a Brahmin.

"But if the Lords mean by 'neutrality' merely that no force is to be used in conversion, there is no use of making any fuss about it: the people know perfectly well, by the experience of a century, that the Christian religion admits no force. It is not the force they dread; it is the contact. They are pretty sure that now Hinduism cannot stand before

Christianity; and I do not think that even an hundred Lord Stanleys can make them disbelieve this fact."

This, then, is the question which remains to be decided by the people of England—Shall the policy of Calcutta or that of Lahore be henceforth that normal policy of India to which all administrative proceedings in every province and Presidency are henceforth to be assimilated?

Let us look a little into the details of the Punjab administration, and consider whether it was the less wise, the less resolute and energetic, and the less successful in the results which it yielded, because the men who were charged with its responsibilities were avowedly Christian men, who were not ashamed of their Christianity, and did not hesitate to avow it openly before the natives.

On March 21, 1849, the second war with the Sikhs, and their last stroke for independence, was terminated by the occupation of Peshawur, and the precipitate retreat of the Ameer of Cabul, with his Affghans, through the Khyber pass. On the announcement of these events, the Governor-General decided on the immediate annexation of the Punjab to the British empire; and on March 29th the Secretary in the Foreign Department, Mr. H. M. Elliot, accompanied by Sir H. M. Lawrence and the gentlemen of the Residency, proceeded to the Durbar for the purpose of making the important announcement. They were met by the Maharajah Duleep Singh outside the gate of the citadel, and, after the usual salutations, and giving and taking of presents, the Maharajah took his seat at the end of the Hall of Audience, the English officials being placed on either side of him. The hall was filled with spectators, who ranged themselves on each side of the central seats—the Europeans on the right, the natives on the left. A note declaratory of the intention of the Government to assume the sovereignty of the Punjab was read out in Persian, and afterwards translated into Hindustani, for the comprehension of every one present. It retraced the history of the few late eventful years, the violation of treaties, and, declaring the continuance of the Sikh dominion in the Punjab to be incompatible with the security of the British territories, proclaimed British sovereignty throughout the Punjab. The terms granted to the Maharajah by the representatives of the East-India Company, and accepted, on the part of His Highness, by the members of the Council of Regency, were then signed and confirmed. The stipulations they contained were of sufficient gravity. The Maharajah resigned, for himself and for his successors, all right, title,

and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab; the properties of the state were confiscated to the East-India Company; the gem called the Koh-i-noor surrendered to the Queen of England; the Maharajah receiving from the Hon. East-India Company a pension ample for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the state, and having guaranteed to him respect and honour. This grave document, read out in Persian and Hindustani, was listened to with the deepest attention, and signed without hesitation by the Maharajah and the members of the Council of Regency, and the important kingdom of the Punjab was thus formally transferred from the rule of the Sikhs to that of Great Britain.

The whole ceremony was conducted with grave decorum. No Sirdar was armed. The costly jewels and gaudy robes, so conspicuous in the Sikh court on other public occasions, were thrown aside. The countenances of the Sikh chieftains exhibited neither sorrow nor gladness. The whole announcement appeared to be received with a degree of indifference bordering on apathy, and not a word or whisper escaped to betray the real feelings pervading the hearts of that solemn assembly, which had met to witness the ratified dissolution of the great empire established by the fraud and violence of Runjeet Singh. As the English authorities left the palace, the British colours hoisted on the citadel, under a Royal salute from British artillery, proclaimed the ascendancy of British rule and the downfall of the Khalsa Raj.

Let us now look forward to a period of nearly six years in advance, and we arrive at a remarkable day in the history of the Punjab, which we select as marking very strongly the progress which had been made during those intervening years in reducing to social order, contentment, and confidence in the Government, the mingled and restless population of the Punjab. In October 1854, the Chief Commissioner considered that the time had arrived when a census might be made in the Punjab, and it was decided that this should be effected, "not by any calculation of the average number of souls to houses, enclosures, or families, but by actual enumeration of the people, as they were, all over the country at one given time. By a simultaneous action throughout the province, all persons sleeping in any house of every city, town, village, hamlet, and detached tenement, bearing a known name, were to be numbered during the night intervening between the 31st December 1854 and the 1st January 1855. Minute subdivision could alone render such an enumeration possible. Towns, cities, and large vil-

lages had to be parcelled into wards; every ordinary village and every detached hamlet was formed into a separate beat. But if the subdivision was minute, they who were to act as enumerators required to be proportionally many, and the European authorities, for the supply of the necessary agents, were completely thrown into the hands of the natives. Any thing of suspicious unwillingness on their part would have marred the whole proceedings. But they came forward readily and freely. In towns and cities the burgher supplied the enumerators; in large villages, the landholders, bankers, and traders; in smaller villages the village accountants were available; but in the more scattered hamlets and wilder tracts, various persons were enlisted in the service—the Mohammedan mollah, the Sikh girunthee or Scripture-reader, the village schoolmaster and his pupils, the petty trader, the chief cattle grazier. The appointed night arrived; the people generally had been warned to readiness; the enumerators went round their beats; each house was visited, questions were answered, entries made, and, on the morning of January 1st, the returns were sent in to the supervising officer. No stronger proof could be afforded of the confidence of the people in the Government than the successful character of the operation, and the unanimity and good feeling with which it was carried out; the more so, when it is remembered, that amidst the populations of India such numberings of the people have often excited discontent and apprehension. But no suspicion, no alarm, seems to have existed, not even amongst the border tribes on the Trans-Indus frontier, who are proverbially sensitive to any semblance of interference. In the two capitals of Lahore and Umritsur, the district officers, in going their rounds, were attended by the more respectable of the burghers; and at Umritsur, in particular, the people stood waiting with a light at their doors for the arrival of the enumerators, and the streets and alleys were half illuminated. Thus, with diversified machinery, amidst classes of population strikingly dissimilar; some peaceful agriculturists, others barbarian warriors, nomads of the deserts and pastoral wilds, denizens of the plains and hills and mountains topped with snow; and throughout a territory extending from the Jumna to the Indus, from Kurnal to Peshawur, from Jummoo to the confines of Sindh, the census was completely and satisfactorily accomplished, and the high measure of administrative progress attained in the short period of less than six years placed beyond the possibility of doubt. The result of the census showed how much the population

of the Punjab had been underrated. In 1849, the population of the countries west of the Sutlej, commonly known as the land of the five rivers, had been estimated at five millions; but the census of 1855 proved them to contain not less than ten millions and a half of souls.

It may be well to pause here, and look upon the character of an administration, which, in a newly-acquired province, one which, in the time of war, had met and sternly conflicted with the full power of British India, and in the space of a few years, had accomplished results so satisfactory.

First, it was vigorous and decisive. The population was at once disarmed, a measure which no doubt contributed to its early and complete pacification. "At annexation, large bodies of discontented men, many of them trained soldiers, were thrown out of employment, a majority of whom must have experienced great difficulty in adopting new means of livelihood. A strong feeling of nationality, and a stronger still of exasperation, must have existed in the minds of large bodies of the hitherto dominant race." The disarming process not only tended to the security of Government, but to the promotion of peaceful intercourse amongst the people. The man of uncontrollable passions was not facilitated to the indulgence of them by having murderous weapons ready to his hand, and when he snatched up the axe or the hatchet, he had no advantage over others in the rude weapons which he used.

Again, a powerful police force was organized, which was subdivided into military, civil, city, and rural. The military police constituted an effective corps of upwards of 9000 men. Their value may be seen in the important services which they rendered during the mutinous outbreak of 1857. The police of the lower countries altogether failed in the moment of danger. Not so with the Punjab men. In the Cis-Sutlej states when village was fighting against village, the headmen commanding the rural forces on either side, the regular police stood firm. In the Loodiana district, when two thousand armed mutineers crossed the Sutlej, and marched through the city, full of disaffected Cashmerees—when the fort was temporarily seized, and rapine had commenced—the police remained staunch, and restored order. "If the position of the Cis-Sutlej states relatively to Delhi be considered, the fidelity of the regular police during the crisis will appear remarkable." In the Peshawur district it was the police force whom Colonel Nicholson led on to a most successful pursuit against the mutineers of the 55th Native Infantry.

The main body of the disarmed 26th, having fled from Lahore, some 500 strong, were fiercely assailed by a party of Umritsur police, and driven to an island in the Ravee. Occasions no doubt there were of failure on their part, but the instances in which they rendered good service were far more numerous, and proved them to be a force on which dependence could be placed in an emergency. They are usually, in all grades, natives of the Punjab. By the controlling action of such a body, violent crimes have been vigorously repressed; dacoity, gang-robbery, and Thugges, broken down; and increased security given to life and property. In the year 1856, the aggregate of crimes and misdemeanors was less than it had ever been before, showing, in proportion to the whole population, about one crime to every 302 persons: violent and heinous crime was less than ever. And even in 1857, despite the troubled circumstances of the period, crime did not gain head in the Punjab generally, and the action of the criminal courts was in no wise paralyzed.

And here, in connexion with measures adopted for the repression of crimes, in which the Punjab was so exuberant when it came under British rule, may be a convenient place to refer to the remarkable Anti-Infanticide Movement. In a previous volume we entered into the subject,* and placed before our readers the painful prevalence of this crime amongst Rajpoots and other high-caste Hindus. Sir John Lawrence, when First Commissioner, in 1846, of the newly-annexed Trans-Sutlej states, denounced and laboured to arrest its practice; and when the British officials commenced the Herculean work of raising the Punjab from the wasted and degraded condition in which they found it, this crime came at once under their consideration. It was full time, indeed, for the soil of the Punjab was stained with the blood of innocents. In Derah Baba Nanuk a thousand families of Bedees for 400 years had destroyed all their female offspring. Various efforts were put forth, and with some measure of encouragement. Among the classes most notorious for the crime, girls began to be occasionally met with, and their numbers gradually increased. At length occurred one of those remarkable days which we meet with in the history of the Punjab, and which, like the indices of the barometer, mark improvement. In the month of September 1853, a proclamation was issued, inviting the attendance of all persons interested in the subject at a

* *Vide* Vol. ix. pp. 42—48.

general meeting of high British functionaries attached to the Punjab—to be held at Umritsur in the month of Katik (October), during the Dewallee festival, with the view to the suppression of the horrid practice of female infanticide, “which is sinful in the eyes of God, and hateful to the authorities.” To that meeting accordingly were assembled “independent Rajahs, and tributary Jagheerdars; high Rajpoots of Kangra and Jummo, and Munhās from the plains; wealthy Bedees of Dehra Nanuk and Gogaira; Brahmins and Khutrees, and Mohammedans; the commercial and municipal heads of every city of note, and delegates from the agricultural and trading communities of every district, within 200 miles of Umritsur.” Certain principles which might serve as a basis of communication were submitted by the heads and delegates to their different tribes and classes in private conclave. “The Rambagh presented the novel and striking scene of bodies of natives—Rajpoots, Bedees, Khutrees, Mohammedans, &c.—formed into separate groups, under the guidance of their own chiefs, deliberating on the most important object for which they had been brought together by their English rulers.” From these several parties duly attested agreements were handed in, containing well-graduated scales of marriage expenditure for the different castes and communities whose interests were concerned.

“The third and last day of the meeting was devoted to the great Durbar, or council, when all who had hitherto been deliberating separately were to combine together in one general assembly, and to declare publicly, as it were, with one heart and voice, their determination to suppress this crime. Pavilion tents had been pitched, enclosing an area of some two hundred feet in length and sixty in breadth, and capable of accommodating about 3000 people. Of this canvas hall of audience the upper part was appropriated to the English functionaries and the native chiefs, with their personal attendants. Seats for about sixty of the most important of these were arranged in the usual semi-circular form, the centre ones being occupied by the Commissioners, Deputy-Commissioners being judiciously distributed, at intervals of four or five, among the Rajahs and Sirdars, and brought, as far as it was possible, in proximity with the leading men of their several districts. The arrangement of so large a body of native nobles and gentlemen of every grade was no easy task; and, lest all their previous labour should be rendered nugatory, a Committee of five of the Deputy-Commissioners

was formed, to whom was entrusted this most difficult and delicate proceeding; . . . and so perfect were these arrangements, that though an unprecedented number of natives of rank were assembled, there was not a single expression of disapproval, disappointment, or displeasure.” The general form of agreement was read, and the assembled crowds were called upon to declare whether they concurred in the sentiments which it expressed, and were prepared to signify their determination to conform to the conditions which it recited, by affixing their signatures in the presence of the representatives of the Government. On a general expression of assent being given, numerous copies were handed round for signature, the Rajpoots and other chiefs signing. Well might the Governor-General, in his congratulations, describe this great meeting as “the commencement of a new social era among the people of the countries beyond the Jumna.”

While crime was thus repressed, provision was made for the due administration of civil justice, and care was taken to render our institutions applicable to the native character. From the want of sufficient attention to this point, many evils have arisen; so much so, that, in general opinion, “perjury and subornation of perjury are more common under British than native rule, partly from the fact of our adherence to forms and technicalities, and partly from the inapplicability of our institutions to the native character.”* Four kinds of courts were established throughout the Punjab, presided over respectively by Deputy-Commissioners, Assistant-Commissioners, extra assistants, and tahseeldars, or revenue officers, vested with the powers pertaining to small-cause courts. “The two first are European covenanted or commissioned officers; the third class are sometimes European and sometimes native officers; the fourth are usually natives.” The Tahseeldars’ courts have worked very beneficially. In petty cases the parties have been saved the trouble and expense of resorting to the central court at a distance, by the use of the Tahseeldars’ court close at hand. In the appointment of these men regard is had to their judicial qualifications; but, besides this, their local knowledge, acquired in the course of fiscal business, gives them a peculiar fitness for their office. “In this respect no other description of judge can at all approach them. Moreover, in their cases alone can local public opinion be brought effectually to bear. The judge associates with the people, lives, and moves

* Punjab Report, 1851-53, pp. 64, 65.

among them, not only by social intercourse, but in the transaction of business, and this not of one kind, but many. He must, therefore, necessarily observe rustic society in its every phase. The same influences affect the parties as well as the judge. Every suitor and witness acts under the eye of his neighbour, in the presence of many acquaintances, who have constantly business to transact at the tahseel." The heavier causes are, of course, suited rather for the central courts, and to such they can be referred; but the value of a machinery such as this, which comes down to the level of the people, and is openly transacted before them, is very great. It is not affirmed that the working of judicial administration is all that might be desired. Many defects remain to be corrected: the Tahseeldars, or judges of the smaller courts, require much training: still the number of cases brought by the people before the courts is very great, the total of suits in 1856 being 51,751, and in 1857, 81,112. "Unless the people had confidence in them they would not resort to them so largely."

That the proceedings of the authorities in the Punjab have been marked by energy and decision must be admitted. Let us glance at another feature: they have been not only decisive, but benevolent, and marked by an earnest desire to ameliorate the social condition of the Punjab people. We are quite aware that the previous section of our subject dovetails into this, and that there can be no more benevolent course of action to a state, than a vigorous and impartial administration of justice. But let us specify some distinct points.

Arrangements were made to carry out a regular settlement of the land-revenues; inequalities were carefully corrected, and, in cases of over-assessment, reductions liberally made. A remarkable instance of this just consideration on the part of the Government, occurred in the Lahore division. Scarcely had the settlement been adjusted, when agricultural produce was subjected to a great depreciation in value: prices fell fifty per cent. The excitement was great. Large bodies of landholders, in some districts, tumultuously crowded round the revenue authorities, and violently declared that the markets were overstocked with grain, and that money could not be got in return for the produce. The Government at once reduced the land-tax. It continued to do so for five successive years. Then came the memorable year of 1857, and then the reward of this wise consideration was attained. "The agricultural

classes were comfortable and quiet: none were pinched in circumstances; none were looking forward to change;" and, throughout the year of trouble, the land-tax was realized as usual. "Indeed, the willingness and punctuality with which the landholders paid up their revenue for the instalments which were due just as the crisis set in, is not only shown by the public records and accounts, but is also testified by all the European officials who were present at the time. In some places, owing to the critical circumstances of the time, the revenue was collected even before the date on which the instalments fell due. This was effected without the least difficulty, and even with the consent of the people."

The circumstances of Runjeet Singh's time, and that of his successors, must have been sufficiently recent in the recollection of the people to enable them to contrast advantageously with them the easy yoke of British rule. "Two-fifths of the produce was the proportion nominally taken by the Sirkar (state)." Of systematic administration there was none, the whole being committed to farmers, with full power to deal with the lives and properties of the producing classes of the population, these men, in their turn, being subjected to the unscrupulous pressure of the Sikh chieftain, and compelled to disgorge their gains.

Let us glance briefly at one or two other points. There are no customs levied in the Punjab. All preventive lines to secure the payment of excise duties have been abolished, and the Punjab, disembarassed of all restrictive hindrances, was placed in the position of becoming in due time, and with due improvement, the great commercial emporium between the rich productive provinces of India and the uplands of the Asiatic countries, while the construction of railroads, and the opening of the Indus by steam navigation, brings her into direct communication with the sea and Europe.

Again, the means of transit have been facilitated. The Grand Trunk Road from the Delhi frontier to Peshawur is in progress, and considerable portions of it are available for traffic. "It was along this road that the troop stores and siege trains proceeded to the siege of Delhi. It may be truly said, that, at that rainy season of the year, if there had not been this good road—if the line had been in the same condition as it was five years ago—the vast amount of material and muni-

* Punjab Report for 1856-58, p. 15.

tions of war could not have reached the scene of action; and that without this road it might hardly have been possible to take Delhi, at least during the autumn of 1857." This great work is of first importance to the Punjab, forming an highway through the upper districts and chief cities, and constituting the great outlet and channel for the land commerce, and the import and export trade between India, central Asia, and the West. It has greatly exceeded the original estimate. As our knowledge of the country became more extensive and accurate—as the violence of the floods and torrents became familiar—it became evident that no road not of the first efficiency, and no work short of the highest calibre, could furnish any thing like a permanent way."

The land of the five rivers is especially dependent on irrigation. Without a sufficiency of water-supply, tracts, which would otherwise be richly productive, degenerate into arid plains; and if irrigation be needed, the facilities for providing it are not to be surpassed by any country upon earth. Five large streams, the arteries of the Indus, traverse the region, and divide it into four doabs, as the tracts enclosed between the forks of the two rivers are called. Ancient water-courses showed how strongly, in former times, the need of irrigation was felt, and what pains were taken to secure it. All previous efforts, however, are insignificant when compared with those which have been put forth by the British authorities. The great work of the Baree Doab canal has so far reached its completion, that the first admission of water took place on the 11th April last, an event of such importance as to be honoured by a public notification from Fort William, His Excellency the Governor-General considering, that the mass of heavier works having been constructed, and all the chief difficulties overcome, the recognition merited by the officers engaged in it ought not to be deferred. "In a few months, it is confidently hoped, the new channel will bear water to Lahore. But His Excellency trusts, that not many years may pass before the whole project shall have been realized, and the canal and the railway shall run side by side down the ridge of the Doab, a desert no longer." It is remarkable that a large number of the famous Sikh soldiers have been induced, by the prospects connected with the opening of the new canal, to return to agriculture in their native Mangha and Malwa.

Many points of lesser importance, but still indicative of the vigour of the administration,

and the real solicitude felt for the welfare of the native population, might be enumerated. We can do little more than name them. The erection of buildings along the main line of road for the accommodation and protection of travellers, including a police office, (hanna), and a taxing officer (tahseel) with encamping ground for troops. Much of this has been accomplished along the entire length of the Grand Trunk Road, from the Jumna to the Indus. Again, conservancy works, by means of which large masses of water, pouring from the Mangha towards the valley of the Ravee, cutting up roads and flooding low grounds, and filling marshes in their course, have been regularly conducted by water-cuts, which latter have been also bridged. Municipal improvement and conservancy in cities are steadily progressing: there is now scarcely a city in the Punjab, great or small, which is not drained or paved. The improvements are being rapidly extended to the suburban localities. Take, for instance, the environs of Lahore.

"Few suburban localities could be found in any province presenting such sanitary difficulties as the vicinity of Lahore. The station of Anarkullee, with its adjuncts, is scattered over an area of several square miles, over which extend the ruins, not of one, but of several successive cities, of various eras and various dynasties. The surface of this extraordinary plain is diversified by mounds, kilns, bricks, stones, broken masses of masonry, decaying structures, hollows, excavations, and all the debris of habitations that have passed away. The soil is sterile and impregnated with saltpetre, but the ground is interspersed with rank vegetation, and, though generally arid, yet, from its undulating nature, possesses an unfortunate aptitude for the accumulation of stagnant water." Comprehensive measures have been adopted for the draining of this plain; numerous roadways have been opened out, the redundant houses and tenements cleared away, and the inequalities of the ground corrected. Other cities have been similarly dealt with. Sealkote is well arranged, the streets in excellent order, and new bazaars and market-places skilfully constructed. At Rawul Pindie new streets have been tastefully laid out; and Mooltan, which had been an exception to the general cleanliness of the cities of the Punjab, has attracted notice.

Dispensaries have been largely opened throughout the Punjab; some in buildings erected by the Government, others in native houses, usually the property of Government, and adapted to the purposes of the charity;

such places being situated in the interior of cities are more easy of resort to the native public. They are rapidly winning popularity from all quarters: they are already frequented, not only by townspeople, but also by villagers from a distance.

Arboriculture has also engaged the attention of the authorities. In the Lahore district good rows of trees have been planted around the city and station; landholders, by grants of small patches of land rent-free, have been induced to establish and maintain groves at convenient distances along the main lines of road. In the interior of the district large numbers of trees have been planted; so that the total number planted under the auspices of the authorities, amounts to not less than 415,000. The Goordaspore district, which possesses natural advantages as to soil and moisture superior to Lahore, can boast of 434,000 trees. In Goojeranwalla forty miles of road have been planted, and many landholders have been induced to sow trees and plant seedlings round their wells. At Sealkote and Umritsur similar efforts have been made; throughout the Trans-Sutlej states, in the Jhelum, Shahpore, and Mooltan districts, nurseries have been established, seedlings planted out at suitable places, groves formed at proper intervals along the roads, trees sown at most of the wells, hedge-rows extended for many miles. The Agricultural Society of the Punjab has imported, exclusive of a choice variety of fruit trees, timber trees of different kinds, "including sissoo, seris, toon, mulberry, poplar, tamarind, peepul, bamboo, plane, and teak." On the banks of the Sutlej many acres of alluvial land have been sown broadcast with sissoo, and a similar measure has been carried out near the river Jhelum for the future use of steamers. The method adopted to encourage the growth of trees is deserving of attention. Every owner of a well is induced to sow some five square yards with trees, and, when the seedlings are a year old, to plant them out on the irrigation water-courses. "The process of sowing and planting may be repeated annually, and 100 young trees may be produced every year on a single well. In a single district it is common to find 2000 or 3000 wells, and from these 200,000 or 300,000 young trees might be produced annually."

Agricultural inquiries have been instituted, and the defects of the prevailing system ascertained, such as, waste of manure, exhaustion of the soil by a bad rotation of crops, injudicious methods of planting, and inattention to the quality of staples. "Attention has been paid to one of the crying wants of the Punjab, a superior set of products, even-

tuating in a diminution of excessive cereal produce. Experiments have been made in various districts with Egyptian wheat, New-Orleans cotton, Otaheite sugar-cane, flax, tobacco, wurzel, turnips, clover. Experiments have been made in flax-growing, and successfully. Measures have been taken to improve the quality of Punjab wool." The production of raw silk in all its stages, from the rearing of the worm to the spinning of the cocoon, has been effected at Lahore under the auspices of the Agri Horticultural Society of the Punjab, which has been eminently useful in all these efforts. It has been found "that 1000 maunds per annum of this article are imported *vid* Peshawur and Dehra Ismael Khan, from Bokhara and Khorassan, for the manufacturers at the chief cities of the Punjab, especially at Lahore, Umritsur, and Mooltan, the latter being at one time especially renowned for its fabrics. Some 90,000*l.* of capital were ascertained to have been embarked in the manufacture."

"The cultivation of tea in the Punjab demands some notice." The experiments made in the Kangra district have been decidedly successful. "It has been ascertained that the climatic condition of this region is favourable to the growth of the tea-plant; that there is much land available suited to this cultivation; that the people generally, and the Rajpoots especially, are willing to work in the Government plantations and factories; and that the landholders, by the offer of rewards, and by the purchase of tea-leaves, may be induced to speculate in the production of tea. There are not only well-founded hopes of abundant markets for exported tea, either to the west as at Cabul, or to the south as at Bombay, but there would be a brisk local demand: the Mohammedan inhabitants of the Punjab, and specially the Cashmerees, who have extensively colonized in various parts of the province, such as Loodiana, Umritsur, Nurpore, Jellalpoore, near Sealkote, are all large consumers of tea. At present, however, the hill teas are highly acceptable to the European community, who consequently outbid native purchasers. Since the year 1848, two small plantations were established in the Kungra valley. The Governor-General, when on a visit to Dhurmsala in 1852, was pleased to express satisfaction at the results of this experiment, and to offer encouragement to further undertakings. Accordingly, from the commencement of 1852, a large undulating plain, named Holta, stretching along the base of the Himalaya range, "which, notwithstanding its natural fertility, had been left waste by the mountaineers, owing to

some superstitious tradition, was definitively occupied as a field for further experiments." During 1852, some 100,000 young plants were transported thither from the Kumaon dépôt. Subsequently a manufactory, cottages for the Chinamen engaged in the work, and a house for the European overseer, have been constructed." The flavour and quality of the teas are found to be excellent.

Advancing from these points of interest, although of minor importance, and satisfactory as affording unequivocal proofs of the vigour and ubiquitous action of the Government, we come to the higher point of Education. The necessity and encouragement for educational measures, existed as strongly in the Punjab as in any province of the Bengal Presidency. There are fewer elements of passive hindrance or active opposition, and less prejudice, than are to be met with elsewhere. The Sikh fanaticism has been greatly modified, and, previously to the outbreak of 1857, seemed to be dying out. "The Hindus are less superstitious and less priestridden. The Mohammedans of the plains, as contradistinguished from those of the hills and the frontier, though formidable in numbers, are less bigoted, less bound by traditionary practices, than their co-religionists in any part of India. The upper classes display a candid intelligence and inquisitiveness in respect to Asiatic learning and European science. The agricultural classes, although uncouth, are less apathetic and less illiterate in their tastes than might have been expected. The village accountant displays a skill not surpassed, and often not equalled, in Hindustan. The working-classes exhibit a considerable aptitude in mechanical art."

The system of national education prescribed for all India by the home authorities was, therefore, inaugurated in the Punjab. Each district being divided into three or four tahseels, or subdivisions, for administrative purposes, a Government school at the headquarters of each tahseel was established. Some 107 schools have been thus founded. An arrangement with the landholders has been carried out throughout the Punjab, save in Leia and Hazara, that they should pay for educational purposes one per cent. on the assessed land-tax, and, from this resource, 456 village-schools have been established. Each of these schools is placed in a central position, so as to be accessible to three or four villages. Grants-in-aid, to the amount of 6970 rupees, were accepted on behalf of the Mission-schools in different parts of the Punjab. Such was the commencement for the first year. The second year was the year of disturbances in Hindustan, and of excitement throughout the

Punjab. No additional schools were attempted, but effort was directed to the sustaining of those already called into existence. The result is thus stated in the report of 1856-58 — "During the first quarter—May, June, and July 1857, the first three months of trouble—there was actually a slight increase over the attendance of the preceding peaceful quarter. During the next quarter of August, September, and October, three months of awful crisis, when the fate of the Punjab really trembled in the balance, there was a diminution of only ninety-seven pupils on an aggregate of 4900, which, in fact, is no perceptible diminution at all. Even in the Cis-Sutlej states, which were disturbed extensively, the Government-schools did not suffer. At Rawul Pindee only, near the Indus, were there any symptoms manifested of religious bigotry against the educational arrangements. In all other places, even on the fanatical frontier, there was no suspicion or prejudice raised on account of the schools. By November the crisis was over-past, and the establishing of additional village-schools was immediately taken in hand. Nearly 700 new ones were founded by the end of December. During the two last quarters of the year perfect quiet has succeeded to excitement. Consequently the system, laboriously sustained during a time of trouble, has since been expanded; the attendance at Government-schools has increased month by month; the style of education has been improved; and the village-schools extended."*

"In the Government-schools the education consists only of the rudiments of history, geography, arithmetic, and grammar; but even this much is imparted with difficulty, and is a vast stride in advance of the wretched education which previously existed. The class-system teaching is enforced. The Urdu language with the Persian character is used in the Government-schools. The pupils are more than one-half Hindu, the remainder are mainly Mohammedans. Sikh pupils are not numerous. The pupils belong chiefly to the non-agricultural classes. There are eleven female-schools, all Mohammedan. There is, of course, a great dearth of qualified teachers, but a normal-school has been established at Lahore, with forty pupils, and another has been commenced at Rawul Pindee. The teachers previously deficient, who may be found in office, are required to qualify at these institutions. The higher kinds of Government-schools have yet to be founded, and the

* Report for 1856-58 pp. 19, 20.

Lahore College is postponed till the general system shall be more advanced. A dépôt for school-books has been set up, and, during 1857-58, some 14,139 little books were sold to the people for about 3000 rupees."

Now, let it be observed, that while the authorities in the Punjab thus zealously and wisely laboured to promote the improvement of the important province committed to their care, and the social comfort and happiness of the people, they did so without in the slightest degree compromising their own principles as Christian men. They did not think it necessary to ignore that pure faith to which England owes her high position, to disavow it in public, and to pretend, in the presence of the native, an indifference with respect to its welfare and progress, which they did not feel. They knew, by experience, the power of Christianity, when really influential in correcting and restrainin the manifold evils of the human heart; and while they interfered with no man's conscience, they wished that every man should have the opportunity of becoming acquainted with its truths and merciful invitations. It was not in the Punjab, as in the early days of English rule in Calcutta. There the English were contented to remain for many years with one church. It was built in 1715; levelled by a hurricane in 1737; rebuilt and continued standing till 1756; when, among other devastations committed by the army of the Nawab of Bengal, it was demolished; and from that date until 1787, a period of thirty years, public worship for the Presidency was celebrated in a thatched bungalow, situate in the old fort. A brief extract from the Report on the Punjab for the years 1851-53 contrasts strongly with such indifference.

"It may not be inappropriate to conclude this section with a brief account of the construction of edifices in honour of Him under whose providence the administration has prospered. During 1853 the Supreme Government was pleased to sanction an extensive grant for ecclesiastical purposes, in virtue of which, and with the aid of private subscriptions, churches have been constructed at the chief military and civil stations. . . . A church has been finished at Umritsur, capable of holding 150 persons, built partly by private subscription and partly by a Government grant of 3086 rupees. A similar church, of larger dimensions, is under construction at Muree, for which the Government grant amounts to 7000 rupees. At Anarkullee, near Lahore, an old and spacious native mausoleum has been fitted up for the purposes of divine worship. At Jullundhur a large church,

with accommodation for 600 persons, has been built, at a cost of 22,000 rupees, of which 12,000 was privately subscribed. At Hosheypore an elegant little church, of similar dimensions to that of Umritsur, has been constructed. At Loodiana there is a church which cost 10,000 rupees, built partly by Government grant and partly by private subscriptions. At the hill stations of Simla and Kussowlie there are churches, and a monumental church at Ferozepore, built chiefly by private subscriptions, in commemoration of those who fell in the battles on the Sutlej. On the whole, it may be said that complete church accommodation, at nearly all the large military and civil stations of the Punjab, has been, or is being, provided for the number of the European community who may be expected to attend at divine service."*

The principle of action by which the Supreme Government of India has been governed in matters of religion is candidly stated in the following extract from a work† of considerable authority on such subjects—"From any attempt at influencing the religion of the people, Government has remained scrupulously aloof. Unlike all previous rulers, it has abstained not only from violent interference, but from the exercise of indirect influence of any kind. It has been of no religion; and if it has made any distinction, it has been in an indisposition to tolerate the introduction of Christianity, while it played the part of the former Governments in regard to certain temples. Christianity is now tolerated, but not encouraged." This we believe to be a strictly accurate statement of the position hitherto occupied by Government on religious matters in India. And in this we conceive the administrative policy of the Punjab has differed from that which prevailed at Calcutta. The Government has not laboured to assume, in the presence of the natives, the appearance of having no religion: on the contrary, Christianity has been openly avowed, and the advance of its evangelizing action into the Punjab has been encouraged instead of being repelled. In February 1851, a large meeting, at which Archdeacon Pratt presided, was held at Lahore, for the purpose of forming a Church Missionary Asso-

* Churches have also been built at the following stations—Mean Meer, Lahore (2); Peshawur, Sealkote, Umballa, and Rawul Pindie, at a total cost of 221,850 rupees, with church accommodation for 4150 persons.

† "A Sketch of the system of Civil Government in India," by George Campbell, Esq., Bengal Civil Service, p. 208.

ciation for the Punjab: it was attended by a large assemblage of civil and military officers. Among the office-bearers of the new Association appeared the names of Sir H. M. Lawrence (President), R. Montgomery and John Lawrence, Esqs., all honoured names, who, since then, have rendered distinguished services to the maintenance of English supremacy, and have not been the less prospered in the season of adversity, because, in the time of prosperity, they were not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. In December 1853, a public meeting was held at Peshawur, with a view to Missionary efforts amongst the Affghans, the Commissioner of Peshawur occupying the chair. The address delivered by him on that occasion has already been printed in our pages.* Had it been delivered in 1859, instead of in 1853, a rebuke from Government House, Calcutta, would have been speedily administered, and such boldness reprov'd, as endangering the stability of our Indian empire. Whether it endangered the stability of our empire in the Punjab, it is the purport of this historical *resumé* to show. It is to this point that we are concentrating the various points of information which have been thrown into this article. But as six years have elapsed since its delivery, we may be permitted a reference to some passages of it, without, we trust, exposing the hero of Mooltan to inconvenience.

"Our mission, then, in India, is to do for other nations what we have done for our own. To the Hindus we have to preach one God, and to the Mohammedans to preach one Mediator.

"And how is this to be done? By state armies and state persecutions? By demolishing Hindu temples, as Mahmud of Ghuzni did? or by defiling mosques with Mohammedan blood, as Runjeet Singh did?

"It is obvious that we could not, if we would, follow such barbarous examples. The 30,000 Englishmen in India would never have been seen ruling over 20,000,000 of Hindus and Mohammedans, if they had tried to force Christianity upon them with the sword.

"The British Government has wisely maintained a strict neutrality in religious matters, and Hindus and Mohammedans, secure of our impartiality, have filled our armies, and built up our empire.

"It is not the duty of the Government, as a Government, to proselytize India. Let us rejoice that it is not: let us rejoice that pure and impure motives, religious zeal and worldly ambition, are not so lamentably mixed up!

"The duty of evangelizing India lies at the door of private Christians: the appeal is to private consciences, private effort, private zeal, and private example. Every Englishman and Englishwoman in India are answerable to do what they can towards fulfilling it."

These sentences are happily discriminative. We desire no Government interference with the consciencies of men; but it is the Lord's command that the Gospel message, so full of mercy, so adapted to the necessities of sinners of every nation, should be published far and wide, and it is the duty of every Englishman in India, whether in office or out of office, to contribute what in him lies to the fulfilment of this duty. We do not say that the duty of the official is the same with that of the Missionary; but there is a part which he can fulfil. Although he does not take upon himself the preaching of the word, he can invite the Missionary to enter in and commence the work; and, while he continues to act wisely, and with fidelity, extend to him countenance and protection, and encourage him to renewed efforts. We shall conclude, for the present, by placing before our readers one instance of the open and candid action of the Punjab authorities in reference to Christianity, which, although in the course of events subsequent to the mutiny, is still strikingly illustrative of their decided action on a point so vital, involving alike the honour of God, our own duty respecting Him, and the highest interests of the natives. On Tuesday, February 8th, 1859, the Punjab railway was commenced. Designed, as it is, to bring that important province into direct communication with the ocean and the West, it was an event of sufficient importance to be marked with much solemnity. Let us consider the plan adopted. God, the God of Scripture, the true God, whose blessing gives prosperity, was openly recognised and honoured.

"The ceremony was performed close to the proposed terminus at Nowlucka, near the main road of Lahore and Umritsur, and the house of Colonel R. Lawrence.

"At eight o'clock the Native chiefs and gentry, about two hundred in number, all men of wealth, were assembled on the open space in front of Lehna Sing's chaonee, about 300 yards from the place of ceremony, and were there met by Mr. Temple, the Commissioner. Vernacular copies of the Hindustanee translation of the prayer, and the selection of texts from Scripture, were then distributed to them. The translation was read out to them; and the object of this reading was explained

* Vide Vol. V. p. 154.

to them, namely, that they should understand the meaning of the ceremony and of the prayer which the clergyman would read. They appeared very glad to hear and to know the substance and meaning of the whole. Then, at nine, leaving their horses, elephants, and equipages on the ground, they proceeded on foot with Mr. Temple to the appointed place, and were seated on chairs within the Durbar tent.

"Beyond the ground set apart for the ceremony there was a crowd of many thousands of natives from the city. Railings were set up, so as to restrain the multitude within proper limits, and the ground was completely kept by the police.

"The ground chosen was near the Lahore terminus, and, we believe, the only place on the line of railway where there is any cutting. At this place the cutting was five feet deep, and the embankment, which will join on to it, was shown by slight frame-work, placed at intervals of about two yards, and for some five chains in length, which frame-work was covered with scarlet and white cloth. At that point where the cutting commenced, a stage was erected, with an incline leading to the base of the embankment. Large tents were erected on the high ground, and fitted up for the accommodation of ladies, English and native gentlemen, and an avenue to which was staked off from the main road. The line of railway was shown, as far as the eye could reach, by flags of different hues; indeed, we cannot adequately depict the admirable way in which every thing was arranged on the ground. Nothing seemed to be forgotten. The time for the ceremony was fixed for nine o'clock, and, as in all railway matters, punctuality was strictly observed. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor was on the ground fully half an hour before that time, and received a great number of the visitors. The avenue leading to the tent was lined on one side by a troop of Her Majesty's 7th Dragoon Guards, and on the other by a company each of Her Majesty's Royal Fusiliers and the 51st King's Own Light Infantry. A troop of Horse Artillery were also on the ground, and the band of the Royal Fusiliers.

"Precisely at nine o'clock His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, attended by L. White Raeburn, Esq., the representative in India of the Punjab Railway Company, and W. Brunton, Esq., chief engineer, proceeded from the main road to the tents, in which were assembled a large concourse of the beauty and fashion of the station, besides many from Umritsur, Gogaira, and other adjacent stations. On their arrival in the midst of the as-

sembly, the Rev. Charles Sloggett, assisted by the Rev. Henry Murray, read the following:—

"'The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the compass of the world, and they that dwell therein.' Ps. xxiv. 1.

"'Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.' Ps. cxxvii. 1.

"'Cast ye up, cast ye up; prepare the way; take up the stumbling-block out of the way of my people.' Is. lvii. 14.

"'In that day there shall be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria; and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria.' Is. xix. 23.

"'The Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil olive, and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.' Deut. viii. 7—9.

"'When thou hast eaten, and art full, and hast built goodly houses and dwelt therein; and when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied; then beware, lest thy heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God; and thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth; but thou shalt remember the Lord thy God; for it is He that giveth thee power to get wealth.' Deut. viii. 10—17.

"'Keep, therefore, and do his statutes and judgments; for this is your wisdom and understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely, this great nation is a wise and understanding people.' Deut. iv. 6.

"'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name give glory, for Thy mercy and truth's sake.' Ps. cxv. 1.

"'O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good; for His mercy endureth for ever.' Ps. cxviii. 29.

"'Almighty and ever-blessed God, in whose hands our life is, and whose are all our ways; who sittest upon the circle of the heavens, and all nations before Thee are as nothing, and are counted to Thee as less than nothing, and vanity; we, Thine unworthy servants, bow ourselves at Thy feet, and beseech Thee to bless and prosper the undertaking of which one portion is this day opened

with solemn prayer to Thy divine majesty ; for without Thee nothing is strong, nothing is holy.

“Thou hast commanded us to acknowledge Thee in all our ways. Thou hast taught us that skill and science and the arts of life are Thy gift ; that it is by Thee that many run to and fro, and knowledge is increased, and the wonders of human industry multiplied ; for the spirit of man is from Thee, and Thy inspiration giveth him understanding.

“We humbly bless Thee that, as of old Thou didst call, in an extraordinary manner, Thy servants Bezaleel and Aholiab, and didst fill them with Thy Spirit in all manner of workmanship to devise cunning work for the erection of Thy sacred tabernacle ; so Thou hast prepared and qualified, in Thy ordinary providence, fit persons in the present day for the beneficial undertakings now in hand, and hast endured them, in their measure, with a like spirit of wisdom and understanding.

“Accept our prayers, Heavenly Father, for the increased facilities already begun to be afforded for the more rapid intercourse of all the branches of the family of man one with another, and for binding together in closer bonds of love and charity, empire and empire, nation and nation, province and province, city and city, man and man. We acknowledge Thy goodness in the marvels of electric communication ; in the successful application of steam to the accelerating of the transit of conveyances by sea and land ; and in thus making roads and rivers to be alive, as it were, with commerce, and to be thronged with peaceful travellers from one end of the earth to the other.

“Let Thy blessing, O God of all mercies, rest upon all who shall be concerned in extending the benefit of these discoveries throughout British India ; and grant that this great country, of late so torn and wounded by rebellious strife, may now be blessed with a permanent restoration of order and tranquillity, and may profit to the utmost by the designs in progress and in contemplation for the promotion of its material prosperity.

“Bless particularly this great undertaking, which, by our prayers, is solemnly dedicated to Thee to-day ; cause that all who labour in it may not cease to honour Thee in the careful observance of Thy sacred days of rest ; and grant that it may become the means of promoting the security of the Government, and of increasing the welfare of the people in this province of the empire.

“Bless our rulers, both in church and

state ; and grant that the personal Government of our beloved Sovereign, which has been lately established throughout this great empire, may mark the introduction of new and improved principles of legislation for the promotion of the temporal and spiritual welfare of the millions of its people.

“Let Thy blessing rest upon the Honourable Indian Council of State, the Most Noble the Viceroy and Governor-General, the Right Honourable Governors of Madras and Bombay, the Honourable Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces, and the Honourable Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, to whom we are so largely indebted, under Thy good providence, for the peace and security which we have here enjoyed in the midst of the late prevailing strife and anarchy.

“Bless and prosper in their present undertaking the directing engineers and managers of this railway, and all who shall act under them : may Thy watchful care protect the different classes of workmen, and the individuals and their families who may travel on its iron-laid roads, and preserve them from alarm and accident, from sickness, and the stroke of sudden death.

“Bless the native chiefs and people of this province, especially those who are present to witness this day's ceremony, and grant that they may come to join with us more and more in all our designs for the promotion of peaceful industry and of public utility, that so, mutual goodwill, concord, and love, may everywhere prevail.

“Finally, we pray Thee, O Lord, that all we, who profess and call ourselves Christians, in whatever rank we may be, and whatever authority and influence are entrusted to us, may so conduct ourselves as to become living witnesses of the elevating and purifying influences of our holy religion, and thus prove to the hearts and judgment of all around us the excellent character of a doctrine which produces, both in public and private, such noble and beneficial fruits.

“These and all other blessings we humbly implore in the name and through the alone merits and mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

“Our Father, &c.

“The peace of God, &c.

“At the conclusion of these prayers Mr. Raeburn addressed the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in the following words—

“Sir John Lawrence,—It is with much satisfaction that I have to request that you will this day do the Directors of the Company the honour of turning the first sod of the

Punjab railway. The credit of the initiation of this undertaking is due to Mr. Andrew, the able Chairman of the Company, whose name, in connexion with railway enterprise in India, is so well known; but it is to you, Sir, that we are principally indebted for the advanced stage at which we have now arrived; for I believe that without your energetic and powerful support, the Punjab railway would have remained for some years longer nothing more than a myth. Aware as you are, Sir, of the objects of the Punjab railway, and of the important benefits it will confer on this province, I feel that any remarks I could make on the subject would be superfluous. But however important the Punjab railway may be in itself, its importance becomes tenfold enhanced, when taken in connexion with the other objects contemplated by the Company, which, as you know, are the construction of a railway between Kurrachee and Kotree, and the establishment of a flotilla of powerful steamers between that place and Mooltan. The political importance of these three undertakings becomes at once apparent, for the regiment that lands, as it were, to-day at Kurrachee, will find itself, by their means, in Lahore within eight days; and, when the railway shall have been completed, to Peshawur in another day, instead of occupying, as at present, six weeks or two months. Of the commercial importance of the Punjab railway it seems unnecessary for me to speak; for any one who has travelled over this fertile province must feel satisfied that it is only the want of the means of transport that prevents the Punjab becoming the granary of Great Britain: but I trust the day is not far distant when, with extended means of communication, we shall see the wheat and cotton of the Punjab competing successfully in the market of England with the wheat of the Black Sea, and the cotton of the United States. I have now only to request, Sir, that you will be good enough to commence the construction of this railway, which, about to be begun under your distinguished auspices, I trust we may be enabled to bring to an early and satisfactory completion.'

"The Lieutenant-Governor replied as follows—

"Sir,—I shall have much pleasure, in accordance with your invitation, in turning the first sod of this railroad. Such a work deserves to be hailed by us all as of the highest importance to this province. The engineers, I understand, anticipate that the thirty-two miles of railroad between Lahore and Umritsur will be completed in little more than a single year; and that the line will be ex-

tended to Mooltan in the succeeding three years. The construction of railroads will form quite an era in the history of the Punjab. Their effect will be to give a vast stimulus to its industry, and to benefit all classes of the people. It would be difficult in particular to over-estimate the value of this railroad, extending over full 240 miles from Umritsur to Mooltan. In connexion with improved steamboats on the Indus, and the railway from Kotree to Kurrachee, it will bring us English people nearer to our native land than at present by a good fortnight. The gain, in a political and military point of view, to the State, will be immense: the true basis for our military operations—the best security for this frontier—being an easy and certain communication with the sea. To the people of this great province the advantages of the railroad will be equally important. It will go far to ensure good prices and a certain market for their produce to the landholders of a country which produces more than it consumes; and which, to a considerable extent, has hitherto been land-locked. The railroad will prove equally beneficial to the manufacturer and the trader; while it will, for a considerable time, ensure abundance of labour to the poorer classes of the community.

"Few railroads in India will have been undertaken under happier auspices. Umritsur and Lahore are situated in the middle of the flower of the Sikh people. The one city contains a population of 120,000 souls; the other city not less than 94,000 souls. The first is the emporium of the commerce of the Punjab, and the religious capital of the lately-dominant race. The latter is the seat of the local Government, and the place of the residence of many of the chiefs. For these reasons the influx of travellers, traders, and visitors, is great and continuous. The surrounding country is fertile and well cultivated, and the population dense. The Baree Doab Canal, which will be open as far as Lahore within the next six months, will render the land still more productive.

"Between Lahore and Mooltan, a distance of upwards of 200 miles, the country is indeed thinly populated, and little better than a desert at present. But the new canal and the railroad will, year by year, bring population, cultivation, and wealth. In the mean time the advantages which this line affords for the construction of a railroad are remarkable. Its course lies along the dorsal ridge of the country, over almost a uniform level, until within a few miles of Mooltan, meeting with scarcely any physical obstacles. There are no rivers or nullahs to span; no inundations

to guard against; no hollows to fill up; and no acclivities to cut through. Such a railroad ought to be constructed at a very moderate expense, and admit of goods being carried at a cheap rate. On the economy of its construction will mainly depend the success of the enterprise as a financial speculation, for the bulk of the trade cannot bear an expensive transit.

" 'It is a source of much satisfaction to me to know, under the blessing of God, of two of the most important works for the development of the resources of the country, and the consolidation of British power: I allude to the Baree Doab Canal and the new railroad: the one has been partially completed, and the other commenced, during my administration.'

" Mr. Brunton then brought forward a very handsome wheelbarrow of sissoo-wood, French-polished, and a silver shovel, richly ornamented, and bearing the following inscription—'PRESENTED TO THE HONOURABLE SIR JOHN LAWRENCE, BART., G.C.B., ON HIS COMMENCING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PUNJAB RAILWAY.' Above, in a neat scroll, was the following very appropriate and happily-conceived motto—'*Tam bello quam pace.*'

" On presenting these implements to Sir John Lawrence, Mr. Brunton expressed himself as follows:—

" 'Sir,—As chief engineer of the Punjab railway, it affords me great pleasure to present to you tools with which you can commence the same; and I assure you that myself, and all my brother officers, feel an extra degree of satisfaction in superintending the works, the construction of which is entrusted to us, from the knowledge that they were commenced by yourself.'

" Sir John Lawrence expressed his satisfaction at receiving these, and immediately proceeded to wheel the barrow to the spot appointed for the performance of the interesting ceremony of the day.

" With a few vigorous strokes, one of which we noticed made a deep dent in the shovel, Sir John Lawrence filled the barrow, and, in a most workmanlike manner, wheeled it down the incline, and deposited its contents on the base of the future embankment.

" Mr. Brunton then seized the tools, and followed the example so ably set him. At the instant Sir John Lawrence had completed the work, a royal salute was fired, the band striking up 'God save the Queen.'

" Sir John Lawrence then declared the Punjab railway commenced, and stated that it never afforded him greater pleasure to transact business with any persons than the officers of the railway."

One extract from a subsequent speech of Sir J. Lawrence, after the company had retired to their tents, may be added with advantage.

" This is perhaps the last time I shall have the opportunity of meeting so many of my friends. I am now about to give up my stewardship and return to England. I feel that I have been singularly favoured, much indeed beyond my deserts, since I was first employed in the Punjab, now very nearly thirteen years ago. When I first crossed the Sutlej, there was not a trace of a road in the country. Now we have several thousand miles of roads, and are commencing a railroad of 240 miles in length. In those days we had lately defeated the Sikhs in four severely-contested actions. The people as a race were our enemies. One class in the country preyed on the other. There was little real security. Crimes of violence, such as highway robbery, dacoity, and Thuggee, were of common occurrence. Now all this has changed: no part of Her Majesty's dominions is more peaceable; in few parts are the people better disposed. Life and property, except on the extreme frontier, are secure, and, even on the frontier, are wonderfully safe. Indeed, in no portion of the Punjab has the improvement in the administration been more marked. All this has been proved beyond question in the crisis of 1857, when, but for the general contentment of the people, it would not have been possible to maintain the public tranquillity, still less to have assisted in the re-conquest of Hindustan.

" For all these great advantages, I acknowledge myself indebted to the great Author of all good. Without his guiding and protecting hand, what would indeed have become of us all?

" No public officer was perhaps ever more largely indebted for the success of his administration to his friends and coadjutors than I have been. In the first instance, it was my brother, the late Sir Henry Lawrence, whose sad fate all India and England have deplored, who, with Mr. Mansel and myself, began and carried on the great work of administration in the Punjab proper. We were then assisted, as I have since been, by such men as Montgomery, Corbett, M'Leod, Thornton, Barnes, Edwardes, Lake, Roberts, John Nicholson, James, Becher, Christian, and Temple. The soldiers trained in the border warfare of the Punjab have enabled us to maintain the honour of our country in many a severe contest. My successor has my cordial wishes, and the best that I can desire for him is, that in the day of difficulty and danger he may

find round him similar trusty councillors, and equally gallant soldiers, as I have done.”*

We would now ask, Were the Native chiefs and gentlemen offended because Englishmen, in the commencement of a great national undertaking, avowed their faith in Christianity, and sought a blessing at the hands of God in the all-prevailing name of the Lord Jesus Christ? Did they withdraw when they were made aware that the English chaplain was about to offer up Christian prayer? And now, shall this candid action, which inspired confidence because it is understood, be superseded by the disingenuous policy of Calcutta, which the natives have ever distrusted, because it is unintelligible to them? They bear the marks of their gods on their foreheads. How can they understand the evasion of the man who believing Christianity to be true, yet bears himself before the natives as though he cared nothing about it, and was in nowise interested in its prosperity? They are sharp enough to perceive that this pretended indifference is assumed, and it leads them to view with suspicion all the proceedings of Government, and regard them as a part of a deep-laid plan to defraud them of their religion and their caste.

We propose to resume this subject in our next number, and to consider the administrative system of the Punjab, when the time of trial came, whether, as a mere system of human expediency, it collapsed because there was no strength in it, or endured because it was founded on a rock.

It is with satisfaction we remark, that on the restoration of British supremacy in Lucknow, the open policy of the Punjab was preferred to the close policy of Calcutta. We annex the form of prayer used in laying the foundation-stone of Christ Church, Lucknow.

“An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings and thy peace-offerings. In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee. Ex. xx. 24.

“Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them. Matt. xviii. 20.

“And David said to Solomon his son, Be strong and of good courage, and do it: fear not, nor

be dismayed: for the Lord God, even my God, will be with thee; He will not fail thee, until thou hast finished all the work for the service of the house of the Lord. 1 Chron. xxviii. 20.

“Almighty and most merciful Father, who dwellest not in temples made by hands, for Thou hast the Heavens for Thy throne and the earth for Thy footstool, and the universe for Thy dwelling-place, and yet hast in all ages taught men to worship Thee in set places where Thou wast pleased to record Thy name; who didst of old Thyself order the building of the Tabernacle in the wilderness, and sanctify with miraculous light the temple of Solomon; We beseech Thee graciously to look down and visit this Thy temple that we desire to raise to the honour and glory of Thy name. O Lord, when prayer is offered to Thee in this place, do Thou bend down Thine ear and hear, follow with Thy blessing Thy preached word, and favour with special grace the administration of the holy sacraments. Grant, O Lord, that many souls may be made wise unto salvation, that the heathen world may take notice of them that they have been with Christ, and glorify our Father which is in Heaven.

[*The stone to be laid.*]

“O Lord, without whom nothing is strong and nothing is holy, who bringeth the works of man to naught, or makest them to prosper, as it seemeth good in Thy sight; We beseech Thee mercifully to accept this service and work of our hands done for Thy glory, a monument of Thy true religion in this land. Grant that the stone which we have now laid in the name of the Holy Trinity may be a firm and enduring foundation of the church hereafter to be erected, in which the members of the visible church on earth may be gathered together to worship Thee, built upon the only foundation-stone, the Lord Jesus Christ. O Lord, be pleased to grant Thy blessing to this undertaking: give grace and wisdom to all who shall be engaged therein, that it may be brought to a successful issue. Prosper Thou the work of our hands upon us, prosper Thou our handiwork, and Thy people will sing and rejoice and praise Thy Holy Name for ever and ever. For Thine is the Majesty, the power, and the glory, in all places of Thy dominions, world without end. These and all other blessings we ask in and for the sake of our only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”

* “Lahore Chronicle,” Feb. 15, 1859.

MISSIONARY ACTION IN THE YORUBA COUNTRY.

We have lying before us three Missionary reports from different fields of labour—one from the Yoruba country, Western Africa; a second from the Punjab; and a third from the district of Kishnagurh, Bengal. They unite in exemplifying one point—the diligence with which the Missionaries are giving themselves to the work of itineration, and thus spreading the knowledge of the Gospel over an increasing extent of country. They are engaged in sowing the seed of a future harvest, and preparing the way for large movements amongst the masses in favour of Christianity. Towns and villages are visited, and the Gospel preached in the bazaars: discussion usually ensues, and attention is excited. Books are distributed to such as can read, and those remaining after the Missionary has passed on, keep alive the spirit of inquiry, until, at no distant period, he comes again, to follow up the previous impressions which had been made. Gradually the people inhabiting these itinerated districts acquire clear perceptions of the more salient features of the Christian faith. Its claims, as contrasted with idolatry, are freely discussed, until at length a portion of the seed quickens into life, and some, convinced of the truth of Christianity, come forward with an open profession of it, it may be in the face of much persecution.

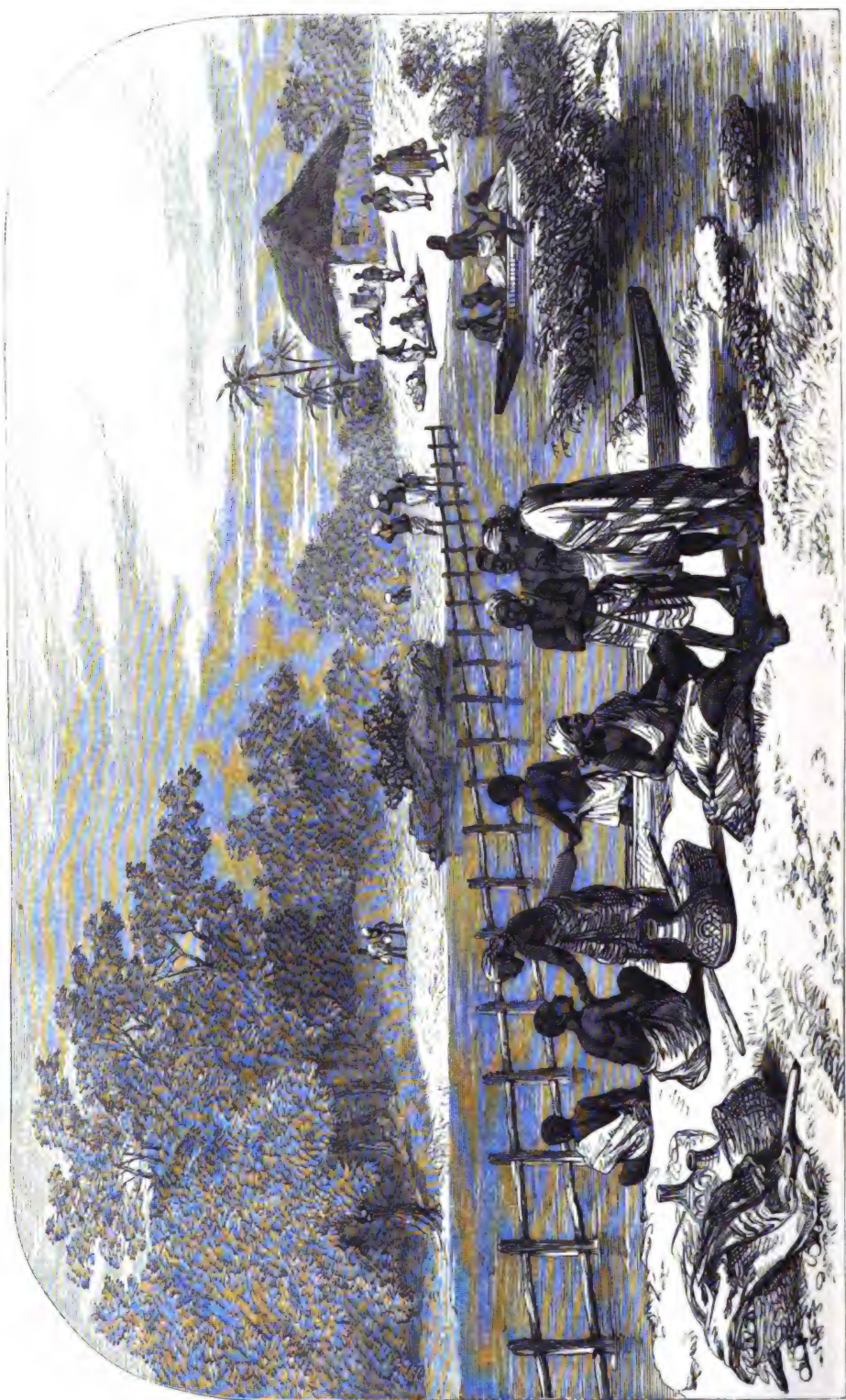
In labours of this character there is much toil and privation, and usually no small measure of discouragement, intermingled with incidental circumstances of a pleasing character. The seed is precious, but he who would sow it must be prepared to “go forth weeping.” It would seem to be requisite, in order to the productiveness of the seed, that it should be sown amidst the tears of those who bear it forth; but the results are certain. Although he who sows may not be the same with him who reaps, the harvest-time shall come, and the fruit be gathered in with rejoicing.

Meanwhile, as the Missionaries abroad sow, let Christians at home use the prayer of faith, to bring down the fertilizing influences of the Spirit of God. Then, in the healthy progress of the spiritual husbandry, the church may rejoicingly exclaim with the Psalmist, “Thou waterest the ridges thereof abundantly; Thou settlest the furrows thereof; thou makest it soft with showers; Thou bless-est the springing thereof. Thou crownest the year with Thy goodness, and Thy paths drop fatness. They drop upon the pastures

of the wilderness, and the little hills rejoice on every side.”

The Yoruba country, regarded as inclusive of the different tribes of Iketu, Egba, Egbado, Otta, and Ijebu, extends from the sea-coast to the Nufé country, about thirty or forty miles from the Niger. Illorin, on the frontier of Yoruba and Nufé, is a memorial of the calamities which have befallen the former country. “It once belonged to the Yoruba kingdom, but, about fifty years ago, the Yoruba Mohammedans conspired with the Haussas and the Pulohs to subdue the heathen, and make the nation Mohammedan. For some years they were successful, owing to the Puloh and Hausa cavalry. Aw-yaw (Eyo or Katanga), the capital of Yoruba, and many other cities, were destroyed, and the Pulohs boasted that they would not cease till they had subdued all the country to the sea. While this was going on, so many refugees, outlaws, and desperadoes assembled at Ibadan, on the borders of the forest country, that it grew from a small town to a large city, which felt itself able to oppose the progress of the Pulohs. A bloody battle between the armies of Ibadan and Illorin resulted in the signal defeat of the latter, and put an end to their conquests. Since that time they have been content to maintain their independence.” Its population is of a varied character, consisting of Pulohs, Haussas, Kanikés, and Yorubas. They are mostly bigoted Mohammedans. “The Pulohs are the ruling people, the king himself being of that tribe, and the Yorubas are the most numerous.”

The various tribes speaking the Yoruba language have been estimated at three millions. They are a people on whom the slave-trade has inflicted many miseries, and are, in consequence, widely dispersed, being numerous in Sierra Leone. They are to be found at Fernando Po, on the Gambia, and in other places along the coast. Many are in slavery in Brazil and Cuba, and from these their places of bondage, with that powerful love of home by which the race is characterized, many have been enabled to return to the African coast. Bowen, the American Missionary, mentions his having seen a Yoruba woman, the wife of a Bedouin, who affirmed that she had been to Stamboul, or Constantinople, and, according to the statements of this woman, there are Yoruba slaves at Tripoli, Fezzan, and all over Central Africa.



SCENE ON A RIVER IN THE YORUBA COUNTRY.

The striking peculiarity in Yoruba is the manner in which the people crowd together in towns, the country around each town, to a greater or less extent, according to the number and industry of the inhabitants, being brought under cultivation. The farmers are often necessitated to go several miles from their homesteads in the towns to cultivate their farms, and this greatly increases the labour of gathering in the crops, which are brought into the city for use. As the traveller, after penetrating through the bush, approaches one of these centres of population, the traces of human industry become perceptible, until they assume a settled and pleasing aspect, and his eye rests upon stretches of Indian corn, carefully planted in straight lines; fields of cotton-plants, laid out with care and neatness; patches of tall Guinea grass, with its long slender stalks, ten or fifteen feet high, bending under the weight of the heads of grain, from which a beverage called *pito*—a kind of beer—is manufactured. These cultivated patches alternate with others of a long coarse grass, which, in the dry season, is burned down to prepare for another crop.

In consequence of the unsettled state of the country, and the cruel wars, the towns are all surrounded by clay walls, about five feet high, and sufficiently thick for defensive purposes. A ditch runs round their outer base, and at convenient distances are gates, eight or ten feet wide, which are closed at night by heavy shutters. Inside the gate there is usually a house where the men live who take toll on caravans and traders. Just peering above the wall may be seen the thousands of low, broad, grass-thatched houses, of which an African town consists. On entering through the gate, a tolerably broad, though crooked street, shaded with wide-spreading trees, leads to the market-place; but, with this exception, the other streets are narrow lanes, intricate and dirty, closed in on each side by the rough solid clay walls of the Yoruba compounds, the eaves of the low roof almost brushing your face. The market-place is the point of interest, in which the habits and characteristics of the people come out most strikingly. A large area, shaded with trees, is studded over with little open sheds, where the women sit throughout the day, busied in the sale of their merchandize. The evening hour is the most exciting. Half-an-hour before sunset, come grouping in all the mingled ranks of the population, men, women, girls, travellers, farmers from the fields, artisans from their houses, all hastening to buy, and sell, and talk.

The voices of the women rise shrill and loud above the hum, as they salute their acquaintances, and chaffer with their customers. As the night closes in, every woman lights her tiny lamp, and the market-place glitters with numberless stars. The commodities sold in the market-place are comprehensive of every thing that can be required for the convenience and comfort of Yoruba life, and are sufficiently indicative of the semi-civilized condition of the people—meat, fowls, fish, grain, vegetables, for food; domestic cloth and imported cloth, as calico, shirting, velvets, &c., ready-made clothing after the Yoruba fashion, tunics, tobes, wrappers, trousers, long and short, caps, turbans, sandals, shoes, and boots. Then, besides, gunpowder and guns, flints, knives, swords, &c. The houses of the Yorubas, of one story high, are turned inwards, so as to surround a quadrangular court in the centre, thus presenting nothing on the outside save dead walls. The court is entered from the street by a single large door or gate, carefully armed with various kinds of charms, to prevent bad spirits entering, among which the horse-shoe occupies a conspicuous place. Around the court runs a piazza, into which open the doors of the rooms.

The Yorubas have a profusion of salutations. In the morning it is *Ojiré?* "Did you wake well?" and the person replies, "God be thanked!" On taking leave at night, they often say, "May you sleep well!" When a visitor retires, and frequently when you meet him in the street, you say *Wòleh*, "Look at the ground," that is, to prevent stumbling. "Be careful," is often a salutation when passing a person on the road. But the word most used by everybody is *Okú*, or *Akú*, properly *Aiku*, "May you not die!" or, more exactly, "Immortality." When you visit a man who wishes to pay you particular respect, he will salute you, *Akú! Akú!* perhaps twenty times, and you must invariably answer *O* to each salutation. This word *O* expresses assent. If you say to your servant, "Do so and so," he replies, *O*; and if you perform any little incidental act of politeness, as picking up a thing that has dropped from a person, he may say *O*, instead of "Thank you." The word *Akú* is compounded with many others, so as to afford an appropriate salutation for every situation in life. When they meet a man travelling, they often say *Akúrin*, because *rin* means to walk or travel. So we have *Akúale*, "Good evening;" *Akúoro*, "Good morning;" *Akúassan*, "Good day;" *Akúle*, to one in a house; *Akújoko*, to one sitting down; *Akúshe*, to one at work; and so on to a hundred examples,

all these you reply *O*; and if you make no reply, it is considered a gross insult.*

In Yoruba, as in other countries of Soudan, one God is acknowledged, but the real worship is to the orishas, or idols. It is interesting, however, to mark, that these are always viewed as intermediate agents or intercessors. The African says he cannot approach God directly; he needs some one to come between him and God. Hence, among the Yorubas, the orisha is esteemed and called an *alaybawi*, intercessor. The idols are the symbols of the mediating spirit, under whose protection the African places himself. Every idol has its priests, who offer to its sacrifices of goats and fowl, nor have human sacrifices being wanting. The same ideas prevail among the Ibos on the banks of the Niger. The native Missionary, the Rev. J. C. Taylor, in his interesting narrative of eighteen months' preliminary effort at the new Mission station at Onitsha, elucidates this point. "Ojubari, one of Aje's relatives, invited us to his house. He conducted us to an apartment which belonged to one of his wives. . . . She brought out palm-wine, and told us that she was going to offer sacrifice, or *gua moa*, to Tshi, a god supposed by the Ibos to preserve them from harm, especially from witchcraft. Her son Imegu then brought a goat before This Tshi, while the parents and a man held it, and ran a knife through the throat, and let the blood run over the stumps of sticks placed in a bowl, which was Tshi. She offered or repeated many prayers over the slain victim. The following is one of the propitiatory prayers. 'I beseech thee, my guide, make me good: thou hast life. I beseech thee to intercede with God the Spirit: tell Him my heart is clean. I beseech thee to deliver me from all bad thoughts in my heart; drive out all witchcraft; let riches come to me. See your sacrificial goat; see your kola nuts; see your rum and palm-wine.' This was the prayer of Wamah of Abo, Ojubari's wife."† The acknowledgment among these people of one true God, and of the need of mediation to approach Him, is of great importance, as affording a fulcrum on which to rest the lever of the Gospel.

The centre of our operations in the Yoruba territory is the little independent kingdom of Egba, and, more especially, its chief town, Abeokuta. This province, some fifty years

ago, contained nearly three hundred towns, some of which were populous, but during the civil wars which, aggravated by slave-trading operations, desolated the country, all, with the exception of Oko-obba in the south-west, were destroyed. The granite rocks of Abeokuta, then a lone, sequestered spot, afforded a retreat, whither the fugitives fled, until, as they increased in numbers, a new town arose, which contains a population of not less than 100,000, the refugees of some one hundred Egba towns. To this important centre our Missionaries from Sierra Leone found access through the instrumentality of liberated Africans of the Egba tribe, who returning, as opportunity presented itself, to their native land, reported so well of the way in which they had been dealt with by the English nation on the coast, and of the kindness of the Missionaries, as to secure for them a friendly reception. It was a critical moment for the Egba tribe, when, in the year 1848, the communication between their chief town and the coast, which had been obstructed by war, was re-opened, and the chiefs in council had to decide whether they would connect themselves with the slave-dealers or the Missionaries, from both of whom solicitations had been sent requesting intercourse. The slave-dealers promised temptingly: the Missionaries could only say, "Silver and gold we have none, but such as we have, we are prepared to give thee." Providentially the relatives and friends so unexpectedly restored, pleaded more powerfully than the temptations of the slave-dealers: a few months more, and the Missionaries, conducted with rejoicing into the city, fixed there a permanent abode, and to this day have continued without interruption to prosecute their work.

The town is large and populous; its length within a few rods of four miles, and its width from two to three. "The walls, which include much open space, are probably fifteen in circuit, and the town itself not less than ten miles in circuit." Within the *enceinte* are the following Church Missionary stations—Ake, Igbein, Ikija, and Owu. Throughout the dense mass of population, Missionary work has been diligently pressed forward from those various centres. As a specimen of these labours, we find the following *resumé* in the journal of the Rev. C. A. Gollmer for the half-year ending March 25th, 1859—

"During the last three months I have long cherished a desire to be able to visit from house to house, and to preach Christ to those also who are still far off, and to urge them to come nigh. This, by the blessing of

* Bowen's Central Africa, p. 302.

† Niger Expedition, 1857-59, p. 348. Crowther and Taylor.

God, I was enabled to accomplish, at least in a degree. During seventeen days I spent from four to five hours daily; visited eighty different compounds and houses; and spoke to upwards of five hundred people, high and low, bond and free, many of whom listened with marked attention to the word of God. May the seed thus sown bring fruit in due season! Opportunities to preach the Gospel presented themselves during my visits, which I could not have had otherwise. In one house I met a member of the family, sick or otherwise afflicted, which rendered them a little soft to listen to the consolation of God's word. In another house I met the family, with many of their relatives, assembled, mourning over one of their deceased members: and the three questions, 1st, Why do we die? 2dly, Where do we go after death? 3dly, Who can save us? appeared an appropriate text for a funeral sermon, which was listened to with great attention. In a third place I met a company of twelve women, engaged in worshipping their idols, which led me to speak to them of the first and second commandments, and that God is a Spirit, and we must worship Him in spirit and in truth. Many people consider it an honour to be visited by a white man, and I can say I had free access everywhere, and was received, not only with politeness, but often with gladness. This is a most desirable but arduous work. I experience that our heart is willing, but our flesh is weak. However, what we—often suffering Europeans—cannot accomplish to our hearts' desire, our native agents help to make good."

But it is not only within the limits of Abbeokuta, but to other towns and villages, Gospel labour has been extended. We shall briefly sketch one of these Missionary tours, carried out by Mr. Gollmer and the Scripture-readers. On February 4th, he left for Ishaga, passing through the village of Ibara, distant from Abbeokuta about nine miles, and surrounded, according to the custom of the country, by a wall and a ditch. Advancing through a well watered and productive country, the travellers reach Ishaga, where, by the blessing of God upon the efforts of a native Scripture-reader, an infant congregation has been raised up, and the piazza, where the services and the Sunday-schools were, in the first instance held, becoming too small, the erection of a suitable place of worship became necessary. On the occasion of this visit it had been so far completed, as to enable our Missionary to open and dedicate it to the glory of God. The text selected was 2 Chron. vi. 40, and the Lord's supper was sub-

sequently administered to twenty-three communicants. This church has been erected by the kindness and liberality of Miss Gore, of Brighton, who, through Miss Barber, having transmitted 40*l.* to raise a house of prayer for one of the congregations, the selection fell upon Ishaga. Mr. Gollmer says—"The dimensions are, fifty feet long and thirty feet wide, and, the walls and roof being lofty, the church has a very nice appearance. It has been the wonder of the place whilst building, drawing many spectators, and it is, and will continue to be, an object of attraction."

Leaving Ishaga on the Wednesday morning, our Missionary party proceeded through farms and grass-fields, in a northerly direction, for two hours, until a small town, called Ilewo, was reached, where they were kindly received, and, for the first time, the Gospel message was delivered, in the houses and streets, to the chiefs, elders, and people. Many listened attentively to the heavenly message. The early hours of the succeeding day having been similarly occupied, travelling was resumed in a north-easterly direction, through farms and grass-fields, to Ijale, where a hearty welcome greeted them from the chief, a fine, tall man, of a cheerful countenance. The elders and people soon crowded around them, eager to hear what the white man had come for, and a happy opportunity was afforded to speak about the things which pertain to salvation. During that evening, and the early hours of the next morning, the whole place was traversed, and numbers heard the Gospel message for the first time. A town called Kesan was next reached: this, with the two previously mentioned, Ilewo and Ijale, belonged to the Egbado family, but, for protection sake, all of them pay homage and tribute to one or other of the war chiefs of Abbeokuta. In the markets and streets of this town the message of mercy was delivered to all who would listen; and then, after a long and hot four hours' ride, in an easterly direction, and mostly through cultivated land, our travellers reached Ibara.

The following is a graphic sketch of the proclamation of God's truth to the inhabitants of this heathen town—

"*Feb. 13: Lord's day*—Early this morning the chief came to salute me, and to express his satisfaction with regard to my stopping and sleeping in his town a little. Due notice was given to the chief elders and people yesterday afternoon, that two public services would be held to-day in the market, under a tree, and all were invited. At the usual time the hand-bell sounded through the streets of

the town to call to service. The chief was not present, but most of the elders sat in the piazza of their council-house close by, whilst a number of people encircled us on the other side. After singing a few verses of a Yoruba hymn, I read some of our prayers, including the Litany, and then addressed the assembly from John iii. 16, endeavouring to show them how much God loves them and all men, &c. One of my Scripture-readers repeated what I had said, and two others spoke to the people, one from John iii. 3, and the other from John iv. 23, as previously arranged. The evening service was better attended, and the audience more quiet and attentive: there were about 300 people standing and sitting around us. After singing, I read some of our prayers, including the ten commandments, and spoke from 2 Cor. vi. 12. I told them that they had had a Scripture-reader for four years, and that scarcely any one believed the word of God, and begged and entreated them not to receive the grace of God in vain; impressing upon them, that now is the time to be accepted with God and be saved. This having been repeated by one of my Scripture-readers, I called upon two others to address the people from Romans xii. 1, 2, and Romans viii. 13, 14."

After having received from the king a piece of land for a future station, the Missionary party left Ibara, and, proceeding in a south-easterly direction, mostly through farms, arrived at Idiore, the small town forming a kind of centre to many small hamlets and farms around it. These hamlets were severally visited, and, as circumstances permitted, little congregations gathered for instruction.

Thus farm, village, and town were visited, in each place the Missionary and his native helpers taking different portions of the population, and thus searching out the people in every street and lane, until the time came when it became necessary to turn their steps homeward. Travelling northward through farms, they reached the market-place of the farm hamlet Awowo, on the main road to Lagos. "Finding many people," writes Mr. Gollmer, "I at once resolved to halt and embrace the opportunity to speak to them, which, I am thankful to say, proved reasonable and welcome. It was pleasant to see our Scripture-readers standing up, one here, and another there, talking to groups of people. No sooner had I opened my mouth to speak, than I had a nice little congregation. From one elderly female, with many signs about her, which showed that she was a zealous worshipper of gods many and

lords many, I apprehended strong opposition, but she proved the most attentive of all; so much so, that she did not care to sell any thing, or take money for what she had sold, while I was speaking; and when I had finished, she declared, with apparent sincerity, that from that day she would serve God alone, thanking us much for what we had said. This was more refreshing to my soul than cold water to the thirsty and weary traveller."

Proceeding from thence in the direction of the north, and crossing rivers (see engraving), our travellers reached Awoyade, nine miles from Abbeokuta, where they took possession of an old and tottering house, open on all sides, and, during the evening, went about the town inviting sinners to return to God.

In enclosing the notes of this Missionary tour, our Missionary remarks—

"Feb. 19—We have much cause to rejoice and to praise the Lord for his goodness and mercy to us, and to others through us. To avoid frequent repetition and length, I have condensed the report as much as possible; but in the fifteen to nineteen places we visited, we were received in a most friendly manner, and found many willing and attentive hearers of God's word. Being favoured with bright moonlight during our journey, our evenings, from seven to nine, and sometimes to ten o'clock, were spent very pleasantly and profitably. We, our Scripture-readers, carriers, and servants, sat together, and sang a number of Yoruba hymns, which Mr. Smith accompanied with an accordion, which invariably brought a number of people from the towns, who, after being amused, were willing to listen to one, two, or three speakers, and most of them remained during prayers, with which we closed the day."

This Missionary tour has issued in one happy result—a determination on the part of Mr. Gollmer's congregation to engage in direct Missionary labour.

"March 7—Deeply impressed with the vastness of the field and the fewness of labourers, on my return from my Missionary tour I preached to my congregation from Matt. ix. 35–38: and after speaking of our duty as Christians, viz. to pray the Lord to send more labourers, I asked, Is there not one, or two, or three among you who will rise and say, Here am I, send me? After some days I called my native agents, and consulted them as to the fitness of three of our communicants, whom I considered suitable for the work, and was glad to find they agreed with me on the subject. I now asked them to speak to the three men, explain

the matter, and then tell them to think and pray over it, and, when they had decided, to bring me word. This morning my four native agents came with the three communicants. We had a long conversation, and spoke of the many immortal souls all about perishing for lack of the knowledge of the Lord, and our duty and privilege to help in this good work, &c. A few unimportant questions of a domestic character being disposed of, one after the other said, 'The Lord has done great things for me: I have obtained much grace, and I am willing to do the work with all my heart.' Our native agents added a few encouraging words, and I commended the three brethren and new fellow-labourers to our faithful God and Father, and implored a blessing on their behalf. I am truly thankful for this additional aid. May they win thousands of souls! I have now six members of my church here, native Christians, employed as Scripture-readers in the service of the Lord."

The older stations of the Society in the Yoruba country are, Lagos on the coast, Otta, Abbeokuta, Ibadan, and Ijaye. At these central points "the number of converts has increased, and the work has assumed a more matured character." Two new and important advanced stations have been occupied by Europeans—Oyo, to the north-west of Ijaye, containing a population of 40,000, where Mr. Meakin, an European catechist, is located, and Ishaga, to the west of Abbeokuta, occupied by the European catechist, Mr. J. Smith. Several additional out-stations have been taken up, and supplied in the first instance by native evangelists. Our principal stations are seven in number: our native adult Christians 1595, of whom 894 are communicants. Thus the leaven is hid in the meal, and acting, we believe, powerfully, yet imperceptibly as to much of its results, on the mass of the people. Indeed, we may say, without exaggeration, that the whole of this deeply interesting territory, important from its position, as affording the means of direct access to Rabba, and the heart and centre of Soudan, and inhabited by cognate tribes, is now open to us. Despatches which have just reached the Mission house are, in a remarkable manner, confirmatory of this view. One of our Missionaries, the Rev. H. Townsend, has recently visited Illorin, where he was well received by the king, and friendly relations established with the war chief there, who has received and lodged all going and coming to Rabba: and although Illorin cannot be regarded as ripe yet for direct Missionary work, yet the

town of Ogbomoso has been occupied by a native helper, as preparing the way for a European Missionary so soon as such an individual offers himself; and from that point Illorin may be visited from time to time with advantage. This town is nearly half-way between Oyo and Illorin; and Oyo is nearer to Illorin than Abbeokuta. Mr. Townsend's journey from Abbeokuta to Illorin occupied sixteen days and parts of days, during which the Missionary party, including Mrs. Townsend, whose presence at Illorin excited much interest, were three times wet through with rain, and had to sleep under a tent four times, besides crossing several streams in a portable, canoe, which caused quite a sensation among chiefs and people.

Oyo, as has been already mentioned, is occupied by an European catechist. In a letter so recent as August 24, he says—"One thing is very encouraging in this town, and that is, wherever I go, I am always listened to with respect, and sometimes by large numbers. The market-places are better adapted for preaching than in some other towns. Here they have large and open areas, where trees are planted as a screen against the hot sun. Few have such opportunities of preaching the Gospel as I have here."

Again, in the month of August last, Mr. Gollmer returned from a Missionary tour in the Ketu country, westward of Abbeokuta. He reports—"We had a most successful journey, being not only well received by the king, chiefs, elders, and people, at Ketu and the various towns we passed through, but finding everywhere many attentive hearers of God's word. 'The Lord has done great things for us, whereof we are glad.' In the name of the Lord we have taken possession of the province of Ketu, numbering about 100 towns, and proclaimed our King Jesus before the alaketu, the princes, and people, and the response was unanimous and hearty—'We receive you' 'Come over, and help us.' The field is white for harvest, but where are the labourers. We desire to lay this important field, which should be occupied without delay by at least two European Missionaries and a staff of native agents, on the heart of the Committee."

The Committee desires to reecho the cry, the urgent cry, which comes to us from the tens of thousands of the Yoruba people: it is a cry for help, which the Lord, who has helped us, expects his people to respond to. Shall we be privileged to see a movement among Christians at home in favour of Missionary work, and many offering themselves for that work wherever fresh labourers are needed?

JOURNAL OF ARCHDEACON HUNTER TO THE MACKENZIE RIVER.

[Continued from page 240.]

Sept. 23, 1858—I took leave of my kind friends, Mr. and Mrs. Mackenzie, at Fort Liard, and bade adieu to the people and Indians at the post, and left for Fort Simpson about five p.m. in the light boat; a miscellaneous cargo on board, consisting of potatoes, dried moose-meat, grease, buck-fat, a cow for beef, cariole, &c. We hope to reach Fort Simpson on Saturday, as we go down current day and night. Drifted all night, sleeping in the boat. The night cold, frost towards morning; the stars beautifully clear; the comet in sight, with a brilliant long tail, under Ursa Major.

Sept. 24—Pulling and driving down the river. Passed where we killed the moose, three days from Fort Liard. In the evening, put ashore to cook, and then embarked and floated down with the current all night.

Sept. 25—Ran the Long Rapids to-day in a short time, which took us nearly a day to ascend. In the evening, fell in with some Indians, with whom we shared our evening repast, and then embarked, to descend the river during the night.

Sept. 26: Lord's-day—About one a.m. I saw the island in the distance at the confluence of the Liard with the Mackenzie, and the Gros Cap, which can be seen from the Fort. Called up the steersman, and we put ashore to wait for daylight, it being too early for an arrival at the Fort. Started again at daylight, and arrived at the Fort about six a.m. My kind friend Mr. Ross came down to welcome my arrival, and I was glad to find all well at the Fort. Held full morning service, and preached. The officers and servants present. Evening prayers in the hall.

Oct. 2—Reading the whole week. Flocks of grey and white geese passing from the arctic coast to the south, preserving their peculiar order of march like two sides of a triangle the principal goose or guide taking the lead at the point of the angle. Very few killed here, only a chance one now and then: they are all passing by, a sure sign that winter is approaching. I shall look forward with pleasure to their return in spring. Potatoes are being taken up at Fort Simpson. Frost occasionally at night. Heavy rain on Monday last. The comet visible the whole week, still travelling to the west under Ursa Major, the tail long and brilliant. To-day cloudy and threatening to snow. There are

no Indians at present about the Fort. I hope soon to commence an evening-school for the benefit of the men about the Fort.

Oct. 3: Lord's-day—Divine service in the morning in the dining hall. The officers and servants of the establishment present. Prayers in the evening.

Oct. 6—Very cold weather, with strong wind from the north blowing up the Mackenzie. Thermometer 12°, the ground covered with snow. This week one boat was sent to Big Island for white-fish. We are daily expecting the return of another boat from Big Island with fish, by which the packet will arrive from Norway House, brought in by the Athabasca brigade.

Oct. 9—The comet visible during the week, nearer the horizon, and much to the west of Ursa Major: the tail very long and luminous, and the comet appears to be much nearer the earth. Commenced the evening-school on Monday last with three scholars, one, a boy, left me by his mother, John Marsellais, for instruction, and whom Mr. Grollier the priest refused to take the charge of, notwithstanding his parents are Roman Catholics. My scholars are making good progress in reading, writing, and arithmetic. We close the school with reading a chapter and prayer. It is held every evening except Saturday from seven to nine. Three of the men have applied to be admitted. I hope it will increase much during winter. Wind from the south, and the weather much improved. I walk out almost daily with Mr. Ross on the batture at the confluence of the Liard with the Mackenzie. A long view up the Mackenzie about eight miles, the Burnt Island and the Gros Cap in the distance. No Indians about the Fort: a few occasionally drop in for supplies, and leave again immediately.

Oct. 10: Lord's-day—Divine service in the morning in the dining-hall, the officers and servants present. Prayers in the evening.

Oct. 13—Saw the comet the last time this evening: the weather became cloudy afterwards: about eight o'clock it sunk below the horizon. School every evening with the men of the establishment.

Oct. 15—Heavy snow, with change of weather. Thermometer 13°.

Oct. 17: Lord's-day—A boat arrived with white-fish from Big Island, and bringing let-

ters from Athabasca and Norway House. My last letter from my dear wife was in June, and I shall not hear again until March. Divine service in the morning, and prayers in the evening, in the dining-hall.

Oct. 18—A boat left here, returning to Big Island: in all probability the men would have to leave the boat by the way, and walk, as the weather is very cold, and the ice forming rapidly.

Oct. 19—Snowing, with cold weather. Thermometer 6°, the lowest it has been yet. Three boats in all have arrived from the Big Island, bringing down about 14,000 white-fish. One boat more was expected, but the weather so cold that it is feared it will not make its appearance. Ice driving down the Mackenzie; the Liard almost filled with ice. Evening-school during the week. Last week three Indians came to see me; they were very friendly and well-disposed, and shook hands. Gave them a little present of tobacco. There is no interpreter here, which renders it very awkward. One was expected from Fort Rae who has not arrived. The ground covered with deep snow. At Peel's River, I am informed, the ice has already taken, and the river is frozen over.

There have been, in former years, several massacres in this district: two or three of the Forts have been cut off by the Indians, Fort Liard, which I visited, was among the number.

When this dreadful circumstance occurred, every person at the establishment was massacred. The particulars which I have been able to glean are as follows:—An Indian chief left the Fort with his party, using threats against Dr. Henry, the gentleman in charge. During the winter the same chief sent to the Fort, saying that he had a quantity of fresh moose-meat, and requesting that sleds and men might be sent for it. As the men were proceeding with the sleds to the Indian camp, they met an Indian called Carribon Blanc, who, wishing to warn them, said that the Wolverines had eaten all the meat, and advised them to return. They, however, discredited his statement, and proceeded to the camp: the interpreter, whose suspicions were aroused, kept a little behind. As they ascended the bank from the river to the camp, a volley was fired into them by the Indians, and all perished except the interpreter, who hastened to escape from his pursuers. Unfortunately his snow-shoe line parted, and, turning round, he saw the Indians were at his heels. He levelled his gun, and fired, but they threw themselves down on the snow, and the ball passed over them. They rushed in and

dispatched him after he had wounded several of them with his knife. The chief and his party then went to the Fort, knocked an old Canadian on the head who was cutting wood at the gate, and proceeded to Dr. Henry's room, where he was in bed with his wife and child. They thrust at him with their guns to arouse him, and, whilst he was rising to seize his pistols, they shot him dead. They then plunged their knives into his poor wife, and, holding the child by the legs, dashed out its brains against the wall. Proceeding to the men's houses, they murdered every woman and child in them, and, after pillaging the Fort, took their departure. The Northwest Company abandoned the Fort for several years, and the Indians were reduced to much privation and suffering from the cutting off of their usual supplies. When I visited the Fort I saw Carribon Blanc, who was pointed out to me as one of the murderers, and who is suspected of having killed one of the children. The Indians appeared very quiet when I visited them, and Fort Liard would be an excellent spot for a Mission station.

Oct. 23—Thaw and rain: the weather remarkably fine, and the thermometer standing at 34°.

Oct. 24: Lord's-day—Divine service in the morning as usual, and prayers in the evening: the officers and servants present.

Nov. 3—Held evening-school as usual during the past week. The weather still continues fine, with beautiful sunshine during the day. Several martens, foxes, and lynxes killed in traps near the Fort. Mr. Ross has an excellent library, and all my spare time is profitably filled up with reading. We still enjoy an excellent walk occasionally on the sandy batture, extending about a mile from the Fort. Ice is driving down the Liard with a noise resembling distant thunder, but the Mackenzie, about a mile broad in front of the Fort, is still open, with its broad waters rushing on to the Arctic Sea. One of the Roman-Catholic servants of the Company here last fall, threatened to strike an Indian for attending my services: the same man is now at Big Island, living immorally. So much for the zeal and morality of such men: they are fit members of that church, upon whose "forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth." It is reported here that the Roman-Catholic bishop purposes to visit this dépôt next year, and perhaps he may wish to proceed on to Fort Good Hope. M. Grondin has been appointed a Roman-Catholic bishop for

the north. We must therefore make every effort to occupy and extend our operations throughout this district: any further delay now will be fatal to our cause.

Nov. 7: Lord's-day—Divine service in the morning: the officers and servants present. Preached from the words, "Watch, and pray." Prayers in the evening.

Nov. 8—Busily engaged, as last week, in preparing journal and letters for the packet, which leaves here on the 1st December, for Red River, &c. An Indian or two occasionally visits the post. Spoke to four this morning, and gave medicine to one of them suffering from a cold. My evening-school affords me much pleasure. Murdoch, the boy I baptized, is writing, and learning to read. I hope he may be useful hereafter as a servant and interpreter for the Mission. Since I left Red River I have baptized thirty-three persons, and married five couples. There have been fearful cases of starvation and cannibalism in this district: a failure of rabbits is almost sure to be attended with direful effects among the Indians.

The following are shocking cases of murder and cannibalism. Some years ago Jeroux, an old Indian, still alive at Fort Simpson, killed and devoured his wife and four children. When, through the extreme of hunger, he had killed and eaten three of his children, he deliberately took his gun and shot his wife as she was approaching the tent. Jeroux approached within seven miles of Fort Simpson, above the Gros Cap, and sent his little boy to the Fort for provisions. Pemican was sent to him, and he took his departure; but some time after, when the pemican was all done, he took an axe and killed the only remaining child. For several years after this he kept aloof from the Fort, and, when he arrived there, was in a state of extreme misery. Poor Jeroux is still alive, and is often observed to weep and lament for his wife and children. We must labour and pray that he may now receive and embrace the glad tidings of peace and salvation through a crucified Redeemer, and that we may be privileged to send you another sketch of Jeroux embracing Christianity.

About two days' journey from Fort Good Hope, two white men, Murdoch Morrison and John Spence, were barbarously murdered whilst carrying the winter express to Peel's River by an old Indian woman and her

daughter. The men found the old woman and her two daughters in a state of starvation: the men fed them, and gave them a portion of their provisions. After they had lain down, wrapped up in their blankets, the old woman proposed to her daughters to kill the white men. One of the daughters consented, but the other said she would inform the men: she was, however, deterred from doing so by her mother threatening to kill her with an axe. The mother and daughter then approached their victims stealthily, and struck them whilst asleep with an axe. The first blow killed one of the men: the other struggled under the blanket, but before he could disengage himself, repeated blows of the axe laid him also prostrate at her feet. But vengeance did not allow the fierce cannibals to live. After they had feasted upon their victims they fell in with some other starving Indians, and were killed and eaten by them.

The following case is also very appalling; it took place at Peel's River last winter. A Loucheux Indian, called Egatook, had two wives, one of whom died from the effects of the ill-treatment and cruelty of her husband. After her death, her little girl wept long and loud for her mother. One day, as they were all sitting in the tent, the poor little girl began sobbing as usual for her mother: this disturbed the cruel father, Egatook, who ordered his remaining wife to strangle the child: she was unwilling to commit the dreadful deed, but was compelled to do so by the threats of her husband, who, taking an axe, said he would kill her if she did not comply. Approaching the little girl with a line, she was obliged to strangle her before the unfeeling eyes of her brutal husband. At Fort Liard I baptized a Loucheux woman, the first of this nation who has embraced Christianity. May the blessed tidings of salvation soon spread among them, to subdue their fierce and cruel natures, and bring them under the gentle reign of the Prince of Peace!

I purpose (D.V.), when the Mackenzie breaks up in spring, to proceed down immediately after the ice so far as Fort Norman and Fort Good Hope, about 550 miles from Fort Simpson, where I hope to meet the Loucheux Indians and some Esquimaux from the Anderson River, returning in time to proceed with the brigade to Portage la Loche in June next.

[To be continued.]



THE OPENING INTO THE NARROW PASS ABOVE THE SIRI BOLAN.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUNJAB—CRISIS OF 1857.

ONE point in the action of the Punjab Government was reserved from our last article—the means adopted for the defence of the Trans-Indus frontier. As the regions beyond the great river are new regions, and yet regions into which we must be prepared at some future period to carry the standard of the Gospel, we shall geographically trace this line, and refer briefly to the wild and predatory tribes which occupy its mountain-fastnesses. It “commences from the top of the Kaghan glen (a dependency of Huzara) near Chelas, on the north-west corner of Mahara-jah Rumbear Singh’s territory, and then passes round the north-west boundary of Huzara, on the east side of the Indus, to Torbeila; then crossing that river, it winds round the north and north-west boundary of the Peshawur valley to the Khyber pass; then round the Afreedee hills to Kohat; then round the western border of the Kohat district, along the Meeran-zye valley, and touching the confines of the Cabul dominions; then round the Wuzerees hills to the Bunnoo line and the head of the Su-leemane range to its termination on the upper confines of Sindh and of the Khelat kingdom.” This frontier, in extent not less than 800 miles, is as arduous in its nature as it is extensive. On the outer side, and therefore beyond British jurisdiction, dwell many independent tribes, the inner side also being occupied by kindred tribes, but who, from their position, have come under British rule. Of the independent tribes, the most important are the Hussunzyes; the Boonere people; the inhabitants of the Swat valley, with its dependencies, Ranezye and Osmankheyl; the Momunds; the Afreedees; the Orukzyes; the Zymoosht. Affghans; the Toorees; the Wuzerees; the people of the valley of Dour; the Sheoranees; and the Oshteranees. “On the border of the Oshteranees hills, and nearly opposite Dehra Futteh Khan, is the Vooch or Korah pass, faced by the British outposts of Doulalwalla and Vehoa. This point is of some topographical importance, as constituting the boundary-line between the Puthan and Beloch tribes,” all to the north of the pass being Puthan, and to the south Beloches. These latter tribes, extending along the lower half of the Derajat, are less warlike than the Puthans, but more predatory. The number of fighting men of the independent tribes may be estimated at not less than 135,000, a large number if brought to act in combination; but of this there is no possibility, as they are sepa-

rated from one another by ceaseless feuds, and to have a difference with one tribe is certain to secure the friendship of another and rival tribe.

The general characteristics of these tribes are thus summed up—“They are savages, noble savages perhaps, and not without some tincture of virtue and generosity, but still absolutely barbarians. They have, for the most part, no education. They have nominally a religion, but Mohammedanism, as understood by them, is no better, or perhaps is actually worse, than the creeds of the wildest races upon earth. In their eyes the one great commandment is blood for blood, and fire and sword for all infidels, that is, for all people not Mohammedans. They are superstitious and priest-ridden. But the priests (moollas) are as ignorant as they are bigoted, and use their influence simply for preaching crusades against unbelievers, and inculcate the doctrine of rapine and bloodshed against the defenceless people of the plain.

“They are very avaricious: for gold they will do almost any thing except betray a guest. They are thievish and predatory to the last degree. The Puthan mother often prays that her son may be a successful robber. They are utterly faithless to public engagements: it would never even occur to their minds, that an oath on the Korán was binding if against their interests. It must be added that they are fierce and bloodthirsty. They are never without weapons: when grazing their cattle, when driving beasts of burden, when tilling the soil, they are still armed. They are perpetually at war with each other. Every tribe and section of a tribe has its internecine wars, every family its hereditary blood-feuds, and every individual his personal foes. There is hardly a man whose hands are unstained. Every person counts up his murders. Each tribe has a debtor and creditor account with its neighbours, life for life.

“Reckless of the lives of others, they are not sparing of their own. They consider retaliation and revenge to be the strongest of all obligations. They possess gallantry and courage themselves, and admire such qualities in others. Men of the same party will stand by one another in danger. To their minds hospitality is the first of virtues. Any person who can make his way into their dwellings will not only be safe, but will be kindly received; but as soon as he has left the roof of his entertainer, he may be robbed or killed.

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They are charitable to the indigent of their own tribe. They possess the pride of birth, and regard ancestral associations. They are not averse to civilization whenever they have felt its benefits: they are fond of trading, and also of cultivating; but they are too fickle and excitable to be industrious in agriculture or any thing else. They will take military service, and, though impatient of discipline, will prove faithful, unless excited by fanaticism. Such briefly is their character, replete with the unaccountable inconsistencies, with that mixture of opposite vices and virtues belonging to savages.

"Such being the character, what has been their conduct towards us? They have kept up old quarrels, or picked new ones, with our subjects in the plains and valleys near the frontier; they have descended from the hills and fought these battles out in our territory; they have plundered and burnt our villages, and slain our subjects; they have committed minor robberies and isolated murders without number; they have often levied black mail from our villages; they have intrigued with the disaffected everywhere, and tempted our loyal subjects to rebel; and they have for ages regarded the plain as their preserve, and its inhabitants as their game. When inclined for cruel sport, they sally forth to rob and murder, and occasionally to take prisoners into captivity for ransom. They have fired upon our own troops, and even killed our own officers in our own territories. They give an asylum to every malcontent or proclaimed criminal who can escape from British justice. They traverse at will our territories, enter our villages, trade in our markets: but few British subjects, and no servant of the British Government, would dare to enter their country on any account whatever.

"In return for this, what has been the conduct of the British Government towards them? It has recognised their independence; it has asserted no jurisdiction in regard to them; it has claimed no revenue from them, and no tribute, except in one case, and that as a punishment. But it has confirmed whatever fiefs they held within its territory; it has uniformly declared that it seeks no fiscal or territorial aggrandizement; and that it only wants, and is resolved to have, tranquillity on the frontier. It has never extended its jurisdiction one yard beyond the old limits of the Sikh dominions. Nothing has been annexed that was not a portion of the Punjab as we found it. Whatever revenue has been paid to the British Government was equally paid to its predecessors, only at a higher rate. In one solitary case has it accepted tribute in

satisfaction for offences; in all other cases of misconduct it has avoided making any pecuniary demand on its own behalf. It has claimed no feudal or political ascendancy over the hill tribes; it has abstained from any interference in, or connexion with, their affairs; it has taken no part in their contests, and has never assisted either party; it has striven to prevent its own subjects from entering into disputes with them. Though permitting and encouraging its subjects to defend themselves at the time of attack, it has prevented them from retaliating afterwards, and from making reprisals. Though granting refuge to men flying for their lives, it has never allowed armed bodies to seek protection in its territory, nor to organize resistance or attack. It has freely permitted hill-people to settle, to cultivate, to graze their herds, and to trade in its territories. It has accorded to such the same protection, rights, privileges, and conditions as to its own subjects. Its courts have been available, and its officers accessible to them. Its markets have been thrown open to them; all restrictions on trade and transit, all duties (except one), which would be imposed under any native Government, have been removed and remitted for them. It has freely admitted them to its hospitals and dispensaries; its medical officers have tended scores of them in sickness, and sent them back to their mountain homes cured. The ranks of its service are open to them, and they may eat our salt and draw our pay, if so inclined. What more can a civilized Government legitimately do for its rude neighbours than the above?"

Here, then, let justice be done to Great Britain. Let her action, in reference to these border tribes, be contrasted with that of France in Algeria. Let the razzias be remembered; the razzia of June 1846, carried out upon the tribes of Beni-ouled-Riah, numbering, in men, women, and children, about 700 persons. "The Arabs escaped the first clutch of their pursuers; and, when hard pressed, as soon they were, took refuge in the cave of Khartani, which had some odour of sanctity about it; some holy man, or marabout, had lived and died there. The French troops came up quickly to the entrance, and the Arabs were summoned to surrender. They made no reply. Possibly they did not hear the summons; or perhaps the courage of despair had steeled them to await the attack of their foes." . . . "An immense fire was kindled at the mouth of the

* "Selections from the Records of the Government of India (Foreign Department)," No. XII. pp. 55—58.

cave, and fed sedulously during the summer night with wood, grass, reeds, any thing to keep up the volume of smoke and flame, which the wind drove in roaring, whirling eddies into the mouth of the cavern.* But the Arabs appeared not: none ventured forth to ask for mercy; and when the morning came, and some soldiers ventured in, they were found—men, women, and children—all dead.

But although the British authorities desired no territorial aggrandisement, and had no ambition to extend their jurisdiction beyond the old Sikh limits, it was necessary to provide for the tranquillity of the frontier, and a military force, together with an organized police, was raised especially for this purpose. This "Punjab irregular force," in 1853, amounted to 15,334 men, which were "distributed with due regard to the peculiar features of the country, the past history and present character of the people themselves, the conduct and resources of the independent tribes, and the facilities or otherwise of support from the regular troops in the Punjab." They consisted of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. The nucleus of this organization was found in the *élite* of the force which Major Edwardes enlisted and commanded during the Sikh war. As the Punjab corps were raised, these irregular levies were reduced, and the best men and officers were drafted into the new formation. The wearing of uniform and submission to discipline were at first repugnant to them, but regular and liberal pay, and considerate and firm treatment on the part of their European officers, gradually overcame these difficulties. In the uniform of the Punjab infantry, "drab has been substituted for scarlet, as better suited for troops constantly engaged in frontier skirmishes. It is the colour worn by the guide troops, and so nearly does it resemble the face of the country, both hill and dale, that men in this dress are scarcely distinguishable at a distance of a hundred and fifty yards." The nature of the warfare in which they were engaged rendered it necessary that special attention should be paid to the weapon with which they were armed. Often were they obliged to enter the hill-fastnesses and conflict with an enemy thoroughly acquainted with every foot of the ground, and skilful to turn to his own advantage its peculiar features. Rifles, therefore, of the most effective kind, were largely introduced amongst them, and by constant practice and careful training they were made good marksmen. Another point may be noticed which exercised an important influence on the sub-

sequent action of this force. Experience soon proved that the climate of the Derajat was not congenial to the constitution of the men of Hindustan, who generally filled the ranks of the regular army, and in 1853 it was determined that selections for the Punjab irregular force should for the future, so far as it was practicable, be restricted to the inhabitants of the Punjab and the adjacent countries. The *materiel* of these regiments was in this respect very different from the Sepoy regiments. Instead of the two elements, Mohammedans and high-caste Hindus, which, by contact, were found to ignite into disaffection, the Punjabee regiments in August 1854 consisted of Mussulmans, Brahmins, Rajpoots, Hindus of inferior description, Sikhs, Affghans, and one Christian, whose place was found in the 3d regiment Punjab infantry, a fact which sufficed to show that more would be admitted when they presented themselves. Of the relative proportions of these constituent elements, the Mussulmans were the most numerous, it being remembered that the Mussulmans of the plains of the Punjab are less bigoted, less bound by traditionary practice, than their co-religionists in any part of India. The least numerous, next to the Affghans, of whom there were seventy-nine, all serving in one regiment, were the Brahmins. The Hindus of inferior description were more numerous than the Brahmins and Rajpoots put together; while the Sikhs, although two-thirds less than the Mussulmans, were more than twice as numerous as all the Hindus taken together. Altogether they constituted a very fine force, the infantry regiments probably containing as fine a body of native soldiers as had ever been brought together in India, the average height of the five regiments being five feet eight and three-quarter inches, and in breadth of shoulder, muscular appearance, and soldier-like demeanour, being on an equality with any troops in the world. Little did the authorities foresee, when employed in raising and training this force, what an overwhelming crisis they were preparing for, or what important services the Punjab irregulars and military police were to render to the British nation at a most important crisis of its empire in India. And it is this point on which we wish especially to dwell, that there appears to have been throughout a providential interference exercised in favour of the measures adopted by the Punjab authorities; and that, as with Joseph of old, the Lord made whatsoever they did to prosper in their hand. Evidently, without this providential recognition, the ablest administrator may be unsuccessful. Surely there is a special aid and help

* Morell's "Algeria," p. 441.

which it is in the power of Him, "by whom kings rule and princes decree justice," to give or withhold; which every man needs according to the measure of responsibility which attaches to him, and none more so than the gubernator of an empire! Take, as an example, the captain of some argonaut, freighted with treasure from the Australian shore, and bearing proudly on the waves a cargo more costly than the poets of ancient times ever thought of depicting. In that man authority centres. His will is supreme on board. Does he not need to be providentially directed? A prosperous voyage has conducted the gallant ship near to her desired haven, and within sight of the English shores. The well-known mountains are recognised, and the pleasant anticipation of home makes every heart glad. But there, within the narrow sea, the hurricane meets her. How much depends on him who superintends the direction of the vessel's course! Does he not need direction, that special influence on the mind, which decides the man to right measures, and which God alone can exercise upon the human will? And do not disasters supervene, and the great ship of state become endangered, in order to teach men that more than human wisdom and ability are needed; that the wisest man, left to himself, may read incorrectly the foreshadowing of future events, and be blind to the indications of the coming storm; that he may want collectedness and decision when the crisis arrives; and that, as the expression of a just displeasure, because of slights to which His high authority has been presumptuously subjected at the hands of men, or to teach nations and rulers a much needed lesson of dependence, God allows the storm to rage, and the highest interests of a state to be well nigh shipwrecked? He can turn the counsel of an Abithophel into foolishness, and permit measures to be adopted which ensure not safety, but destruction. The Lord that maketh all things, that stretcheth forth the heavens alone, that spreadeth abroad the earth by Himself, He can indeed "frustrate the tokens of liars and make diviners mad," and also "turn wise men backward, and make their knowledge foolish." "Them that honour me, I will honour;" that is the divine declaration. In the presence of the heathen nation over which they have been appointed to rule, to render to the only true God, as He has revealed Himself in the Gospel of his Son, the homage which is his due, has been the unvarying aim and object of the British administrators of the Punjab, and they have been dealt with accordingly.

We now pass on to the eventful period of

May 1857. Let us first consider the precise military position which prevailed in the Punjab, when the electric telegraph communicated the intelligence of the disasters at Meerut and Delhi. Including the Cis-Sutlej principalities, we "find there were then in the Punjab territories, from Kurnaul to Peshawur, about 36,000 native troops of all arms, infantry, regular and irregular cavalry, and artillery. These were all men from Oude and Hindustan, except a fraction, who were Punjabees. Against these there were eleven regiments of European infantry and one of cavalry, and some 2000 European artillery. The European force may have numbered 10,500 men. Of this force half was massed at the extremes of the province, viz. three regiments at the Simla hills, and three at the Peshawur valley. Of the principal fortresses, that of Lahore was held by some European infantry; those of Govindgurh (Umrtsur) and Mooltan were held by one company of European artillery each; while those of Philore on the Sutlej, Attock on the Indus, Kangra and Norpore, were held by native troops. Our chief arsenal, that of Ferozepore, was at a station held by European infantry. The second arsenal was at Philore, held by native infantry. Our frontier, 800 miles in length, bordering throughout upon fierce and independent tribes, was held in strength at one point, and that the most important, namely, Peshawur; but the greater part was occupied by about 10,000 irregular troops, cavalry and infantry, of the best possible description. There were also some 9000 military police, horse and foot. Thus the aggregate of Punjabee troops was about 22,000 men: these were, for the most part, natives of the Punjab: a portion, something less than one-fourth, were Hindustanis."*

Such was the military position of the Punjab. On the morning of Monday, May 11, the electric telegraph flashed to Lahore the intelligence of the outbreak at Meerut, and the departure of the mutineers for Delhi; and this alarm was enforced by an additional one on the succeeding morning, which revealed the fact of the cold-blooded murders at Meerut, followed by the pitiless massacre at Delhi of all Christians whom the insurgents could lay hands upon.

A council was instantaneously convened. The situation of Lahore was critical. In the midst of its population was to be found a large infusion of the disbanded soldiery of the Sikh régime, men who had recently con-

* "General Report on the Administration of the Punjab." Parl. Papers, p. 32.

flicted with us on the field of battle, and who, if a favourable opportunity presented itself, would not be slow to raise the standard of independence. Six miles off, at Mean-Meer, there was lying a formidable body of four native regiments, three of infantry and one of cavalry, with one weak Queen's regiment (61st) and some artillery, horse and foot, to confront them. What if these native troops, having imbibed the contagion of disaffection, should break out into mutinous action, and the population of the city fraternize with them? To throw additional Europeans into the fort, which is situate within the city, and deprive the native troops of their ammunition and gun-caps, were the measures first decided upon. But as the day advanced, information was received of the existence of a deep-laid conspiracy among the native troops at Lahore, with a view to the perpetration of the same horrors as had commenced in the North-western Provinces. The 16th of May was the day which had been fixed upon, and on that day the conspirators hoped to see the chief British strongholds, from the Ravee to the Sutlej, within their grasp. The necessity of more decided measures was evident, and Brigadier Corbett resolved upon the grand and original move of depriving the Sepoy of his arms altogether. This was the resolution by which, under God, "not only Lahore, but the Punjab, was saved; for it revealed at once to the authorities, in all directions, the only system which, if adopted promptly and circumspectly, would ensure to us the mastery of the country. It dissipated every thing like conjecture or doubt; it left no room for hesitation or inquiry as to what should be done in such a crisis; it revealed, in all its unanswerable strength, the policy to be pursued, if we would preserve the country; and the rebellion was completely muzzled from Umballah to Peshawur by the measure thus recommended, initiated, and imitated. Brigadier Corbett's cry of 'Disarm' became the watchword throughout the Punjab: it completely frustrated the designs of the conspirators wherever they were collected together, and mutiny was strangled thereby, in Umritsur, Lahore, Peshawur, Mooltan, Derah Ghazee Khan, Hooshiarpore, and other places. If the same measures had been adopted with equal promptitude and care at other places, we should not have had to mourn over the loss of life incurred at Ferozepore, Jhelum, and Sealkote. Enemies without the camp felt helpless when the traitors within the camp were rendered innocuous by the unprecedented but potent measures originated and carried out to a successful issue, by Brigadier Corbett, on that eventful

13th of May 1857. But this was not all. It must be recollected that the system was carried out against the earnest remonstrances of those who not unnaturally doubted the truth of the rumours which were bruited abroad, and were anxious to preserve the regiments they commanded from even a suspicion of disloyalty. This feeling was common to all the officers who commanded, or were attached to, native regiments in the Punjab. Some of these gentlemen had been associated with their men for thirty years; had lived with them, marched with them, fought with them, and triumphed with them on many a bloody battle-field. To hear their Sepoys branded as traitors, stigmatized as disloyal, and denounced as untrustworthy, was painful and unpleasant; but Brigadier Corbett had the equally-unpleasant duty of carrying out, in the teeth of all these remonstrances and entreaties, that measure by which he knew we could alone preserve the country."

On the morning of the 13th, by a bold and skilful manœuvre, the brigade of native troops at Lahore was overawed by a small force of 600 Europeans and a few guns, and, at the word of command, surrendered their arms. From the parade-ground, where this had been accomplished, a detachment of European soldiers, consisting of infantry and artillery, was sent forward in light native carts, drawn by ponies, to Umritsur, a distance of thirty miles, to secure the fort of Govindghur, which was reached and occupied at break of day the next morning, and thus Umritsur also was conserved.

But important as Lahore and Umritsur were, Peshawur was still more so. On the maintenance of British rule at that point, the fate of the Punjab depended. The eyes of Sikhs and Mohammedans were fixed upon that frontier post, and, with eager anxiety to see what would be the issue of forthcoming events, prepared to shape their course accordingly, and to remain quiet, or, amidst the confusion, strike once more for national independence. So evident was their anxiety as to what might transpire at Peshawur, that, in reply to questions put to him, a Sikh sirdar thus significantly expressed himself: with much significance of manner, taking up the end of his scarf, he began rolling it up from the corner between his finger and thumb, and then, explaining his symbolism, said, "If Peshawur goes, the whole Punjab will be rolled up in rebellion like this."

The situation of this important post was indeed critical. There were there no less

* "Lahore Chronicle."

than five regiments of native infantry, and three of cavalry; and, as a counterpoise to this large body of men, two regiments of European infantry, with artillery, in all about 3000, in the presence of 6000 natives.

Yet, what was to be done? The native regiments had been concentrated there to hold this important post against the hill tribes from without, and a turbulent population of some 100,000, within the walls. They might be disarmed, but who could then answer for the tranquillity of the surrounding population? The disarming of the Sepoys might be the signal for revolt. The wild mountain tribes might rise in hordes, and, forgetting their feuds for a moment, join with the city population to destroy the Europeans. Three years and a half before, such a panic had been felt. In the last week of September 1853, Lieutenant-Colonel Mackeson, the Commissioner, had been assassinated, and it was thought that the Mohammedan population of the valley was about to rise, and that the adjacent hill-tribes were only waiting the signal to pour down in support; and now, in 1857, what course was to be pursued? for to avert one danger was to provoke another, and Peshawur might be imperilled by the very means adopted to secure its safety.

The safety of that city, and of other strong points, needed to be provided for. Yet was it necessary to act circumspectly as well as promptly, and, as far as practicable, diminish one danger without aggravating the other. It was resolved to remove at once to the more remote frontier stations the more suspected of the Bengal regiments, and to supply their place with such regiments of the Punjabee irregular force as might be available. Three regiments of Bengal infantry were thus dealt with. The 64th Native Infantry was removed from Peshawur to the outpost forts of Michnee and Shubkudder; the 55th Native Infantry from Nowshera to Kotee Murdan, beyond the Cabul river in the Eusufzye lower range, to relieve the Guides; and the 39th Native Infantry, "from the most picturesque of Punjab stations, the Jhelum, for the lonely, dreary Dehra Ghazee Khan." In their place the Punjabee troops were poured in; some of whom, as the Guides, were despatched to Delhi and others formed part of the moveable column already organized, for the purpose of moving on any part of the Punjab where open mutiny might be required to be crushed by force. But the authorities were soon forced to still more decided measures.

On May 20th letters were intercepted, which revealed the fact that all the regular regiments at Peshawur (one, the 21st, excepted), were

pledged to insurrection and murder, and that, in two days more, May 22d, the mine was to be sprung. The next morning three regiments of native infantry, and one of cavalry, were disarmed.

It was full time. One regiment of Sepoys was already in open mutiny, the 55th Native Infantry. They had taken the place of the Guides at Kotee-Murdan, a central position in Eusufzye, where a fortified cantonment, capable of being defended by a small detachment of troops, had been erected, so as to control the warlike, capricious, and bigoted population of the country. Here they mutinied. On the night which followed the disarmament of the regiments at Peshawur, an expeditionary column was prepared, which, moving with celerity, should crush, with a retributive stroke, this commencement of disaffection in the Punjab, overawe malcontents, and encourage the well-disposed. An opportunity was here afforded of testing the reliability of the Punjab irregular force. The 5th Punjab Infantry, and a body of Mooltanee horse, were among the troops employed in the service. The 55th Native Infantry had left Kotee Murdan before the force came up, and had taken flight in the direction of the Swat valley. The pursuit was vigorous, but the main body escaped for the moment.

In the affair of this first mutiny several points which had been previously uncertain were cleared up. It was evident that the irregular cavalry of the Bengal army was not to be depended upon. They had formed part of this expeditionary force; but when the crisis came not only did they hang back, but some of them openly sided with the mutineers. On the other hand, the Punjab regiments proved staunch, and some files of them did not hesitate to carry out the sentence of a court martial on certain of the mutineers who were taken prisoners and condemned to death. The third and most important fact was this, that between the rebellious Sepoys and the mountain tribes there was little danger of a fusion. The treatment which the fugitive 55th Native Infantry met with at the hands of the people of the Swat valley was satisfactory on this point.

"The Swat country consists of a long valley, running downwards generally in a south-westerly direction, but turning half round from east to west as it nears the British frontier, from which it is separated by a lofty range. It is difficult of access to a force moving from British territory. The Lundy, or Swat river, flows right through and fertilizes the valley, and then debouching through a gorge in the hills, enters the Peshawur val-

ley, and joins the Cabul River near Charsudda. The Swat valley is fertile, chiefly growing rice: it contains 300 villages and upwards; and its inhabitants may number 100,000 souls, of whom 20,000 might be fighting-men. As soldiers, the Swatees rank below several of the most martial tribes. Politically, the Swatees consist of various clans, united under a loose federal government, at the head of which is an elective chief, styled Padshah, or king. The present king is a Syud, named Akbur, from the fanatic colony of Sitana.”*

The Swatees had been throughout bad neighbours to the British. There are mountain passes leading from Swat into the British territory, through the intervening tracts of Ranezye and Osmankheyl, and through these the Swatees had been accustomed to push their raids within our limit.

“They seem to have regarded the plains of Peshawur, and especially the Hushnuggur tract, as a hunter does his hunting-grounds. Plunderers and marauders, sometimes in bands, sometimes in twos and threes, sometimes on foot, and sometimes mounted, issued forth from Swat, passed through Ranezye, and proceeded to the plains of Hushnuggur or Eusufzye. They would not usually make regular raids, and they would refrain from molesting Puthans, their fellow-clansmen; but they would attack persons of all other classes, cultivators, petty traders, cattle-grazers, wayfarers, and the like. They would carry off Hindus in particular, for the purpose of putting them to ransom. Again, the Swatees harboured renegades, refugee criminals, internal malcontents, and external enemies. For years the valley was a rendezvous

for any and every person hostile to the British Government; and among them were several persons who had been dismissed from British service, and one man, named Mokurram Khan, formerly a police-officer in the Peshawur district, in particular, who was received with great favour, and enjoyed a large landed grant in Swat. Not only did Swat receive and support enemies of the British, but it encouraged them to commit depredations in British territory. Further, the Swatees took every opportunity of inciting British villages to set authority at naught. They invited their fellow-Pathans to throw off British yoke, and acknowledge a nominal allegiance to Swat. For this purpose they would not only assemble troops in Ranezye or Osmankheyl, but they would even send horsemen into British villages, partly as emissaries and partly as representatives of authority.”*

An expedition under Sir Colin Campbell, in 1852, reduced to submission the intervening tracts of Ranezye and Osmankheyl, and deprived the Swatees of their facilities of incursion into our territory, but into the Swat valley no British force has penetrated.

If then, from any portion of the widely-extended frontier tribes, the mutineers might have looked for sympathy, none were more likely to afford it than the people of Swat, and they had been led to expect that it would be so, a treasonable correspondence between them and the Akhoond† of Swat having been carried on for some time. But this preconcerted action was paralyzed by the interference of God's providence. On the same day on which the outbreak at Delhi occurred, civil war broke out in Swat. The fugitive 55th, instead of being welcomed as they expected, fell into rough hands. Some were seized, made Mohammedans by compulsion, and sold for slaves; others were delivered to the British authorities; the rest fled, and perished miserably in their wanderings among the mountains. Had they been well received, and enabled, with their accomplices in the Swat valley, to organize depredations on the British territory, the flame might have extended itself widely amongst these turbulent tribes, and the Punjab authorities been hindered in forwarding to Delhi those supplies of men and means which rendered there such effectual service. But so far from attempting to take advantage of the crisis, and thus in-

* “Selections from Records,” &c. p. 7. The colony of Sitana was located on the bank of the Indus, near the base of the Muhabun. The Syuds of that place were the remnant of the followers of that extraordinary adventurer, Syud Ahmed, who, gathering the handful of Ghazees (warlike devotees) from various parts of India, raised a formidable rebellion in Peshawur. After winning and losing Peshawur and Eusufzye, the Syud was eventually slain, at the mouth of the Khagan glen, by Shere Singh, the son of Maharajah Runjeet Singh. Most of his adherents, chiefly foreigners to the Punjab, dispersed, and the remainder settled at Sitana. They were evil-intentioned and ill-conditioned, harbouring murderers and bad characters of all kinds, and endeavouring to rouse the bigotry of the surrounding Mohammedan tribes. Since the subsidence of the Sepoy outbreak, a force under Sir Sydney Cotton (April 1858) destroyed their villages, and, scattering these fanatics, consigned Sitana to two friendly tribes of the neighbourhood.

* “Selections from Records,” &c. Sept. 8th.

† The Akhoond is the high-priest, the word being equivalent to doctor or reader. He is held in great veneration.

ried out resolutely at Mooltan, Umballa, and the Jullander Doab, at Rawul Pindee, Umritsur, Hoshiarpore, and Noorpore. The Hindustanee regiments, horse and foot, were thus dealt with, the native gunners of four troops, or batteries of artillery, being also removed from their guns, and their place supplied by volunteers from European infantry. Thus, before the middle of July, eighteen regiments, cavalry and infantry, numbering about 18,000 men, were disarmed, in all cases without resistance. Two infantry regiments, and seven of irregular cavalry, were permitted to retain their arms, remaining submissive to duty, and some of them behaving well.

But their place needed to be supplied. An arduous and yet necessary service had to be accomplished, and troops were wanting. It was decided to raise more regiments, after the model of the Punjab irregular force, and to enlist alike frontier men and Punjabees. Some thought it to be a desperate measure, and considered that a danger was about to be evoked equally menacing with the one from which we had escaped; but wisdom and strength of purpose were given to the authorities in the Punjab, and the contemplated measure was carried out.

There were in the Punjab, at the time of the outbreak, "eighteen battalions of Punjabee infantry. Immediately afterwards, four companies were added to each of these, to form the nucleus of new battalions. These fresh corps were rapidly formed, five in May and June, eight in August, two in October, and three in subsequent months: in all eighteen. Levies were also raised in all the districts to do the military duties of the province, numbering eventually 7000 horse, and about 9000 foot. Of the horse levies, the best were those Border Puthans, who had formerly fought under Colonel Edwardes in the second Punjab war, and who longed for another opportunity to signalize themselves in our service. As regards the Sikhs of the Manjha, they showed, during the period of the crisis, an unwillingness to enlist. The good recruits of this class were not obtained until after Delhi had fallen. This fact is significant of the opinion which the Sikhs entertained of our position."*

This large force, although Punjabees, that is, formed of natives of the several provinces pertaining to the Punjab, yet comprised within itself great varieties of race, religion, customs, and language. These many elements were kept together by British power:

that removed, they would soon have become separate, and even antagonistic. Some of the men belonged to the many Puthan and Beloochee tribes, who dwelt along the frontier; some of them were Mohammedans of the southern and western Punjab; some were hill-men; some Hindus of the Punjab; some regular Hindustanees; and a fair proportion, about one-third, true Sikhs.

"But the Sikhs of the Manjha showed, during the period of the crisis, an unwillingness to enlist." That was ominous. They were watching what would be the issue of events at Delhi. There was the focus of the rebellion: there had been raised the standard of revolt. The conspiracy had there revealed itself in its full form and dimensions, and, as a last effort for the resuscitation of the Mogul empire, bid defiance to British power. The Sikhs waited to see whether the English were able to wrest from the hands of their rebellious soldiers the city of Mohammedan prestige, where the Mussulman had once ruled in his oriental magnificence, which English engineers had fortified so scientifically, and English authorities had fatuously left without a single European regiment. At Delhi, British power was committed to a life or death struggle, and by the result the Sikhs were resolved to be guided: if the British were worsted, to strike for themselves, and for the Khalsa Raj; or if the British were victorious, to serve them against the Poorbeahs. With the mutiny they would not join, for with the Hindustanee troops, and their revolt, they had no sympathy; and to rise at once against British power, until it had received some great discomfiture, they dare not: British prestige was too great in their eyes. "The victories of Sobraon and Goojerat were still fresh in their minds. The fear of the British was still upon them." But they waited, and if the Punjab were to remain tranquil, nay, if British supremacy were to be maintained, not only in the Punjab, but throughout Western and Central India, far away to the banks of the Godavery, and the nations of the south, Delhi must fall, and that without delay.

On the 25th of May the force under General Anson had moved forward from Umballa. It was very weak, and inefficient to the emergency. Yet such as it was, the main portion of it, consisting of one Queen's regiment and two Company's European regiments, had been supplied from the Punjab. Was it to be met at Delhi by strong columns pushed up from Calcutta? No: Calcutta was scarcely able to defend itself, and the electric telegraph was summoning troops from Pegu, Madras, the Mauritius, and Persia. But even had

* Report of Punjab Territories, p. 35.

there been disposable troops, the communications between Delhi and Calcutta had been completely severed. Neill, with the van of the Madras fusileers, reached Allahabad on June 11th, but the road was closed; nor was it until a month after that Havelock and his brigade were in a position to re-open communication, and recover bloodstained Cawnpore from the grasp of the Nana. Not only was the road blocked up, but the electric telegraph was cut, and Delhi and its besieging force, completely severed from Calcutta, was thrown entirely on the Punjab, and its resources of mind and means.

But if Delhi, and the conflict there, were thus thrown back on the Punjab, there existed, on the part of the Punjab authorities, a hearty willingness to work. Nowhere was the speedy recapture of Delhi more strongly felt to be a stern necessity. The Sepoy regiments were being disarmed, the new Punjabee regiments not yet raised; the tranquillity of the frontier, and the deportment of the Punjabees and Sikhs, under new and exciting circumstances, were matters of extreme uncertainty; yet, "immediately after the outbreak, three regiments of European infantry and one of cavalry marched away from the Punjab for Delhi, while the Punjab was relieved of only two native infantry corps; so that if the Umballa force be deducted, there were about 7500 Europeans to 33,000 Hindustani soldiers, or one to four and a half. In the event of collision, however, the assistance of a portion of the Punjabee troops might always be counted on. The circumstances of difficulty were therefore considerable. The European force was limited. There was a large section, nearly one-third of the mutinous Bengal army, to be either encouraged in their duty, overawed, or coerced, as the case might be. There were martial and fanatical tribes along the frontier to be kept at arm's length. There were numerous native princes to be held firm to their allegiance. There was a large population, exposed to evil influence from the proximity of the seat of rebellion, to be maintained in subjection."*

And yet the reinforcements continued to be pushed forward to strengthen the besieging force before Delhi. The Punjab irregulars were made available for this purpose, the old and tried regiments being sent on, while the authorities for home purposes fell back on the new levies. "The well-known Guide corps, the 4th Sikhs, the 6th Punjab infantry, the 1st Punjab cavalry, and parts of the 2d and 5th Punjab cavalry were despatched to

Delhi." Some 300 artillerymen of the old Sikh army were enlisted for our service. A sapper and miner corps of low-caste Sikhs (Muzubees) 12,000 strong, and a body of Punjab horsemen, were raised, and sent to the same destination."

The co-operation of the Cis-Sutlej chiefs was felt to be essential, for otherwise how could these intermediate provinces be kept quiet, and communication be sustained between the Punjab and Delhi?

"On receipt of the tidings from Delhi, not a day was lost in calling upon the protected Sikh States for the contingents which, as feudatories, they were by treaty bound to furnish to the paramount. Never was an appeal more nobly responded to. The Rajah of Jheend was actually the first man, European or native, who took the field against the mutineers. He openly declared at once that he should side with the British, under whom he had lived happily for fifty years—a speech calculated to give the right turn to native opinion. He marched with a small but effective contingent of 800 men to Kurnaul; thence he went in the van, clearing the road as the British force advanced upon Delhi, and procuring supplies. He then held an exposed post in the rear of the British camp, his troops guarded the ferry over the Jumna, on the road to Meerut: a portion of them also shared in the final assault on the Cashmere gate of the city. The Maharajah of Puttiala, the first man in the Cis-Sutlej States, and the highest in rank among living Sikhs, supplied 5000 men, horse and foot; occupied the grand trunk road, the line of communication between the Punjab and the army before Delhi, for a distance of 120 miles, and guarded the stations of Thanesur and Umballa. The contingent of the young Rajah of Nabha, 600 strong, occupied the fort of Loodiana, and escorted the siege-train from Philore. The petty Sikh chiefs, eighty in number, with contingents aggregating 1200 men, foot and horse, were immediately called out for the preservation of order. If any man's contingent was not called out, he would complain of it as a grievance, and beg to be employed. When the Nusseeree battalion (Goorkhas) mutinied at Simla, the chief of Sirmoor and the Rajah of Khylore furnished 600 men each to guard that station: all the other petty hill chiefs evinced the best spirit. The Rajah of Busaheer alone remained lukewarm. In the Jullunder Doab, the Rajah of Kupoorthullah, of high rank amongst the Sikhs, furnished 2000 men: these formed almost the only native troops employed in the Jullunder and Hooshiarpore districts after the Jullun-

* "Report of Punjab Territories," p. 33.

der mutiny. The Mundee State, in the Kangra hills, furnished a contingent of 200 men. The Rajah of Chumba supplied guards for the English ladies at the sanatorium of Dalhousie. The Bhawalpoor Nawab alone failed to do that which the British Government had a right to expect of him during such an emergency.

"The Maharajah Goolab Singh, of Jummoo and Cashmere, who originally owed his position entirely to the British, furnished a contingent of 2000 men for service before Delhi. Just as this force was about to leave Goolab Singh died; but his son and successor, Maharajah Rumber Singh, continued the same policy. The contingent started under political charge of Lieutenant-Colonel R. Lawrence, appointed at the special request of the Maharajah. Arrived at Delhi, it took part in the attack on the Kishengunge suburb on the 14th September: it guarded the British camp while the Europeans were storming the city; it was largely employed in the re-occupation of the Delhi territory. It has now returned with honour to Jummoo, and the Maharajah has accepted an honorary present of a lakh of rupees (10,000*l.*) from the British Government, His Highness having paid all the expenses of the troops himself. The march of this contingent to Delhi was of importance, not only for the service it performed in the field, but also for the moral effect it produced at the very time when mutineers and various disaffected parties were looking to Jummoo for countenance, and, perhaps, support. It was, by means of this contingent, shown decisively that the Maharajah was on our side. The obsequies of Goolab Singh were performed at his capital in Cashmere: his ashes have been consigned to the waters of the Ganges at Hurdwar. It is satisfactory to add that none of his ladies were sacrificed by suttee."*

Thus efforts continued to be made. "An irregular force of about 1000 men, under General Van Courtlandt, was ordered to clear the western part of the Delhi territory. Waggon-trains were organized from Mooltan to Lahore and Ferozepore, and then to Loodiana, Umballa, and Delhi, to convey men, stores, and material for the besieging force."

At length came the month of August. Delhi had not yet fallen, and the position was becoming every moment more critical. Without fresh reinforcements the assault could not be delivered, and one more stern pressure needed to be laid on the Punjab for the accomplishment of this great object.

"At that time British power, even in the Punjab, rested on a slender basis. There were fierce tribes watching like wild beasts for a chance to spring upon us. There was a large population, faithful indeed as yet, but observing events with strained attention, and speculating whether we should or should not be able to hold our own. There were 6000 armed Hindustanee troops; there were 12,000 disarmed Sepoys; there were but seven weak regiments of European infantry, and less than 1000 European artillery—in all about 6200 men. But of these, nearly half were locked up in the Peshawur Valley, and considerably prostrated by fever. The remainder were occupied chiefly in guarding the disarmed Sepoys. The only European troops not thus engaged were the remainder of Her Majesty's 8th and 61st at Jullunder and Ferozepore, and Her Majesty's 52d in the moveable column at Umritsur. If these should go, there would then be no European reserve whatever in the Punjab, and every station would be reduced to the very minimum of efficient strength. But still such was the paramount necessity of reinforcing Delhi, that even the last available Europeans were all sent under Brigadier-General Nicholson. At the same time there were despatched the 2d, 4th, and 7th regiments of Punjab infantry. These were followed by a first-class siege train from Ferozepore, by a wing of the 1st Belooch battalion arrived from Sindh, and a contingent, 2000 strong, from the Maharajah of Jummoo. There then remained some 4500 Europeans (sick included) to hold the Punjab.

"When these reinforcements had started for Delhi, the die was finally cast; the supreme effort had been made; the cup had been drained to its last drop; the chord had been strained almost to breaking. These images do not more than convey an idea of the crisis. If Delhi were taken, the successful course of the Punjab administration would remain uninterrupted. If, with the last aid, Delhi were not taken, and that speedily, there would then be a struggle, not only for European dominion, but even for European existence, within the Punjab itself. To show how near the danger had approached, it may be mentioned, that during the last month of the siege there was an attempted conspiracy in the Murree hills, occupied by Mohammedan tribes, and an insurrection in the Goo-gaira district, thinly peopled by Mohammedan tribes also, between Lahore and Mooltan, which was put down in about twenty days by some 1500 troops of various kinds, of whom 150 were Europeans. The conspiracy in the Murree hills might easily have spread to the

* "Report of Punjab Territories," pp. 31, 32.

Rawul Pindie district. The Googaira movement was sympathized in by the kindred tribes of the Jhung and Shahpoor districts, who were known indeed to be ready for rising. But these affairs, originating with Mohammedans, were simply attempts to throw off British yoke, made in the belief that our last hour was come. There was no grievance nor special cause whatever. From these two lessons we may learn what would have happened throughout the Punjab if Delhi had not fallen.”*

But Delhi was at length carried. The heavy siege train had done its work. On the night of the 13th of September, two breaches were reported practicable, and the order for the assault was at once issued to take place at daybreak the following morning. Four attacking columns were appointed, a fifth being held in reserve. In each was to be found a Sikh or Punjabee regiment. The Cashmere gate was blown open by the gallant Salkeld and the three sergeants who accompanied. One column rushed in by the open gate, two others escalated the breaches; and, after several days of severe fighting within the walls, all opposition was crushed, and the whole city, palace, and suburbs, were in our possession. But the loss was severe indeed: nearly one-third of the entire attacking force was killed or wounded, and amongst the slain was Nicholson. The service in which he laid down his life was one of first importance, for the fall of Delhi was the conservation of British supremacy in India. It had been delayed until we had reached the very brink of destruction. Month after month had passed away, and Delhi remained unsubdued. The Punjab people “saw that our power in their country was being wasted away, as troops were despatched for Hindustan without any reinforcements arriving from Europe. They discovered, too, that it was going hard with us elsewhere in India. Incendiary letters came day after day, describing, in highly-figurative phrase, the utter isolation of our position. These things sunk deep into their minds: they began to think (what they could hardly have believed at first) that the end of British rule was really approaching. Then latent embers of disaffection began to glow; the people commenced, as it were, to make up their political book against the coming revolution; individuals thought of securing their own future position and influence; of conciliating those who would become formidable, when the hand that ruled all alike should be removed; even our real well-wishers,

our loyal agents, would take precautions for the safety of themselves and their families in the troubles which they feared were inevitable; dreams floated about, not, perhaps, of nationality, or of a restored Sikh commonwealth, but of the possible revival of separate parties, like the original Sikh Misuls;† the idle and the vicious everywhere hoped for congenial excitement; chiefs, living idly in their country-seats, thought once more of mixing in strife; in the southern waste tracts men looked forward to resuming predatory habits; in the northern hills they sighed for independence; and everywhere, and especially towards the frontier, the Mohammedan fanatic discerned the good time coming, when a blow might be struck for the supremacy of his race and religion, and for the extirpation of the infidel. The popular mind was, indeed, fast drifting into disaffection, when two outbreaks actually did occur, the first portents of a storm which would soon have gathered fast, and swept over the Punjab. Both these movements did indeed originate with Mohammedans, and it did not appear that the Sikhs or Hindus at all participated in them; but if the fall of Delhi had been delayed much longer, the Punjab people generally would have risen, the Mohammedans first, the Sikhs last; and the Punjabee troops would have reached that limit, beyond which mercenary soldiers will not, and cannot, remain faithful. They would stand by us, and risk their lives for us, while we could hold our own: when we could not do that, they would be forced to turn against us. But the moment that the Punjabees heard of the fall of Delhi, their doubts regarding the stability of our rule vanished, their respect for our prestige revived, and they became as good subjects as ever.”†

The Punjab administration throughout that crisis was like a noble ship in the midst of the hurricane. It had to meet the strain and bear up against the furious gusts. But, like our channel fleet, in the midst of the recent storm, it gallantly met and happily survived the crisis. So doubtful, however, was the issue of events; so critical the measures which were of necessity obliged to be taken to avert danger; so uncertain was it whether they might not hasten the very catastrophe which they were intended to prevent; so manifold and conflicting were the influences at work, that to conduct all to a peaceful and prosperous solution was beyond the power of man. God, in his providence, must have been operating

* The Misuls were confederacies of equals under chiefs of their own selection.

† “Report of Punjab Territories,” p. 44.

* “Report of the Punjab Territories,” p. 34.

throughout the troubled scene, restraining some, directing and sustaining others: educating good out of evil, and bringing difficulties and complications to a peaceful and prosperous solution. Who so blind as not to see, who so obstinately sceptical as not to recognise in these events, the good hand of God? "Who knoweth not in all these that the hand of the Lord hath wrought this?" Assuredly the high-minded men who so ably administered the affairs of the Punjab at this dread crisis, felt and acknowledged to whom they were indebted. In the report on the administration of the Punjab territories, drawn up under the direction of Sir J. Lawrence, and signed by R Temple, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, the following paragraph occurs—

"But, in recounting the secondary human causes of the safety of the Punjab during the crisis, it should never, for an instant, be forgotten that the first cause was the mercy of Providence. No doubt, humanly speaking, the Punjab possessed great advantages: it had a people rather favourably disposed than otherwise; a comparatively fair amount of European force; and a system, in many respects, calculated to weather storms. But as a protection against the peril of the time, all such advantages were as nothing without the support of the everlasting arm of Almighty God. To Him alone, therefore, be all the praise!"

We would now ask, was the administration of the Punjab less prospered because the high officials who were engaged in it frankly avowed their Christianity in the presence of the natives, their conviction of its truth, and their interest in its legitimate extension? Their action in this respect was unlike that of Calcutta. If any doubt ever existed upon this subject, the reclamation put forth by the Calcutta Government on this point—the connexion of officials in India with the communicative action of Christianity—and the strong efforts now being made to assimilate the practice of the Punjab to its own professed indifference, are sufficiently conclusive. The policy of the Punjab and the policy of Calcutta on the subject of Christianity have been dissimilar. And now that the electric telegraph is again at work, and the North-west Provinces restored to peace through the gigantic efforts which were put forth from beyond the Sutlej, have been so tranquillized as to

admit the possibility of a royal progress on the part of the Governor-General, Calcutta will not be satisfied unless it reduce to its lower level the higher and nobler tone of Christianity in the Punjab. Christian officers may not unite in prayer with their Christian comrades in their ranks, even when there is no Christian minister at hand, and the consequence be that the men are refused the privilege of united worship which they so much valued. Christian gentlemen who are officials of the Government cannot attend the baptism of a native without exposing themselves to the possibility of a rebuke from Calcutta; as though the holding of office under a Christian Government was incompatible with an honest Christian profession; and men, if they would be officials, must content themselves with a Christianity so concealed, as never to be perceptible to the natives of India.

Calcutta assumes to supersede the Christian policy of the Punjab. But whence its claim to do so? Was its superiority so unequivocally manifested during the late crisis? Where commenced the irritation, among the Sikhs and Punjabees, or the petted high castes of the Sepoy army? As the records of eventful times, transferred to the pages of history, are handed down to posterity for its judgment, in whose favour shall that judgment be given? Where shall men recognise the characteristics of an effective administration—on the Hoogly or beyond the Sutlej—at Calcutta or Lahore? Whence came the danger and whence the deliverance? What was the policy that prospered, and, through the good providence of God, after an arduous conflict, reached a successful termination? And now which is to serve as the model for the future government of India? Shall we be ashamed of the Gospel, and have confusion thrown on our councils; or, with a friendly manliness, avow it, and carry with us in our efforts for the good of India the crowning providence of God? Our rulers are disposed to retrograde. They appear to become more timid and time-serving than ever. Shall the country suffer them? We have had in India a great national deliverance. Shall there be no acknowledgment of it? What, then shall it be? The inauguration of a Christian policy in India. This is what God expects of us; and, if we flinch from our duty, we must expect to suffer for it.

JOURNAL OF ARCHDEACON HUNTER OF A VISIT TO THE MACKENZIE RIVER.

[Continued from page 266.]

I HAVE been favoured by Mr. Ross with the following account of the Chipewyan and other tribes occupying the remote regions of the Mackenzie.

"I will reduce my notice of the Chipewyan tribe into three heads—1st. The geographical distribution; 2dly. The various branches of which it consists; and 3dly. An account of the other tribes of different origin found in this district.

"The Chipewyans, which I consider the parent stock, and called by themselves Tinneh, or Dinneh, 'the people,' are, either themselves or their offshoots, scattered over a large and important portion of British North America. They are to be found, in lesser or greater numbers, from about 95° west longitude to the Rocky Mountains, and from 55° north latitude to the Arctic Circle. By this statement I do not wish to say that they really inhabit so extensive a tract of country, but merely that they are met with between these extremes. Thus the most eastern of our Forts, to which they resort for purposes of trade, is Churchill, on Hudson's Bay, and which they reach by descending the English River. I do not think that they winter anywhere in the vicinity of the coast-line of that great estuary; nor that they have much intercourse with the Esquimaux: what exists is, however, of a friendly character. On the south they are met with below Isle à la Crosse, about Lesser Slave Lake, and at St. John's on the upper waters of Peace River. Crees are the present inhabitants of the Lesser Slave-Lake country, which, from its name, evidently belonged, at some former period, to the Chipewyans, as the usual name given to members of this tribe by the Crees is Slaves, they, not being by any means so warlike as their opponents, and having been, in all probability, beaten back by the superior arms and energy of the Cree nation. I have heard, also, that one of the Plain tribes, the Pegans, I think, was a Chipewyan offshoot, but that such is the case I cannot say. Towards the westward they exist along Peace River in the Beaver tribe; at Fort Liard in the Slave; and along the Mackenzie in the Slave and Hare tribes, so far north as the Arctic Circle and the Bloody Fall on the Coppermine River. The various nations with which the Chipewyans come in contact, and the extent of country in which they inter-

minge, are as follows, the central portion being solely inhabited by the various branches of this stock. To the southward they touch on the Crees, who have penetrated, though not in great numbers, to Fort Chipewyan on Athabasca Lake, and who hunt, in common with the Chipewyans, the country along the Athabasca and English Rivers, and between Peace River and Lesser Slave Lake. Although formerly enemies, they are now on excellent terms, and intermarry. To the eastward their intercourse with the Esquimaux is but trifling, a wide and barren tract of country intervening between their hunting-grounds and the coast, while the best means of water communication, the Great Fish River, is very dangerous. The Hare Indians, indeed, meet with them in an amicable manner on the Anderson River, a stream lately discovered and surveyed by Mr. R. R. M'Farland, Hudson's-Bay Company's Service, lying to the eastward of Fort Good Hope, and flowing into Liverpool Bay. To the northward they meet the Loucheux, or Kutchin, a tribe speaking an entirely different tongue, and distinguishable in features, superstitions, and habits of life, with whom they are on the best understanding. On the westward there is a great intermixture with Nahanies, Siccunees, Dehottanies, Mauvais Monde, and other tribes of different names, but most likely of cognate race.

"The known branches into which the Chipewyan race is divided are as follows: 1st, The Chipewyans of English River, Athabasca, and Great Slave Lake. 2dly, The Beaver Indians of Peace River. 3dly, The Caribon Eaters and Yellow Knives of Athabasca and Great Slave Lakes. 4thly, The Dog Ribs of Great Slave and Marten Lakes. 5thly, The Slaves of Great Slave Lake and the Mackenzie and Liard Rivers. 6thly, The Hare Indians of Mackenzie River and Bear Lake; all of which divisions I will pass separately and briefly in review. 1st. The Chipewyans inhabit the south-east portion of the already-described territory, and are the most numerous family of their race. The name Chipewyan is apparently one given by the Crees, meaning *chipon* (pointed), and *wyan* (shirt). If this be actually the derivation, it would appear that the Chipewyan tribes wore shirts or tunics of the same shape as the Loucheux dress at a former period. This shape is now

never seen among them. Their name, among themselves, is the rather grandiloquent one of Dinnéh, or 'the People.' They are in general of middle size and well proportioned; the face flat, with high and broad cheek-bones, giving a pear-like appearance to the head. Their hair is strong and coarse, but they have neither beard nor whiskers. The hands and feet are small and well made. For an aboriginal people, their character is not bad, for although selfish and grasping to the utmost degree, they are honest, and far from bloodthirsty. They are all, however, confirmed liars, and they treat their women more as slaves than companions. Morality among them is at a low ebb; and polygamy, though not common, exists. A Roman-Catholic Mission has been established for several years among this tribe, which has doubtless had some effect in preserving the outward decencies of morality among its converts. Their Christianity is very impure, as they have mixed up many of their superstitions with the ceremonies of the Romish church. They send letters to God when any one dies, thus using the coffin as the post-office! 2dly, The Beaver Indians whose dialect is further removed from the Chipewyans than that of any of the other branches, reside in the country along both sides of the Peace River, as far as the upper waters of Hay River on the one hand, and Lesser Slave Lake on the other, and from below Fort Vermilion to the Rocky Mountains. They are a bolder and a braver race than the others, honest and hospitable; indeed, superior in most points to the Chipewyans, whom they much resemble in features, customs, and moral character, as well as in their treatment of the softer sex. Their life is nomadic: they possess horses, and subsist principally on the product of the chase. They are good workers in iron, and fabricate very neatly-made spurs and crooked knives from worn-out files. 3dly, To the northward and eastward from the Fond du Lac of Athabasca to the north end of Great Slave Lake, Lake Aylmer, and the eastern side of Yellow-Knife River, dwell the Caribon Eaters and Yellow Knives, who are the same tribe under two designations. They are a large and stout race of men, fairer and better-featured than the Chipewyans, especially the women, who are much prettier: this may arise from the superior quantity and quality of their nutriment. Their language is almost pure Chipewyan. They bear the worst character of any of the cognate races, and their notions of morality, honesty, and veracity are very lax. Their location is in the last woods bordering on the barren grounds, where they resort every summer for the rein-

deer hunt. This animal is their great support: on its flesh they subsist; its skin forms their clothing, its sinews their thread, and the raw hide cut into a small line, like catgut, is used sometimes as a substitute for twine in the formation of nets. Though formerly at war with the Esquimaux residing about the outlet of Back's River, there is now no intercourse between them, and the Yellow Knives seldom proceed further coastwise than the head-waters of the before-mentioned river. 4thly, Adjoining the Yellow Knives are the Dog Ribs (Klay-dinneb), whose lands extend from Yellow-Knife River to the south-eastern side of Bear Lake, and to about midway between Marten Lake and the Mackenzie River. In the latter tract they are much intermingled with the Slaves, from whom they can scarcely be distinguished, except by being of larger stature, and possessing a thick, stuttering, and disagreeable manner of enunciation. They are comparatively very numerous, living principally, like the Yellow Knives, upon the rein-deer which abound in their country; and being clad like that tribe very much in skin dresses, and from the same cause, laziness. Like all the Slave tribes, in distinction to the Beavers, Chipewyans, and Yellow Knives, forming the Chipewyan division, these people are kind in their treatment of their women and dogs, and have the custom, universal in all their race, of losing their original name upon the birth of a child: they are then only styled the father of so-and-so. But the Klay-dinneb go further still: they change their name after the birth of every child, and an unmarried man is called the father of his favourite dog, if he have one. 5thly, The Slave Indians inhabit the tract between the west end of Slave Lake to below Fort Norman, extending up the Liard on one side, and to Bear Lake on the other. At Fort des Liards there is a great mixture of the Beaver blood, and, to the west of the Mackenzie, of Siccunee and Nahanee. They are a well-disposed and peaceable race. Their life is a hard one, subsisting on hares, fish, and deer, and often with great difficulty obtaining the means of living. Notwithstanding this, a Slave would almost sooner starve than eat a piece of a dog or a mink, and, indeed, will not even skin the latter animal when captured in their traps, although its pelt is a valuable article of barter. They manufacture twine for nets out of the bark of a species of willow, and dishes that will hold water out of its roots, as well as out of birch bark. 6thly, The Hare Indians reside in the country around Fort Good Hope, on the Mackenzie River, to beyond the Arctic circle, where

they come into contact with the Loucheux, Quarrellers, or Kutchin, and with whom, by intermarriages, they have formed the tribe of Loucheux Bâtards. They are a stout, thick-set race, subsisting partly on fish and partly on rein-deer. There is little difference in their language from that of the Slaves, and their dress and customs are the same. With the Esquimaux of the newly-discovered Anderson River they are on good terms. This tribe is not numerous, having perished in large numbers from starvation in 1841, when many acts of cannibalism occurred.

"From long intercourse with the whites, for whom they have great respect and affection, most of the old superstitions and customs of these tribes are extinct. Their idea, either of the formation of the world or the deluge, is, that a musk-rat, diving to the bottom of what was then all water, brought up some earth, which was moulded into consistency by the Beaver. The Loucheux entertain the same tradition in a slightly modified form. The Chipewyan races have ideas of the good and evil principles, but their adoration, if it can be so called, is paid only to the latter, and consists of rude gesticulations, singing, and conjuration for the benefit of the sick, and called *nitch* or medicine. Their places of interment are rude cages, or *câches* of logs placed outside of the ground, in which the body is deposited wrapped in a blanket or moose-skin, while the relatives destroy their property, and cut their hair in sign of mourning. Their songs are unmusical, and generally accompanied by drumming on a kind of tambourine, and form the usual orchestra for their dances. The latter consist of ungainly leapings and shoutings in a circle, commonly around a small fire used to light their pipes, and in them women are permitted to join. Moose-nose, and the hearts of animals, as well as the head, are not allowed to be eaten by women or dogs, from a superstition, that if such occurred the hunters would lose their skill. Among the Slaves of the valley of the Mackenzie, rabbits are the principal food. When these fail suddenly, as they usually do, the natives fancy that they mount by the trees into heaven, and when they re-appear, that they return by the same path. The moral character, as well as the worldly condition of these tribes, have been much improved by the mild and impartial sway of the Hudson's-Bay Company. Polygamy is now of very rare occurrence, as well as incest. Intestine wars and murders are unknown, while infanticide, formerly so prevalent, has become almost a tradition. One point of their customs which I have overlooked I will here mention. Their

manner of personal combat is to catch each other by their long hair, and twist about until one falls down. Although this is, in general, a most harmless way of settling a dispute, instances have occurred of dislocation of the neck in the affray. Quarrels arise commonly about women, and the fair one becomes the prize of the conqueror. The Protestant Mission of the Church of England about to be established by the Church Missionary Society at Fort Simpson, on the Mackenzie River, for the Slave communities, will doubtless improve, in a high degree, the religious notions and moral character of this interesting and inoffensive people.

"The other tribes inhabiting Mackenzie-River district are, 1st, Siccunees, or Thicunees; 2dly, The Nahanees, or Mountain Indians; 3dly, The Loucheux, or Kutchin; 4thly, The Esquimaux. 1st, The Siccunees are a tolerably numerous tribe. In this district they resort to Forts Liard and Halkett for purposes of trade, and inhabit the country between the Liard and the head-waters of Peace River, among the Rocky Mountains, extending into New Caledonia. If they speak Chipewyan, their dialect, as well as that of the Nahanees, is a very corrupt one. In disposition they resemble the Beaver Indians, and are generally of good stature. 2dly, The Nahanees live to the northward of the Siccunees, about the head-waters of the Liard River, Frances Lake, and the Pelly River, and westward across the mountains to the Pacific. In appearance they resemble the Slaves. 3dly, The Loucheux are an exceedingly numerous and powerful people, if the various tribes inhabiting Russian America be taken into consideration. They occupy the northern waters of the Mackenzie from below Fort Good Hope to Point Separation—where they meet the Esquimaux—as well as Peel's River. They are found across the Rocky Mountains on the Rat River, or the Youcon or Kwitpack, and on the Lower Pelly: in fact they populate the greater part of the interior of Russian America. In appearance they are of bolder features than the Slaves, as well as of larger stature. Their disposition is bloodthirsty and independent, resembling a good deal that of the Plain tribes. In the treatment of woman they are harsh, and female infanticide is not uncommon. Polygamy is prevalent, as well as divorce for trifling misunderstandings. The Peel-River Loucheux put the dead on scaffolds: those of the west side of the mountains burn them; and much property is destroyed upon the death of a chief. A strong belief in the powers

of medicine-men is universal among the Youcon tribes: no Indian dies a natural death, but he is killed by the conjurations of another at some distance, and this superstition is the cause of much bloodshed among them. The Peel-River branch are at war with the Esquimaux. They were formerly a very numerous people, but war and disease have sadly reduced them. Several peaces have been patched up between these foes by the Hudson's-Bay Company, but only to be broken; and the avenging of these fresh murders keeps up an unbroken line of deadly feuds. Having had a trading intercourse for several years with the Company's post at Peel River, these people have become milder, and much more tractable than their unsophisticated brethren on the Youcon. The dress of these tribes is a peculiar one. It consists of a tunic, or shirt of leather, coming to a point in the skirt both behind and before, ornamented with quills, fringes, and beads: the trowsers and shoes are of one piece, and are also garnished. Men and women are clad in like fashion, in trowsers. 4thly, The Esquimaux, as far as we know of them, are very numerous. At the points which we are acquainted with, their coast-line extends inland to below Point Separation on the Mackenzie, the Bloody Fall on the Coppermine, and the confluence of the Great Fish and Mackenzie Rivers. They are a more powerful, braver, and more energetic race than the Indians. Their complexion in youth is fair, and some of their women are reported as being absolutely beautiful."

So far Mr. Ross's account of the Indians of this district: it is both interesting and authentic, as Mr. Ross has resided in the district for the last twelve years, in the service of the Hudson's-Bay Company. He is a person of intelligence and observation, and has now the sole charge of this important and valuable portion of the Company's territories. He is, moreover, zealously disposed towards the extension of our Missions in Mackenzie River, will aid them in every possible way, and has kindly given a donation of 50*l.* towards the Mission about to be established at Fort Simpson. He has kindly given me very excellent accommodations this winter, and is rendering me every facility for accomplishing the object of my visit.

Not many years ago, two of the west-branch posts, viz. Dean's Lake and Fort Selkirk, on the Pelly River, were cut off by the Indians, but no lives were lost. All the posts

on the west branch have now been given up by the Company, with the exception of Halkett, which is still kept up. An awful case of starvation occurred at the Pelly-Banks Fort—one of these west-branch posts—during the winter of 1849-50, from the non-arrival of the usual supplies. The particulars which I have gleaned are as follows—Two natives came to the post on the 5th November, but when they heard that the outfit had not arrived, and that there was but little ammunition in the store, viz. half a keg of gunpowder and six pounds of ball, they spread the news among their relatives, and prevented them from bringing in provisions, although they had *caches* at the time. Only sixteen pounds of dried meat and six siffleux, or marmots, were received, which supply was wholly inadequate to maintain the post even for a week. The fisheries produced nothing, although they were kept up from August to March 15th. The person in charge was obliged, before Christmas, to eat beaver-skins, of which there were only a few, the dwelling-house and store having been burnt down on the 30th November by accident, and every thing destroyed, except a little gunpowder, 100 beaver-skins, and two packets of furs. The two servants at the post, Dubois and Forbister, were obliged to live entirely upon beaver-skins, which kept them alive till March. On the 5th Dubois died, and on the 25th Forbister. The person in charge lived in the woods, about three miles from the post, and, by great exertions, contrived to preserve his life. He is still alive, and I have had the pleasure of meeting him on one or two occasions since in the Red-River Settlement.

Nov. 17—We have had heavy falls of snow lately, and the whole country presents the aspect of winter. The snow is about a foot deep, and the thermometer this morning was 17° below zero. The Mackenzie River, which at this spot is about a mile in breadth, is still open, but filled with ice, which is driving down with a grinding and crushing sound along the shore. In all probability, in a few days it will be frozen over. The cold here during winter is intense, sometimes from 40° to 50° below zero: on one occasion it continued for a week 52° below zero, and the ice is from six to seven feet thick. The day in winter is also remarkably short: in December the sun is above the horizon only from four to five hours, and at Peel River it is not seen for five weeks. As it may be interesting, I will note down the distances which I travelled over last summer.—

P P

From Red River to	MILES.
Norway House	350
Cumberland House . . .	380
Isle à la Crosse	450
Portage la Loche	150
Athabasca	350
Resolution (Great Slave Lake) .	250
Big Island (ditto) . . .	120
Fort Simpson	200
	<hr/>
	2250
Fort Liard (Mountain River) . .	200
	<hr/>
	2450

My return from Fort Liard would increase it by 200 miles, which would make it, in all, 2650 miles that I travelled, up to the end of September last. Next summer I purpose (p.v.) to visit Forts Norman and Good Hope, about 550 miles down the Mackenzie River: at the latter Fort, by walking down a short distance and crossing a small river, we enter the arctic circle. At Fort Good Hope, which is an excellent spot for a Mission station, I hope to see the Hare Indians, some Loucheux, and, perhaps, Esquimaux, from Anderson's River.

My last communications from Red River were in June, and my next will be in March, by the winter packet, making an interval of ten months since I heard from my dear wife and family. I hope to return in August or September next, after an absence of fifteen or sixteen months. I will not conceal but that I feel the separation very much. I do not, however, regret the step: much good to souls will, I trust, be the blessed result. A new, important, and extensive region will be opened up for the preaching of the Gospel, and here a glorious harvest of redeemed souls may be gathered into the garner of Christ. Duty said, "Go;" and duty keeps me here, until I see the work a little established, and a beloved brother or two entering, to occupy the post permanently. I hope to lay the foundation of a Mission-house before I leave Fort Simpson next June, and to see it partly erected. I have already selected the site at the old Fort, about a quarter of a mile below the Company's post, and the wood for the house will be squared, and the planks and boards sawn during the present winter. I am led to think that the buildings at our different stations in the district will be erected without much cost, except the glass, nails, &c., as the gentlemen here in charge of posts are well disposed, and will help us as much as possible. Accommodations will be gladly given to our Missionaries at the different posts until the buildings are erected.

Nov. 24—On looking out upon the Mackenzie this morning all was still and quiet: a death-like silence hung over the scene. The iron-hand of frost had prevailed, and arrested the surface of this vast river in its onward progress: a few holes here and there, looking black in the distance, were sending up columns of steam into the surrounding atmosphere, the river itself being roofed over with a coating of ice. This coat, now about two inches thick, will go on deepening and deepening, until it reaches six or seven feet in thickness. The river will not open again until May or the beginning of June, an interval of five or six months. The Liard opens first about the 20th of May, having its course from the south, and cuts its way, at its confluence with the Mackenzie above the Fort, from the Gros Cap to the other side of the river, making a channel for itself across the Mackenzie. This is described as a magnificent sight, the ice rising and falling in immense masses, accompanied with a noise resembling thunder: in a few days the whole body of ice in the river begins to rise with the increased volume of water, and at length yields before this great water-power; slowly at first, just perceptible; but the momentum gradually increases, and onward it rushes, grinding and crushing against the banks, and forcing large masses over the banks into the surrounding woods. Some seasons the water has risen so high as to endanger the safety of the Forts. At Fort Good Hope the ice one year came tearing through the woods, making a highway for itself, and Mr. Bell and the people were in imminent danger, and only saved themselves by taking refuge in a boat. It is after the ice starts in May that I purpose (p.v.) to go down the river as far as Fort Good Hope, following in the wake of the ice. At some places this will require care, especially if drifting during the night, a common practice in descending rivers; for if the ice should become arrested in its course, whilst the boat is following too closely, there is great danger of being carried underneath with the force of the current: in such case the only chance of escape from a fearful death would be to spring on the ice as the boat was rushing underneath its surface.

The people at the Fort are crossing the river to set traps and poisoned baits for foxes, some amusing themselves with skating on its surface.

Nov. 28: *Advent Sunday*—Divine service as usual in the dining-hall. The officers and servants present. Preached from 2 Cor. vii. 10, "For godly sorrow worketh repentance

to salvation not to be repented of; but the sorrow of the world worketh death." The attendance was very good, and I was glad to see Murdoch present, the young man whom I baptized, and who will, I trust, become useful as an interpreter for the Mission. He has been brought up at the Fort, and can speak a little English. My congregations are always very attentive: Mr. Ross and Mr. Lockhart kindly take the singing and responses, and I think all enjoy the privilege of attending

divine service. Family prayers as usual in the evening.

Nov. 30—The winter packet leaves here to-morrow morning, at an early hour, for Athabasca, Isle à la Crosse, Carlton, and Red River. I must therefore close my journal for the present, and hope to write again, perhaps in March next, to go to Norway House by the Athabasca boats: if not, either by the ships of next season, or from Red River, *via* the United States, in September or October next.

MISSIONARY ACTION IN THE PUNJAB.

THE Punjab, in its political aspect, occupies a prominent position in this and the preceding Number. What, then, are Missionaries doing to spread the Gospel in this important territory? Are they going forth to sow the seed amongst its varied population? It is just the season for active effort, the time of a great national transition, in which, amidst the rapidity with which other changes have been accomplished, the old religious systems have lost much of that superstitious regard which precluded doubt and inquiry, and thus materially tended to their conservation. The Punjab of the Sikh dynasty is now the Punjab of British power. The feudal nobility of Runjeet Singh, once the pillars of the state, attend the ceremonial Durbars of the English officials, and, provided for by the munificence of the conquerors, are contented to fall back into the retirement of private life. The priestly classes have been considerably dealt with. The Sikh holy places have been respected. The shrines at Dehra Nanuk, Umritsur, Turun Tarun, Anandpore, retain a large portion of the endowments which a Sikh Government had lavished on them. Liberality has indeed been extended to all religious characters, even to mendicant friars and village ascetics. These people have been allowed by thousands to retain their petty landed grants on a life tenure. There is hardly a village mosque, or a rustic temple, or a shaded tomb, of which the service is not supported by a few fields of free-rent cultivation. There has been no intolerance on the part of the British Government; no semblance of compulsory proceeding which might enkindle disaffection, and arouse the religious prejudices of the people. And thus, although the priestly classes will not become extinct, yet will they "greatly fall below their present numbers, when the existing generation shall have passed away. In the mean

time they are kept contented, and their indirect influence on the mass of the population is enlisted on the side of the Government." Again, the agricultural classes are flourishing. Tenures have been adjudicated, rights recorded. "The change from the appraisal of the standing crops, or division of the garnered grain, to a regular money taxation, has protected the peasant proprietors from the interference of Government officials, from the frauds of their more intriguing brethren, and has given a real value to landed property which has been hitherto unknown, while the harsher consequences of cash payments have been arrested by reduced taxation." "The working classes, and day labourers, and artisans, owing to the great increase of cantonments and gigantic public works, are prospering beyond all precedent. The mass of the poorer population in cities, the artisans and mechanics, are better off than they ever were." The great traffic between India and Central Asia by the routes of Peshawur and Dehra Ismael Khan, has had new facilities afforded to it, and the trading classes engaged are proportionately prospering. From the far west they bring furs and wool, raw silk, fruits, groceries, drugs, leather, chintzes, horses; and, in return, transmit British piece-goods, European hardware, Indian fabric, and the sugar of the Punjab. Through the mountain-passes the hardy traders convey wool and iron from the Himalaya regions, and shawls and blankets from Cashmere; while, sea-ward, Kurrachee develops an increasing export and import trade in wool, indigo, saltpetre, and European stores: and as steam communication by land and water diminishes the expenses of transit, the Punjab will become the granary of Great Britain, and supply with its vast grain produce the deficiencies of our home markets. Thus throughout these

populations there is an healthful activity, and the rapid developement of industrial energy. "They are thriving beyond all expectation. The great banking firms, that have connexions ramifying all over India, and have even correspondents in Europe, are rising still higher, and will soon realize the description of merchant princes." During the great crisis, as will be seen in another article, the conduct of the Punjabees was good: the land revenue was realized, and the state income did not materially fall off. "They have deserved well of the British, and, on the whole, their conduct has been such as should render us more anxious than ever to secure their welfare." Let us, then, prove our interest in their welfare, by giving them the opportunity of becoming a Christian nation, and thus bestowing on them that great good which can alone give permanence to the peace and prosperity of the Punjab. It is just the moment for energetic action. Let, then, every leading central point throughout these provinces be occupied with a strong Mission, and let us do for the Punjabees what the Americans have done for the Armenians throughout the Turkish empire. Christianity raised up amongst the many people of the Punjab, will be a testimony to the Hindu below, and to the Affghans in their mountain fastnesses.

There is one province of the Punjab of special importance as a field of Missionary labour, because affording a door of access to new "regions beyond"—the Trans-Indus province, Peshawur.

The important province of Peshawur lies between the Indus above and below Attock, and the Khyber mountains. This range, connecting the most southern and lowest portion of the Hindu Koosh with the Sufeid Koh, the Salt range and the Suliman mountains, is lower than the mountains thus situated to the north and south of it, the Tatara summit, the most elevated in the range, not rising higher than 3500 feet above the plain of Peshawur, or 4800 above sea level. Consequently the most practicable passes from Hindustan to Northern Affghanistan lie through this range. Of these passes the Khyber is the principal one. It commences about ten miles west of the city of Peshawur, and, after a tortuous course of some thirty miles, mainly in a north-westerly direction, enters the plain of Jellalabad.

The valley of Peshawur is of an horseshoe form, lying open on the east side to the Indus: on the other sides are the Khyber, Mohmund, Swat, and Khuttuk hills. It is about sixty-five miles long by fifty in breadth, and con-

tains a population of 450,000. Intersected by the Cabul river and its tributaries, the principal of which are the Swat and the Barah rivers, the one cutting through the mountains to the north, the other to the south of the Khyber pass, it is well watered and fertile. Canals and numberless channels, from which the water is drawn by the Persian wheel, afford irrigation in abundance, and, combined with wheat and barley, are to be found the products of the warmer climates, the Peshawur valley producing the finest rice in the world.

The importance of Peshawur, commanding the entrance of the Khyber, and capable, therefore, if strongly occupied, of obstructing or facilitating the inrush of the wild tribes of Central Asia on the rich plains of Hindustan, has rendered it a coveted prize, and often has it changed masters in the history of contending nations. In 1560 we find the Punjab a province of the immense empire of Akbar of Delhi. In 1739 Nadir Shah, of Persia, plundered Delhi, massacred its inhabitants, and broke the strength of the Mogul empire. "His march from India was encumbered with spoil: the amount of his plunder, including the treasures and regalia of the palace, has been variously estimated from thirty to seventy millions sterling. Of this, the most remarkable object was the peacock-throne of the Emperor of Delhi, ornamented with precious stones of every description, among which the most splendid was the famous diamond, called the Koh-i-noor, or 'mountain of light.'" In 1748 the Doorraunee, Ahmed Shah, possessed himself of the Punjab, and, on an attempt of the Mogul emperor, Alamghir II., to recover it, penetrated to Delhi, and abandoned it to slaughter and plunder.

Peshawur was the favourite winter retreat of the kings of Cabul. It was here that the English Mission of 1808 had its interview with Shujah Ool Moolk; and Elphinstone's description of the reception of the embassy at the Bala Hissar brings vividly before us what Peshawur was then.

"We passed for about three-quarters of a mile through the streets, which, as well as the windows and roofs of the houses, were crowded with spectators. At length we reached an open space under the palace, or castle, in which the king resides: this space was filled with people, who covered the side of the hill on which the castle stands, like the audience at a theatre. When we reached the gate over which the king's band was playing, we were requested to leave the greater part of our attendants behind; and here our drums

and trumpets were required to cease playing. Some time after we entered this gateway we dismounted, and, after walking about one hundred yards, we ascended a flight of steps, and entered a long narrow room, where about one hundred and fifty persons were seated in great order along the walls. This was called the Kishik Khauneh, or guard-room. It had never been handsome, and was now out of repair. It was spread with carpets and felts. We were led straight up to the head of the room, where several men, richly dressed, rose as we approached, and we were received by a fair and portly personage, whom I afterwards understood to be the king's imaum, and the head of the religious establishment. He bowed as I came up, took my hands between his, and placed me by him; after which he went through the usual forms of welcome and inquiries. Opposite to me were many of the chief lords of the court, some of whom had their caps ornamented with jewels, and surmounted by plumes; lower down were many persons, some like Persians, and some like Doorannees; and still lower were some of the chiefs of the hill-tribes near Peshawur: at the bottom were several persons in the strange fanciful caps which are employed to distinguish the officers of the household. They are generally black and red; but their variety and their whimsical shapes baffle all description: little taste is displayed in them, and the effect is not good."

On entering an inner court, they found themselves in presence of the king.

"The court was oblong, and had high walls, painted with figures of cypresses. In the middle was a pond and fountains. The walls on each side were lined with the king's guards three deep, and at various places in the court stood the officers of state, at different distances from the king, according to their degree. At the end of the court was a high building, the lower story of which was a solid wall, ornamented with false arches, but without doors or windows: over this was another story, the roof of which was supported by pillars and Moorish arches, highly ornamented. In the centre arch sat the king, on a very large throne of gold or gilding. His appearance was magnificent and royal: his crown and all his dress were one blaze of jewels. He was elevated above the heads of the eunuchs who surrounded his throne, and who were the only persons in the large hall where he sat: all was silent and motionless. On coming in sight of the king we all pulled off our hats and made a low bow; we then held up our hands towards heaven, as if praying for the king, and afterwards advanced to the fountain,

where the Chaous Baushee repeated our names, without any title or addition of respect, ending, 'They have come from Europe as ambassadors to your majesty. May your misfortunes be turned upon me!'* The king answered in a loud and sonorous voice, 'They are welcome;' on which we prayed for him again, and repeated the ceremony once more, when he ordered us dresses of honour."

His Majesty then condescended to leave his exalted position, and, in a reception-room of much magnificence, admit the British officials to an interview.

"The King of Cabul was a handsome man, about thirty years of age, of an olive complexion, with a thick black beard. The expression of his countenance was dignified and pleasing, his voice clear, and his address princely. We thought at first that he had on armour of jewels; but, on close inspection, we found this to be a mistake, and his real dress to consist of a green tunic, with large flowers in gold and precious stones, over which was a large breastplate of diamonds, shaped like two flattened fleurs-de-lis, an ornament of the same kind on each thigh, large emerald bracelets on the arms (above the elbow), and many other jewels in different places. In one of the bracelets was the Koo-i-noor, known to be one of the largest diamonds in the world. There were also some strings of very large pearls, put on like cross belts, but loose. The crown was about nine inches high, not ornamented with jewels, as European crowns are, but, to appearance, entirely formed of those precious materials. It seemed to be radiated like ancient crowns, and behind the rays appeared peaks of purple velvet: some small branches with pendants seemed to project from the crown; but the whole was so complicated and so dazzling, that it was difficult to understand, and impossible to describe. The throne was covered with a cloth adorned with pearls, on which lay a sword and a small mace set with jewels. The room was open all round. The centre was supported by four high pillars, in the midst of which was a marble fountain. The floor was covered with the richest carpets, and round the edges were slips of silk embroidered with gold, for the khauns to stand on. The view from the hall was beautiful. Immediately below was an extensive garden, full of cypresses and other trees, and beyond was a plain of the richest verdure: here and there were pieces of water and shining

* "Some form of prayer like this is always used on addressing the king. It corresponds to the 'O king, live for ever,' of the ancient Persians."

streams, and the whole was bounded by mountains, some dark, and others covered with snow."

In 1834 a body of 9000 Sikhs, under Hurree Sing, taking advantage of the civil war between Dost Mohammed and Shah Soojah, seized upon Peshawur. The Bala Hissar was demolished by Runjeet Sing, and, on its site, a fortress was erected, a square of about 279 yards, strengthened by round towers at each angle. In the spring of 1842 the British columns, under Pollock, forced the Khyber Pass, despite the opposition of the Affghans under Akbar Khan, and, under the walls of Jellalabad, united with Sale's brigade. On the 21st of March 1849 Major-General Sir W. Gilbert took possession of the city of Peshawur, Dost Mohammed Khan, with his Affghans, who, amidst the overthrow of the Sikh power, had hoped to have secured to himself this Trans-Indus province, and re-establish in the valley the supremacy of Cabul, having fled, at the approach of the British troops, to the western side of the Khyber Pass. We trust it will henceforth prove to be the great highway through which the Christianity of the Bible and the civilization of Great Britain shall find entrance into the wild uplands of Central Asia.

A brief sketch of the city, as it now is, may interest our readers.

"Peshawur is built on a hill, while the camp, at about half an hour distance, is built on the plain. We went up hill through the long narrow streets of the native city, which gave us many an interesting view. Every kind of profession is exercised here publicly. There are sitting the embroiderers in gold, producing beautiful things; the silk-throwsters; gold and silversmiths; every one of them in a very busy state; besides the shopkeepers, with articles of every description, and, close by, bakers baking fresh cakes and sweetmeats. We arrived on the top of the hill, on which a large building is situated, which formerly served the natives as a fort. From the top of that house we had a beautiful view all round the country. Before us the town, with its lively commerce; at some distance the camp, rather European-looking; and, round about, those charming hills, which remind me very much of my own dear beautiful home, only in Wurtemberg there are no snowhills to be seen, which sparkled here numerously, like silver in the sunlight. But the most interesting part of the view was to look at the neighbouring populated tops of the houses. Every one of them was surrounded by a kind of hedge, so that it was

impossible for any stranger's eye to look at the female inhabitants; but thanks our to high situation on the top of the fort, we could see them plainly in the midst of their daily labour. Some of them were occupied with needlework, some others had numbers of children with them. Some of the highest castes were dressed in rich stuffs, doing nothing, and sitting there in death-like uniformity. Poor creatures, when they saw us they were delighted, bowed towards us, and showed us, with all kind of joy, how happy they were to have some change. I would have given any thing to have gone to them, and brought to them the Gospel of the Saviour, to make them happy for ever in their solitude."

The following letter from our Missionary, the Rev. Dr. Trumpp, who reached Peshawur, from Kurrachee, in February last, will evince the importance of this city as a confluence of languages, and therefore a door of access to nations.

"Colonel Edwardes, our kind friend and supporter, sent me three Kafirs down to Peshawur, and I had them for some time in my house every day, which enabled me to look a little into their language. I was particularly interested on this point as I had a long conversation with Colonel Rawlinson, at the Royal Asiatic Society, on the subject of the Kafirs, who took them for some remnants of the different bodies of Tartar tribes who have poured down, at different periods, through the passes of the Hindu Koosh, on the plains of India.

"I felt, therefore, exceedingly gratified by such an opportunity of examining personally, and with my own ears, these Kafirs. In stature, colour, and general physiognomy, they differ not at all from the Hindus in the upper parts of the Panjab, and they are by no means so fair as I was led to expect by former reports. They are of a dark colour, or rather reddish, and bear strikingly the well-known features of the Hindus.

"Their very features showed me at once what sort of people I had before my eyes, before they had even opened their mouths, and my previous conjectures, that these Kafirs were remnants of the aboriginal Hindu tribes, who were settled here and deep into eastern Khorasan, as far up as the time of Mahmud Ghaznee, were subsequently fully confirmed.

"There can no longer any doubt be entertained about the nationality of these Kafirs, for I have their language in my hands, and that settles the question at once and for ever. I have drawn out the declensions, conjugations, pronouns, numbers, and a pretty large collection of words, and their language is as

pure a Prākṛit tongue as any one in India. There seems no foreign word whatever contained in it, at least, no Arabic or Persian. I have, at the same time, examined the so-called Kohistanee, a rude dialect akin to the Kafir tongue, and which is used by the villagers adjoining the country of the Kafirs, and which the Kafirs themselves understand. This Kohistanee is similarly a Prākṛit tongue, different from Pushtoo and the Tājik. I have waited, hitherto, for my books: as soon as they shall have come I shall draw up both languages, show roots and derivations, to obviate any further contradictions about this formerly so-much-disputed point. I shall draw up an alphabet, on the principles of the standard alphabet, for these benighted Kafirs, to direct any further attempt into the right channel.

"The Government intend, by and by, to raise a whole regiment of these Kafirs. If this attempt should ever be realized, I shall teach them this alphabet, to carry it back into their mountain fastnesses, which may, perhaps, turn out more precious to them than any rupees they may take home.

"There is a rich field up here, and the harvest is plenteous, but I tremble when I think who is to do it.

"After I had settled down a little, not being able to prosecute my studies as I wished, from lack of books, I went into the city to see what might be done there, and I was quickly convinced that Persian was the tongue in which the Gospel was to be preached here. Hindustanee is little understood, and only spoken by natives of India. The Peshawuree dialect is a branch of the great Jalgati, diffused over Sindh, the Punjab, far up into the mountains, and the stratum of Sindhee, Punjabee, Multanee, and the Peshawuree.

"This dialect is limited, and unfit for any extensive intercourse. The Pushtoo is spoken by Affghans in the villages, but less in the city, where Persian is the common medium of conversation. Very nearly all the Affghans understand Persian, and only the lowest shepherds on the hills are ignorant of it. Persian and Pushtoo are therefore the absolutely necessary languages for Missionary work

here, and Persian more so than even Pushtoo, as all terms for social comforts, and the entire terminology of sciences, are borrowed from it. Nobody, therefore, can ever learn, and less understand, Pushtoo, except he has a mastery of the Persian. I determined, therefore, to begin my preaching in Persian, on the steps of the Mission chapel in the city. I soon had large audiences, and the people behaved remarkably well.

"I preach three times a week—on Monday Wednesday, and Saturday—when the people assemble most readily, and occasionally a crowd is waiting before I arrive. The mullahs have been much stirred up thereby, and they have all come to try their hands in disputations. Occasionally they quite overwhelm me, and I must sharply read up their commentaries to answer them; but, on more than one occasion, I have shut their mouths, when all the people laughed at them.

"I am thankful to say that God has abundantly blessed these weak beginnings. I have now six inquirers on hand, whom I instruct daily (all in Persian), and the most advanced of them I intend to baptize at Whitsuntide.

"When I came here our native chapel was shut, as the few Hindustanee Christians were all dispersed: there was only one native candidate, a Persian-speaking man. Now, thanks be to God, our little chapel is opened again, and, if it please God, in order no more to be shut again, but to be extended until all shall be gathered together into Christ's flock.

"As we had no Persian translation of the Liturgy, I made one quickly of the morning and evening service, which we use now. I am just now translating the Baptismal Service and the Holy Communion.

"I am quite overburdened with teaching, preaching, and instructing inquirers, as none of the other Missionaries know Persian: my only assistant is Mr. M'Carthy, who is struggling to get up Persian as fast as he can, besides his heavy school duties.

"So much for the present. May the Lord prosper the works of our hands, and give us courage to bear up under many adverse circumstances, and health, and strength, and more wisdom and prudence!"

[To be continued.]

THE GOSPEL ON THE BANKS OF THE NIGER.

A new volume, entitled "The Gospel on the banks of the Niger," has recently been published by the Church Missionary Society. It relates the proceedings of the native Missionaries accompanying the Niger expedition of 1857-59, and the formation of Mission-stations along the banks of the great river. New tribes have thus been entered upon, and to the energetic prosecution of Missionary efforts among them, so far as, in the providence of God, the door continues open, the Society stands pledged.

The Ibos, whose country lies immediately above the delta, first claimed attention. On previous expeditions they had attracted our notice, and promises had been made, that on the first opportunity they should be provided with a Missionary. The time had at length arrived for the fulfilment of these promises, and the town of Onitsha was selected. On the appearance of two great ships, with white men on board, who had never been seen in their country before, the natives were alarmed, and prepared themselves for self-defence; but the landing of our native Missionaries soon restored confidence, and friendly intercourse ensued. An interview with the king followed, and the Rev. J. C. Taylor, of Ibo parentage, was presented to him as the Missionary who was to remain with them. A few days more, and the steamer left for the Confluence. "I am now left alone to dwell in the midst of heathen who are deeply sunk in idolatry. O my God, shield, comfort, and support me! I know that Thou hast promised to be with thy servants always, even unto the end of the world. Help me to be faithful, and to preach nothing 'save Jesus Christ and Him crucified,' and to point to the heathen and say, 'Behold, behold the way to God!'" Such were the reflections of our native Missionary as his Christian friends parted from him; and the details of his journal during a twelve-months' residence among the people of Onitsha prove that his prayers were not unanswered, and that he was not disappointed in the humble confidence he had expressed of divine support.

The population of Onitsha is estimated at not less than 13,000. "The peculiarity of their houses, built in, and covered by, bushes, except the front passage out, very much conceals them." Amongst these people the work of Christian instruction commenced. "I preached in the open air from 2 Cor. x.

14, the latter part, 'We are come as far as to you also in preaching the Gospel of Christ.' His Majesty King Akazua, with his captains and chiefs, was present. There were present from 500 to 600 souls, all of whom behaved well, but the children laughed when we knelt down to pray. The conduct of the adults, on this occasion, was as orderly as any one could wish, and they seemed much pleased with the attention given to their immortal interests." The great corrective of human sin and misery was indeed much needed. Proofs of this soon appeared in the system of domestic slavery, carried on to a great extent on the banks of the Niger; in the sanguinary feuds and wars existing between the different Ibo towns, the Onitsha people, in consequence of their quarrelsome disposition, being almost reduced to a state of isolation; in the revengeful spirit which prevailed. To these exhibitions of the depravity of the human heart may be added one more, the offering of human sacrifice. One of these victims is thus described—"A poor young woman, about nineteen or twenty years of age, with her hands tied behind her back, and her legs fastened together with a rope, decorated with young palm-leaves. In this position she was drawn, with her face to the earth, from the king's house to the river, a distance of two miles. . . . The young woman was dying through the suffocation of dust and sand in the streets. The motley groups who attended her premature funeral cried, as they drew along the unfortunate creature, victimized for the sins of their land, 'Aro, ye! Aro! Aro!' i.e. 'Wickedness, wickedness!' . . . The pretended sacrifice was intended to take away the iniquities of the land. The body was dragged along in a merciless manner, as if the weight of all their wickedness was thus carried away, while the life was still beating in the palpitating bosom of that unfortunate girl. . . . I heard also that there was a man killed, as a sacrifice for the sins of the king. The body of the latter I did not see."

One of the most interesting features in the details of Missionary labour, as presented to us in these journals, is the interest excited in the interior towns by the wide-spread report of Christian Missionaries of their own race, being located on the Niger's banks. "Two men from Inzi, a town lying in the north-east direction from Onitsha, paid me a long visit. I asked them whether they heard of us in the

interior. They replied in the affirmative. I give it in their own words—"The news of white men reached us from far, just like fire raging along." I told them of our object, and pointed to them the British love towards poor degraded Africa. Moreover, I impressed upon them that I am unable to thank the English for their promptitude, their fostering care, their undeviating kindness exercised towards the oppressed African race, in their rest oration to the land which gave them birth. They heard me with astonishment. We produced ourselves as living witnesses of Christian philanthropy. Ah! my most sanguine expectations never presented to me scenes like this. May the Lord reward the British nation for their kindness. The fruit of their labour is seen in every opening flower in Africa, now scattering its fragrance all around."

Again—"Two men and a woman came from Ibeaku and paid me a visit. This is a country, in the interior, lying north-east of Onitsha, about three days' journey, as my informant gave me to understand; but I could not credit it, for what they calculated as three days with them, is a day and a half with us. I was much struck with the dress which the woman had on; it was a sort of country cloth, deeply dyed with camwood, two broad plates made of brass as leg-rings, and her hands strung with ivory as white as snow. . . . They gazed on us with astonishment, until one gave vent to his feelings, and said, 'My father never saw what I have seen to-day: truly peace shall be established between us and the Ibo country. Oh, if my father had been alive he would have sent for you.' The next day being Lord's-day, divine service was held in the open air. 'Deep attention was paid to the word of life. The people seemed to hang on our lips, and suck out the word of the living truth, and some of them even heaved the sigh of grateful feeling, saying, True, their fathers saw not such a glorious day. The Ibeaku strangers were especially moved. Eager with curiosity they asked, 'Which way did the book you held yesterday come from? did it drop directly from the clouds? Ah! plenty of words you said, just as if you had been in my country and seen the people there; that's why you are *Beke*, why you are a spirit.'"

The Missionaries now began to move about. "I took Simon Jonas with me to Oko: Several of the headmen and I entered into conversation. I asked them whether they would like to have a person as teacher, to settle among them, and to teach them white-men's fashion. They told me they had heard what

I was doing at Onitsha, and they should like me to come and do the same to them. I promised them that, by and by, they should have some one whose lot should be, in the providence of God, to reside among them. This place contains more than 10,000 inhabitants, for which three Missionaries and catechists would do very well for the present."

The next place visited was Nsube, about thirty miles from Onitsha. "The king being filled with joy, and being overwhelmed with it, could not suppress his spirit. He rose and danced before us, and said, he thanked God he saw what his forefathers had not seen. They had long *heard* of Oibo, but to-day they were satisfied with what they had *seen*. I preached at Upper Nsube, from Luke xix. 9, 'This day is salvation come into this house,' to more than 600 people in the open air. Having given notice that I should preach at Lower Nsube, I returned, after a three hours' visit. The distance between the two places could not be less than two miles. King Ofere called his people together by the sound of his large drum: in not more than half an hour there were not fewer than between 700 or 800 present, and I preached from Rom. i. 11, and explained to them the unparalleled love of God to mankind. They repeated the Lord's prayer in the Ibo tongue very nicely. Here I saw several persons from places in the interior, such as Umu-Ehi, Ibeaku, Omo, Inam, Obunike, Nando, Oka, Umu-Aturu, and Nteja. I am glad that some of them were here: they would carry home to their respective places what they saw and heard." . . . "I had often read the promise, 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God,' with deep interest, but not until this day did I feel its force, when there sat before me a congregation of pure Africans, who had met together to worship the God of the universe. Here, for the first time, the joyful news of salvation was announced, and the people seemed to enjoy it." . . .

We cannot be surprised that, in the contemplation of these new and encouraging openings, our Missionary breaks forth into longings for help, and into earnest appeals to those Africans, either in Sierra Leone or elsewhere, who have enjoyed the privileges of Christian instruction and civilization, to come over and help.

"If Ethiopia must hear the untold mysteries of the Gospel, by whom must they hear them? It cannot be otherwise but by her own sons and daughters. There is no cause to fear in the Ibo district: the people are ready to receive the Gospel from the mouth of their own children. Ye enlightened sons

of Africa, that are inured to the climate, will you leave the 20,000 inhabitants of Neube to perish for lack of the bread of life? Ye sons of Africa in general, whether born at Sierra Leone or in the West Indies, here are tracks marked out for your usefulness: though these people are only just emerging out of darkness, yet they can value the Gospel of Jesus, and do manifest as much attention and respect to us while preaching as you could desire. Had you beheld our assembly, I am sure your heart would have leaped for joy, and your hands would have been strengthened in the good work of the Lord. Certainly you would have beheld, seated on the fine sandy ground, the mother with her sable children around her, the aged and infirm, listening with breathless attention whilst the mercy and grace of a crucified Saviour was set before them. To-day, for the first time, the rocks, hills, and valleys became vocal with the praises of Jehovah, the Sovereign God. If there be African blood in you, and if you wish to ameliorate your countrymen, seek that divine grace which is in Christ; learn of Him, as He laboured for his countrymen and for our redemption. Spend and be spent for Him, as He has done for you. Come and rank yourselves in this glorious enterprise, for the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. Hail, beautiful countries! may you soon resound with the name of Jesus! There is much in the signs of the times to make us believe that the set time to favour Central Africa is come, and the rapid development of the Redeemer's kingdom is near. Cherish your hope of evangelizing and civilizing your race."

Such is the appeal of the Niger Missionary to his brethren elsewhere in more favoured circumstances than the rude and yet docile tribes amongst whom he found himself. And we rejoice to say it has not been wholly in vain. From Sierra Leone there has been a response. The following communication, addressed to the Parent Committee by liberated Africans of the Ibo nation or their descendants, will speak for itself—

"We, amongst whom are chiefly to be found those who are natives of Onitsha and the adjacent parts of the Ibo country bordering upon the Niger, and their descendants, beg most respectfully to tender our sincere and heartfelt thanks at the movement which Providence has caused your Society to make in establishing a Mission on the banks of the great Niger.

"Whilst we could not but, as Christians, glory in the success which has attended the labours of your Society in the Yoruba country, yet our hearts have been still more cheered from the fact that Christianity has begun to dawn in our own native land.

"We look with eagerness for the arrival of our respected friend, the Rev. J. C. Taylor: we wish him God speed in the work in which he has laboured, and to which we trust he will soon return; and, as a slight evidence of the deep sense of gratitude we feel towards your Society, which, under the hands of Providence, has been instrumental in spreading the glad tidings of the Gospel to the heathen of Africa, we have collected, by subscriptions, a small sum, amounting to 54l. 6s. 2½d., which we respectfully place at the disposal of your Committee, to be appropriated in any manner you may consider most advantageous towards the promotion of the Niger Mission.

"We have been encouraged in presenting you with this trifle by the fact, that in the establishment of such an infant Mission there would necessarily be many objects of an insignificant nature, to which it might still be usefully applied; and we trust that there never will be wanting here many sons of Africa, both young and old, blessed with the privileges of Christianity and civilization, who will be ready and willing to go forth, sacrificing all objects of a pecuniary nature, cheerfully to accept the repeated cries of their fellow brethren and kinsmen, 'Come over and help us.'"

We thank our Christian friends in Sierra Leone for this expression of their sympathy. We regard the contribution which they have forwarded as the first-fruits of an incoming harvest, not of money, so much as of faithful men, constrained by the love of Christ, and offering themselves willingly to the work of the great harvest-field. The population of Sierra Leone is singularly constituted. Numerous are the tribes and nations which have their representatives amongst the mingled people who, under the British flag, have found a refuge from the slave-dealer. And as, in the providence of God, the door of opportunity opens, and a way is presented for the introduction of the Gospel into some new region, we trust that the consanguineous element in Sierra Leone will never hesitate to take prompt action.

Sierra Leone occupies a grand central position. May its Christianity prove to be vigorous, and equal to the emergency!

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

SPECIAL FUND FOR INDIA.

SEVERAL inquiries having been addressed to the Secretary as to how the Special Fund for India is being applied, the following reply, made to one of them, is now published for general information—

"I have much pleasure in furnishing you, in reply to your inquiries, with information as to the measures adopted by our Committee for the application of our Special Fund for India.

"1st. We gave immediate directions to our Missionaries in North India to strengthen and extend, by the aid of the Fund, their several Missions to the utmost of their resources on the spot.

"2dly. A new Mission at Lucknow has been already commenced by our experienced Missionary, Mr. Leupolt, who is perhaps even now joined by Mr. Mengé and one of our English brethren.* Operations were most encouragingly opened on the anniversary of one of the most disastrous days of the siege, and ample and suitable premises have been put at Mr. Leupolt's disposal through the kindness of Mr. Montgomery.

"3dly. Since the outbreak of the mutiny, we have sent out to India twelve Missionaries, of whom eight are appointed to the disturbed districts. During the same period only one Missionary has been withdrawn: the Missionary force has therefore been increased by eleven.

"4thly. One graduate was ordained for India by the Bishop of London on Sunday, Dec. 19; another candidate, as we trust, will be ordained at the Archbishop of Canterbury's Lent ordination; whilst we have engaged, with a view to their going out to India when they have finished their course at the University, two students, who are already accepted, the same purpose having been intimated by several others.

"5thly. We have filled to overflowing our Islington Institution for Missionary candidates, and have also engaged a clergyman to superintend an additional supplementary class; the number of students having increased from twenty-one in May 1857 to thirty-four at the present time. We fully anticipate that the number will reach forty at the next anniversary.

"I trust that these statements will prove encouraging to those friends who may feel a desire to contribute to our Special Fund for India. We are much encouraged ourselves by the considerable increase of Missionary candidates since the mutiny. The Committee are prepared to send out any number of suitable men that it may please God to send to them; and for that purpose they are appealing especially to the junior clergy, who are ready prepared for the work, in the full confidence that the means for their support will be cheerfully furnished by the church at home."

CHINA.

In reference to the treaties with China and Japan, adverted to in our Re-

* The Rev. Messrs. Mengé and Storrs are now both actively engaged in prosecuting at Lucknow Mission work in conjunction with Mr. Leupolt.

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cent Intelligence for December of last year, we have much pleasure in calling attention to the subjoined extracts from a letter of the Bishop of Victoria to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which has been forwarded to the daily papers for publication.

"It has been reserved for Lord Elgin to achieve a still more prominent act in the annals of Oriental diplomacy. In addition to the concession acquired by the minister of the United States, he gained also for foreigners of every class, and, by implication, for our Missionaries also, the right of unlimited access into the interior of the country, and has thus thrown down the last barriers which interrupted our free intercourse with every part of China.

"The eighth and ninth clauses of Lord Elgin's treaty comprise the main points which have reference to our extended privileges in respect to Missions.

"The former of these two articles is in substance, and almost in words, identical with that previously negotiated on behalf of the United States by Mr. Reed; and its terms are honourable to both the British and the American officials, who had the moral decision to press its admission into the treaty. The '*religion of Jesus*' (the Chinese term for 'Protestant Christianity'), is for the first time distinctly mentioned in these treaties, in conjunction with, and in priority to, the '*religion of the Lord of Heaven*' (the old term for the Roman-Catholic form of the Christian religion). . . .

"As this eighth article stands (presumptively) in the British and American treaties, its favourable recognition of the Christian religion is highly important—'The doctrine of Jesus and the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven teach the practice of virtue, and the treatment of others as ourselves. Henceforth all teachers or professors of it shall, one and all, be protected. No man following peaceably his calling without offence shall be in the least oppressed or hindered by the Chinese authorities.

"The ninth article is that which peculiarly belongs to Lord Elgin's treaty, and comprises those general concessions of locomotion and residence in the interior which (if its provisions be carried out and administered by consular representatives possessing the requisite moral and mental qualifications for their responsible posts) hold out to Protestant Missionaries the prospect of extended opportunities in new and more favourable spheres of Missionary usefulness. They will henceforth be able, under the reasonable regulation of a moderate passport system, to penetrate into the interior, and to establish stations in localities remote from the disturbing influences of mercantile positions on the sea board. . . .

"It is to be noted, that in the passport regulations it is stipulated that foreigners shall not visit Nanking or other places occupied by the insurgents. I think this to be as fair and favourable a solution of the difficulties caused by the insurrection as we might reasonably expect. Non-intervention in the civil convulsions of China was clearly the course for a British statesman to pursue. . . . After five years and a half in occupation of Nanking—without the advantage of foreign spiritual instructors—with some, possibly all, the more hopeful class of leaders removed from the scene—with all the elements of human depravity diffused among that pent-up motley host of semi-pagan iconoclasts, constrained by rigorous severity to maintain an outward show of asceticism, and to memorise the established and half-understood forms of prayer—it is too much to expect that, under such exceptional circumstances, good has been more potential than evil amongst the multitude, and that its earlier promise has not been followed by degeneracy and decay. . . .

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"It is satisfactory to know, that both in the British and in the American treaties lately concluded with the Japanese, an article exists expressly prohibiting the importation of opium; and that thus, by the humane policy of Christian negociators, Japan, hitherto exempt from this form of intemperance, will in all probability be saved from one class of evils which has resulted from our intercourse with China. Unprecedented privileges have been recently granted to Christian Missionaries within the newly-opened ports of Japan. It is right that the friends of Christian Missions on both sides of the Atlantic should know how much they are pre-eminently indebted for the Christian element in the wording of the treaties to the hearty zeal, sympathy, and co-operation of His Excellency, W. B. Reed, ably seconded by his secretary of legation and his interpreters, Dr. Williams and the Rev. W. A. P. Martin—names well known in connexion with the Missionary work in China.

"The wider opening of these eastern regions to Missionary labour is an animating topic on which I could glowingly enlarge, as a call to more adequate efforts on the part of our own church; but I confess, my Lord, that I have gathered lessons of moderate expectation from the fruitlessness of my past appeals for help. In the tenth year of my episcopate I behold but few signs of any great and sustained movement of our church for the evangelization of the Chinese race, or for our entering upon the recent Missionary openings in Japan. My dear and valued fellow-labourers sent out to the China Mission do but scantily fill up the breaches made in the ranks of our church by disease and death. But six Church-of-England Missionary clergy are spread along the stations of this extended coast, of whom two have been only six months in the country. It is indeed a satisfactory result to my mind to see chaplaincies instituted in the Chinese cities, and the British communities supplied with the means of grace. I rejoice, also, in the increasing number of labourers in connexion with other Protestant Missionary bodies, and the marked success which, in some cases, has resulted from their attempts. But as to Missions of our church among the Chinese, after fourteen years since my first landing on these shores, I still see (with the one exception of the Church Missionary station of Ningpo) but little progress made, and but inconsiderable results achieved. I feel no despondency as to the certain final success of our work as the cause of God Himself. . . . Once more I reiterate the appeal to the church at home—'The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few.' Once more I appeal to British Christians, that while India is claiming her meed of Missionary sympathy and evangelistic help in this her day of trial, China may not be overlooked or forgotten in their prayers, nor her four hundred millions receive less than her due amount of consideration and thought in the counsels and deliberations of our Church-of-England Missionary Committees.

"My Lord, my pen grows weary and my theme becomes diffusive. I know by experience the mental sickness of hope long deferred. In my own person I can do but little beyond sounding the trumpet and leading others to the conflict. The goal of middle life scarce gained, I am experiencing the effects of climate on a shattered frame and the infirmities of advancing years. In the early afternoon of my course, the shades of evening are prematurely falling and lengthening around me. Once again I appeal to my younger fellow-soldiers of Christ, that they desert not the standard of the Cross unfurled in the far East, nor allow a standard-bearer to fall unsupported and unsustained in this Mission battle-field."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NIGER MISSION.

OUR latest intelligence from the Niger is comprised in the following extract from a letter of Rev. S. Crowther, dated Rabba, Oct. 6, 1858—*

"I am glad to announce the arrival of the 'Sunbeam' at this place on the 29th of September, when I received letters from Mr. Taylor, at Onitsha, who was then quite well; and from Messrs. Thomas and Cole, who have also arrived at this place; and there are three at the Confluence, waiting to see or hear from me. That the intelligence of their arrival in safety up the river, and Mr. Taylor's continued success at Onitsha was welcome news to me, I need not say. On the 1st instant, the 'Sunbeam' anchored a little below Ketsia Peak, when all the most valuable things were put on board. I went up in her to make the last clearance from the camp, and on the 4th she dropped down again to Rabba. As Dr. Baikie has got means of visiting the kings now at Bida, we are going to do so previous to our descent to the Confluence. I hope to be able to report the result by the return of the ship to Fernando Po with Dr. Baikie and party. I purpose remaining at Onitsha, and, if opportunity of returning to the Confluence is had before the ship returns in November, I shall do so, and wait there to join her, to prepare for our journey to Sokoto."

HOME.

In reference to the decease of our zealous friend and advocate, the Rev. George Hodgson, recorded in our December Number, the Committee of the Society have passed the following resolution—

"This Committee have received with the deepest concern the intelligence of the death of their zealous Association Secretary, the Rev. George Hodgson, by a sudden summons, in the midst of his labours, to his eternal rest; at the same time they desire to record their thanksgiving to the God of all grace for the assistance during thirteen years, of one who, with superior powers as an advocate of the Missionary cause in the pulpit, and upon the platform, and by his pen, ever carried with him 'the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ.'"

ORDINATION OF MISSIONARIES.

ON Sunday, December 19th, at the Bishop of London's ordination in St. Paul's Cathedral, the Rev. J. Zeller was admitted to priests' orders; and Messrs. Roger Edmund Clark, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge (p. 1), and Albert Lockwood and Henry Buncher, students at the Church Missionary College, Islington, to deacons' orders.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

THE Ven. Archdeacon Hadfield and Mrs. Hadfield took leave of the Committee Dec. 13, 1858, and embarked next day at Gravesend on board the "Acasta," for Wellington, New Zealand. (Church Miss. Record, 1858, p. 288).

DEATHS IN THE MISSIONS.

WE have with deep sorrow to announce the sudden death of the Rev. T. G. Ragland, B.D., of the North-Tinnevely Mission, which took place on the 8th of October last. A brief memoir of Mr. Ragland is in the press, and will be separately published in the course of a few days..

The Rev. J. Hamlin, of Wairoa, New Zealand, has sustained a loss in the death of Mrs. Hamlin, which occurred on the 11th of August, 1858.

* *Vide* also the next and following pages of the present Number of the "Record."

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INDIA—FEMALE EDUCATION.

(From the Bombay Times.)

WE are glad to learn that great success has attended the appeal made to the wealthy Hindús of this place—to contribute a fund for the permanent support of the girls'-schools. One of the wealthiest of the Hindú merchants has formally announced his desire to bestow a grant of 1000 rupees per annum to be applied for the present to the support of two of the schools, which he has specified; a third school to be included, in the event of Government giving a grant-in-aid. Another Hindú gentleman, Dr. Bhao Daji, has offered to contribute 40 rupees a month for the support of one school, until some rich native comes forward to endow it permanently. Mr. Juggonath Sunkersett has expressed his readiness to contribute a handsome allowance for the maintenance of the school of the Society in his own compound, where it has been rented free since its foundation nine years ago. We further understand, from a respectable authority, that a Parsí gentleman has also signified his intention of heading the general subscription list with a sum of 500 rupees. Under such a promising state of matters, we hope that in a few months the Hindú schools will be placed upon a permanent footing, as well as the Parsí schools.

NIGER MISSION.

The following are extracts from a letter of the Rev. S. Crowther, dated Onitsha, October 25, 1858—*

"By my letter of the 7th instant, you will have been informed of the 'Sunbeam's' leaving Rabba for the Confluence. It was then proposed to halt at the juncture of the Lafun and the Kworra (Niger), so as to visit the kings at Bida camp, to whom messengers had already been sent, to inform them of our intention: but unfortunately the channel from Rabba to the juncture of the Lafun and the Kworra was not sufficiently known. Instead of going through it in one day, we were four days before the 'Sunbeam' could be cleared out of the intricate channel; and as the river was falling, much fear was entertained lest she should be left dry during our visit to Bida, which could not have been done in less than a week, so as to do every thing satisfactorily. Thus, with much reluctance, Dr. Baikie was obliged to send other messengers to tell the kings the reason he was unable to fulfil his promises then, but hoped to return very shortly if nothing prevented his doing so. His former messenger was left there till his return, to assure the kings of his earnestness to fulfil his promise.

On the 16th we anchored off Gbebe (or Igbebi), at the Confluence, and I was glad to meet three Christian visitors, James Thomas, Edward Cline, and Jacob Newland, who were waiting for me. The first step I took was to find them a more comfortable hut to lodge in than the one in which I met them. While arrangements were making about removing the Factory to the opposite shore, to prevent collision with the natives, who were attracted, by such a large amount of goods, to lounge about and gaze into the stores, which led to temptation and attempt at stealing, I was busy arranging with Ama Abokko to secure the ground I selected last year for the

* See the Map, page 34.

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Mission premises, and to engage for materials to build a small dwelling-house and a little schoolroom, all which was satisfactorily settled; but the building must be deferred for six weeks, till the farmers have reaped their corn and yams. Abokko wished to know if I wanted to build immediately. He then would have ordered the corn to be rooted up at once; but as the corn has been in the ground seven months already, and there only remain about six weeks more to reap it in, I considered it would be painful to the feelings of the farmers to see the result of their labours thus destroyed. Although I might have paid for them, yet there is nothing so satisfactory to farmers in this country as to gather with their hands that which they have planted; and, besides this, it will require some six weeks before materials are sufficiently collected to erect the buildings. I acknowledged Ama's kindness by suitable presents, and remunerated the farmers for the labour they had expended in clearing the ground now made over to the Church Missionary Society. I made plans of the buildings, and took some goods from the factory to defray the expenses of materials till my return from Onitsha.

"The three Christian visitors, James Thomas, Edward Cline, and Jacob Newland, all speak Nupe. The former is of the Bunu, a tribe of Kakanda, and as both the Nupe and Kakanda languages are spoken at Gbebe and the neighbourhood, they have commenced already to make themselves useful. Mr. Preddy, who was left as schoolmaster at Gbebe during our ascent, was very useful; but a fire which took place, which involved all in trouble and privation, was a drawback to his school-keeping: however, he managed to get among the Bassas, through the means of W. Parker, the Bassa interpreter, who had lost all he had during the fire, and was obliged to get among his countrymen and work in the farms for his own support. As soon as the three Christian visitors reached Gbebe, they also soon found their way among the Bassas, to whom they spoke the word of God. Their chiefs expressed a wish to see me when I came to Gbebe, which I would have gladly done, but the arrangements for this station took all the short time the steamer staid, so that I could not do so at this time, but sent them a few handkerchiefs for presents, through James Thomas and Edward Cline, with a promise to visit them at my return.

"We weighed on the 21st from Gbebe, and on the morning of the 22d saw the 'Rainbow,' which was coming up to us. She returned with the 'Sunbeam' to Idda. It was no small relief to our minds to find the 'Rainbow' up here. Many fears had been entertained for her safety, as we had heard no news of her since she was reported to have touched at Lisbon. On the 23d, I landed at Idda, with Lieutenant Glover, on a message to the Atta. I should have mentioned that the Atta we left here last year was dead before our arrival: a new Atta is now on the throne. We could not see him to-day, which was a sacred day; but as he was seen before by Lieutenant Glover, without any of the old difficulties, we only sent the message by his attendants, and returned to make short visits before embarkation. On my asking our old friend Ehemodina if a lodging could be got about his premises for any Christian teachers who may be sent to Idda, till we have a place of our own, he said, 'I have plenty of cowries, I have plenty of wives and slaves, I have houses: if you remain five years in my house nothing shall harm you.' Thus this old chief assured me that he did not look for our money and property, but it would be his great delight to see us fulfil our long-promised settlement at Idda. The only excuse I could make for not being able to fulfil this promise was our being shipwrecked, which was admissible: but I think, after this, there is no more ground for excuse. The urgent request I must make

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for Idda is for two Christian visitors, of upright principles, speaking the Igara language, or any other willing to make himself useful by acquiring the language, to mingle among the people as representatives of the church, so as to redeem our words and fulfil our promises made since 1841, seventeen years ago. There seems to be a very great change taking place at Idda just about this time. There were never, at any former expeditions with which I have been connected, so many large trading canoes here as at this time. There have been upwards of sixty large canoes, either stationary or moving up and down the river, since last week, but there is no improvement as yet in the face of the town.

"On the 24th we anchored off Onitsha, and met Mr. Taylor well. He and Messrs. Cole and Thomas came on board to welcome our arrival. I landed with them, and walked to the Mission-house in the evening, where I took my rest. As there was but very little time to spare, we entered at once into matters concerning the Mission, when brothers Cole and Thomas related the trials and hardships they endured during their passage to Onitsha.

"It is very necessary that Mr. Taylor should return to Sierra Leone, and Simon Jonas* to Fernando Po, to remove their families to Onitsha. Mr. Taylor has exerted himself in this place to his own credit, as well as to the admiration of all the gentlemen connected with the expedition. He really needs to be encouraged in his laudable undertakings. He has now (Oct. 25) four persons on the list of candidates for baptism, who all feel very sorry for his short absence from them. His translations will be put in possession of the Committee as soon as he gets them ready. Mr. John Smart remains at Onitsha. He is an old communicant of Mr. Johnson of Regent, and will, I doubt not, in his old age, impart to his countrymen what good things he has received from the knowledge of the Gospel, which is able to make us wise unto salvation. I hope to be able to secure the services of Mr. Romaine, one of the traders, as schoolmaster for Onitsha.

"I shall remain at Onitsha for some weeks, to wait the return of the 'Rain-bow' from Fernando Po; but if I have good opportunity, by a safe canoe, I shall proceed to the Confluence, to see how things are going on there, and direct the agents before proceeding to Rabba.

From Onitsha Mr. Taylor writes, August 26, 1858—

"I am glad of this opportunity to report to you that this station is now becoming an important one. Your letter revived my spirit, and quickens my mind to go cheerfully to work. I can assure you that God has opened a wide and extensive field for spiritual usefulness in Central Africa, which now calls loudly upon the Christian church to double their exertions. I have won the hearts of nearly all the native chiefs, and have their minds towards the work of God. Everywhere there are decided pantings after the bread of life. Repeated calls have been sent to me from the right and left in this district for teachers to be placed over them. Some of these calls have been sent to me from fifty to eighty miles inland. I do now appeal to the church for men to come forward and join us in this holy cause. The field for Missionary useful-

* We regret to state that this useful man, whose faithful services have been frequently acknowledged, both as an interpreter during three Niger expeditions, and as a valuable assistant to Mr. Crowther in his translations, died at Fernando Po ten days after his arrival there. He was about to return to Onitsha with his family, when it pleased the Lord to remove him from his labour on earth to rest above. Mr. Taylor testifies regarding him, that "he was a real helper in the work of God, and laboured diligently."

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ness is such as to justify the choice of this settlement as bearing the impress of the finger of God in selecting it. In the readiness of the people to hear the word of God their idols have been despised. The leaven of divine truth is spreading its savour among them. The children are apt to learn, and the young men are willing to be taught the handicraft of Europeans, such as carpentering, &c. Spiritually, all conspires to raise our expectation for the speedy redemption of Africa. In a temporal point of view, I presume to say the trade of the place will amply repay any merchant.

"I bless God that I am now (Aug. 26) privileged to admit two men as candidates for baptism who have given decided proofs of sincerity. Their idols are now in my possession. Oh, if I had more help here I could have placed them among the 40,000 souls at Onitsha alone. The work which the Lord has opened before us is wonderful indeed, so much so, that my tongue is too small to utter them, and my pen insufficient to describe them.

"In the translation department I have nearly completed the selection of the Prayers of the Church of England to the Burial Service."

Messrs. Taylor, Cole, and Thomas all returned by the last mail to Sierra Leone. The two latter, unable to bear up under the difficulties of so onerous a work, have felt it their desirable duty to resume their position of pastors in the settled colony. Mr. Taylor has only sought his old home in order to bring away his wife and family, to share with him the privileges and the privations of his forward post in the battle-field of the Lord.

YORUBA MISSION.

We were unable to insert in its proper place the annexed extract from a letter from the Rev. T. King, dated Dec. 3, which accompanied a translation of the Book of the Prophet Daniel.

"I hope the translation will be at once put to press. You cannot sufficiently conceive the avidity with which translations are bought by our people. Whenever a new translation is seen in one's hand, the whole of our people, for fear of going without, come forward in crowds. Exhaustion must put a stop to the demand, or every one must get. Many, in case of an insufficient supply, are ready to leave their cowries till more copies come to hand. Those who come care not only for themselves, but also for the absent. A husband or wife never forgets an absent partner, nor a father or mother an absent child. Without saying any thing when only a few copies of St. John's Gospel came to hand last April or May, even the Hymns printed at Ake a few weeks ago were similarly bought, with such eagerness that I could not keep one for myself till I had sent to Ake more than once for a fresh supply."

EMBARKATION OF MISSIONARIES.

Palestine Mission.—On the 10th ult. the Committee took leave of the Rev. J. Zeller on his returning to Nazareth. Mr. Zeller left London the next day, *via* the Continent, for Palestine.

West-Africa Mission.—The Rev. E. Jones took leave of the Committee on the 18th, and left Liverpool for Sierra Leone on the 25th of January.—Miss Bywater embarked at Liverpool December 24, 1858, on board the "Ethiopia," for Sierra Leone, where she will assist Miss Sass in the Female Institution.

RETURN HOME OF A MISSIONARY.

The Rev. R. Bren left Jaffna, Ceylon, August 18th, and Madras, September 18th, and arrived in London December 29, 1858.

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NORTH INDIA.

The following is an extract from a private letter of Sir John Lawrence, dated Dec. 12, 1858—

“While I agree with you that we shall never do much in this country in the way of converting the people, until we have a large body of native Christians employed in the good work, I think that it will be very important if really good earnest men would come out here as lay teachers. The influence which such men would gain would prove very valuable, especially in the Normal schools. I was much struck, when last at Peshawur, with the improvement which had taken place since the Rev. Mr. M’Carthy had taken charge of it. At this school, in the very heart of the city of Peshawur, I found a considerable number of the boys fairly acquainted with geography and our literature, and, what was still more remarkable, reading and understanding the New Testament. At this school I found three boys, one the son of a subadar, the second of a jemadar, both of the Khilat-i-Ghilzi Regiment of Infantry, and the third the son of a sowar. All three were Moham-medans.”

The following is the report of Rev. F. E. Schneider, Agra, for the years 1857 and 1858—

“It is now two years since I wrote my last Report. During this period many most important events and changes have occurred in India, which have exercised also a great influence on our Mission at Agra. The present whole state of our Mission gives a very different aspect to what it was at the end of September 1856. Since that time, not only changes in respect to the Missionary Agents of the Church Missionary Society at Agra have taken place, (Mr. Leighton has been removed to Amritsar; Mr. Hoernle is on his way to Europe; and three new Missionaries—the Rev. Messrs. Shackell, Clinton, and Gaster, have arrived,) but Secundra, one of the most flourishing and complete Missions in the North-west Provinces, has ceased to exist, with little or no hope whatever of being re-established. Under all the trials, troubles, anxieties, and afflictions, we have been called to endure, we have cause enough to praise the name of the Lord for his tender mercies, long-suffering, and gracious protection. It is his mercy that we are still in the land of the living; and may He give us grace and strength to be living and faithful witnesses of his mercies. Before the mutiny broke out, my health was not good; and the bustle, confusion, exertions, and anxieties of that period, did not improve it; while our confined apartment in the fort was not a place to benefit it. Repeated ague and fever-attacks weakened my constitution very much. When we left the fort in the beginning of this year, and lived for four months with the orphans in the school-house in the Kuttra, my health seemed to improve somewhat; but the fever did not entirely leave me. With the advance of the hot weather the attacks became more frequent and stronger; so that the doctor deemed it necessary that I should remove without delay to the hills.

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Four months' stay at Landour have certainly done me a great deal of good : although I cannot say that I have got rid of my complaint, yet I felt so much stronger, and able to do something. In Landour I was able to perform, for three months, every Sunday the Morning Service in the little chapel built by the late Rev. Mr. Lamb. The congregation assembling there consisted of about thirty or forty persons. I had also the pleasure of receiving three persons into the church of Christ, by baptism ; one a Sikh, who, by his steady attendance to the means of grace, and by his humble, diligent conduct, gave satisfaction to me, as well as to the family in which he is engaged as servant : the other was an old woman. Some members of her family had been baptized some time ago by Mr. Lamb. On her first application for baptism, I found her so ignorant that I could not admit her. This delay in her baptism, and an earnest address to her heart to seek salvation only through the Lord Jesus Christ, had such good effect, that she applied herself anxiously to learn the necessary things. The third was a sharp, intelligent girl, of about twelve years, a near relative to the old woman. She had been taught in Mrs. Lamb's school, and could satisfactorily answer the questions put to her before baptism.

Runkutta Branch Mission.

"This little Mission, with its two Christian families, remained untouched from the hands of the wicked during the time of the mutiny, when, in the surrounding villages, quarrels, fighting, and bloodshed, were prevailing. The village is close to the high road leading from Agra to Muttra, ten miles distant from the former. Several times bands of armed rebels were encamping near Runkutta, or passing through it ; but no harm was done to our Christians. In the village itself there were many Mussulmans, chiefly butchers, residing, who were not friendly to our people, and had often threatened them that they would plunder and kill them. The heathen, especially the more respectable zemindars, however, behaved nobly towards our Christian families. They guarded their houses, restrained the Mussulmans from violence, and would not allow them to leave the village, but promised to defend them if they should be attacked, to hide them, or retreat with them if necessary. Thanks to the Lord, our people thus escaped. During the most disturbed time they could not venture to visit the surrounding villages, but limited their labours to Runkutta. The school was still visited by a few boys. As soon as the country became more settled, they extended their preaching excursions to the villages again, and were never molested by the people : the message of peace was perhaps heard with greater attention by many than before.

"The school, ever since the outbreak, has been in an unsatisfactory state. As I had no funds to spare, I withdrew the pundit. At present there are scarcely any boys coming to school. Many of our former pupils are attending the Government school, which has again been established.

Extracts of a letter from the Rev. Thomas Valpy French—

"Although we have no ingathering of the people by tens, and almost by hundreds, into the fold of Christ, as is being now experienced in the Mirut Mission, yet the year has not been altogether a barren one. I have baptized seven adult converts myself ; and Mr. Schneider has also some individual cases to record. Two of the converts are múnshis of considerable ability

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and attainments, and are entrusted with the Persian and Arabic classes in the college, which is a source of great satisfaction and thankfulness to me. It may please God eventually to make use of both of them as evangelists or pastors in his Church. They have paid very great attention to the vernacular, theological, and Scriptural lectures which I have held twice a-week through the greater part of the year, and are now sharing in the daily instruction which Paul is receiving from me preparatory to his being presented for ordination. The regularity of their attendance at all Christian ordinances, and intelligent appreciation of the word preached, is really edifying. A third *múnshí*, of less powers and acquirements, is also about to take charge of one of the lower vernacular classes in the college. The whole of these have forsaken all for Christ, and have suffered very bitter reproaches for his name's sake. I saw the letter received by one of them from a *mufti*, to whose daughter he had been betrothed in early life, in reply to a request that his conversion might not preclude the intended marriage. The *mufti* writes—'Instead of Fatima I send a curse upon your understanding. In my opinion all your family and kinsmen are, because of you, as good as dead.' Another has just been to *Bhurtpúr*, where his family resides, to endeavour to make reconciliation with them, but finds them all inexorable. One brother of his, only a *havildar* in the *Bhurtpúr* rajah's service, is now disposed to examine the claims of Christianity. He has consequently left a New Testament with him, which the man reads.

"One interesting fact connected with Agra is, that, during this year, a considerable proportion of the first and second classes of the Government college has voluntarily begged for religious instruction on the Sunday; and this they regularly obtain in private from Dr. Anderson. One of these (a youth formerly of the Delhi College) is, at his own earnest request, shortly to be admitted as probationary student of Bishop's College. His is a case in which Master Ram Chunder is especially interested; and he has been receiving regular instruction weekly from Mr. Shackell and myself. He attends the service regularly at St. Paul's church.

"My bazaar preaching has, on the whole, been better received and more largely attended than in any former year, though the same absence of fruit characterizes it; and I cannot therefore feel any material encouragement from my recollections of this branch of labour. A fortnight's journey among small towns and villages (most of which I had visited on several former occasions) left rather a better impression on my mind, and a more hopeful anticipation of days when many shall of themselves come and say, 'Let us go up to the house of the God of Jacob, and He will show us his ways; and we will walk in his paths.'"

BAPTISM OF PUNJAB TROOPS AT AMRITSAR.

(From the *Punjabee*.)

"The 24th Regt. Punjab Infantry is, as most of our readers probably know, composed of Muzubes Sikhs, enlisted in 1857 in the neighbourhood of Amritsar, Lúdíana, &c. They have seen service, and served well: so well, that on their return to the vicinity of their homes in November last, the whole of the men received a month's leave to visit their families. It is said that, while in Oude, a number of these men intimated to their commanding-officer their desire to enter the pale of Christianity. Circumstances, however, inter-

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vened, and no further sign was made until their return from leave some days ago, when, learning the particulars of the anxiety that was said to prevail amongst them on the subject, a member of the Church Missionary Society's Mission visited their camp, was listened to attentively, and met with a speedy declaration on the part of one man to embrace the faith, and profess his willingness to enter the Church of Christ by baptism. Another inquirer being found qualified, and both considered to be in a state sufficiently advanced to admit of their wishes being complied with, they were publicly baptized on the afternoon of Sunday last, the 19th instant, in the hall of the Missionary school in the town of Amritsar, by the Rev. A. Strawbridge, in the presence of four of his brethren from Peshawur and Kotgurrh (assembled at their annual conference), of other European gentlemen, and of a congregation composed chiefly of native Christians, two of whom stood sponsors for the new converts. The men received respectively the names of Ummur Mesih and Mesih Charan, the former meaning, 'Life from Christ,' the latter, 'subject to Christ,' literally, the 'footstool of Christ.' The ordinary evening service was read in a very impressive manner by the Rev. J. McCarthy; and, on its conclusion, a sermon suitable to the occasion was preached by the Rev. W. Ball, from Acts xxii. 16.

"The very same evening several men of the regiment expressed their apparently earnest desire to be instructed in the truths of Christianity; and hopes may reasonably be entertained that many will follow the example thus publicly set by their comrades."

SOUTH INDIA.

We deeply regret to state that a serious disturbance has taken place on occasion of the funeral of a native Christian in the town of Tinnevely, in South India. The reports which have appeared in the public papers, both in India and in this country, are in many respects incorrect; but authentic accounts of the circumstances as they actually occurred did not reach us in time for our present Number. The disaster arose out of directions given by the civil authorities respecting the burial of a Christian who had died in a Government dispensary, whilst attending the courts as a witness, and not out of the proceedings of the Missionaries or native Christians.

RETURN HOME OF A MISSIONARY.

North India Mission—The Rev. C. T. Hoernle and Mrs. Hoernle left Calcutta November 23, 1857, and arrived in London on the 24th of January. Mr. Hoernle's object in his present visit home, is to superintend the reprinting of the Scriptures, to replace those destroyed by the rebels when the Secundra Press fell into their hands in July 1857. (*Church Missionary Record*, 1857, p. 320.)

DEPARTURE OF A MISSIONARY.

Sindh Mission—The Rev. J. Sheldon left England at the close of February, for Marseilles, where he will embark on the overland Steamer for Bombay, and from thence rejoin the Sindh Mission.

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SOUTH INDIA.—THE TINNEVELLY RIOTS.

THE annexed account of this melancholy incident is taken from the *Madras Spectator* of Jan. 4, 1859. We believe it to be, on the whole, a fair and impartial representation of the facts of the case, drawn up by a writer who had before him the letters both of Mr. Sargent, and of informants less friendly to the Missionaries. Its length, also, is better suited to our limited space than any other we have seen. A few points, which are more fully brought out in an authoritative narrative published by the Government of Madras, are appended in the form of notes.

"In the district of Tinnevely, as well as in the neighbouring one of Tanjore, Christianity has taken a deep root. In Tinnevely alone, where the Gospel was first planted by the indefatigable Swartz, the Christian converts number nearly 45,000. For some years past there appears to have been some disagreement between the high and low castes on the subject of funerals, the high caste insisting that corpses of low-caste men should not be carried through streets inhabited by the high caste; and we note, that about five years ago, the late Collector, Mr. Bird, prohibited the dead of the weaver caste being carried through a certain street, which was inhabited by high caste Hindús. This dispute seems to have been revived in consequence of the recent Proclamation, and an increased bitterness has been also displayed by the high caste towards the native Christians.* The Brahmins, and more especially the Vellalans, and other Sudras, have grown more arrogant and overbearing, and burned to exercise their ancient tyranny over the low castes.

"On Friday, the 10th of December last, an old man of the weaver caste, who, for more than thirty years, had been living as a Christian in the town of Tinnevely, died early in the morning; and it was accordingly proposed to inter him in the burial-ground in Palamcottia, the road to which was a public highway, leading, at the commencement, through a few streets of the town of Tinnevely. The Rev. E. Sargent, however, was informed that some of the inhabitants of these streets were determined to resist the passage of the funeral; and he thereupon applied to Mr. Ames, the Acting Joint Magistrate in charge, assuring him that the funeral should not be accompanied by any music or display, and requesting that measures might be adopted to secure the passage without molestation. Mr. Ames replied, that, five years previously, Mr. Bird, the late Collector, had ordered that no funerals of people of the weaver caste should be permitted to pass through the streets in question; and that, therefore, the coffin had better be carried through another

* Mr. Levinge adds, "that an interpretation was put on Her Majesty's Proclamation 'that whatever the Hindú community asserted was a custom would be absolutely upheld, and that no notice would be taken of any act of their's in trying to uphold it.'" Again:—"Their feelings had been further excited by the Session Judge's reversal of his own order, and by a misconstruction (or, as has elsewhere been stated, but does not appear in the papers before Government, by a mistranslation) of Her Majesty's Proclamation."—*Gov. Rep.*, par. 21, 22.

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and unfrequented road, which the Tahsildar would point out. The Tahsildar, we would remark, was a bigoted Vellalan, and the only way he pointed out was a paddy-field, covered with water: if the Christians refused to convey the body of the deceased through the paddy-field, he proposed that they should be allowed to go through the street this once, but on no future occasion without the order of the magistrate. Mr. Sargent, however, urged that the deceased was a Christian, and protested against his body being carried through paddy-fields, when there was a highway before them. He declared that the circumstances under which Mr. Bird had issued the order, were widely different from those upon which Mr. Ames was called upon to decide. In the former case, a few families of the weaver caste, living about a mile from the place where the Christians live, had found great difficulty in carrying their funerals over a water-course and paddy-fields, and applied for permission to carry their dead through several streets intervening between themselves and the locality where the other weavers resided, and again from that locality along the road to the burial-ground now prohibited to the Christians.

"At that time, Mr. Child inspected the locality, and decided that permission might be granted; Mr. Levinge came to the same conclusion; but Mr. Bird decided otherwise. We might add, that, when the Tahsildar recommended the passage through the paddy-fields, at this time of the year, he might have remembered that in February 1856, four of the poor weavers, whom Mr. Bird's order forced to the fields, were fined eight rupees for damaging the cultivation by passing through to bury their dead.

"Mr. Ames, however, did not apparently feel the force of Mr. Sargent's arguments, for on the Saturday he simply informed the clergyman that the Tahsildar had been ordered to direct the funeral to proceed by the 'unfrequented way;' that he could not controvert the standing order of Mr. Bird; and that if the friends of the deceased were dissatisfied, they could appeal to the Sessions Judge. Mr. Sargent replied, that as there was no road through the paddy-field available for a funeral, he had been compelled to allow the interment to take place on Mission ground attached to the Missionary school at Tinnevely. He added, that the funeral could not be deferred longer, and that an appeal to the Sessions Court was therefore out of the question; and that as he had no confidence in the Tahsildar, he should not apply for any police interference, although even in the plan resorted to he feared that means would be taken to interrupt the solemnity of a Christian burial.

"Mr. Ames forwarded the appeal to the Sessions Judge, who overruled the order of Mr. Bird and the decision of Mr. Ames, and directed that the body should be quietly conveyed through the street in question;* and added,

* The Judge "ruled that the street in question . . . was a public street. That in an appeal suit, No. 82, of 1857, the Civil Court had decided that such roads were 'open to all as such,' for passing to and fro, whether alive or dead, and that a special appeal preferred from that decree had been rejected. That consequently, the road in question being a public high road, no one had a right to prevent the body of the deceased native Christian in question being carried through it. That it appeared that persons of all castes, who had died in the Tinnevely Dispensary, were carried to burial through the same street, or public highway, without any objection, and that there was no other way (private or public) to the burial-ground in question, but through the street."—*Gov. Rep.*, par. 15. Again: "Mr. Levinge states, that Mohammedans and Christians have been taken out of the town for interment through that

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that if Mr. Ames anticipated a disturbance, it was 'his duty to take active and efficient measures for keeping the peace, and to see that native Christians, whether dead or alive, were protected in their just rights.'

"Such were the proceedings on the Friday and Saturday, the 10th and 11th of December. On Saturday evening, before the Judge's decision could be made available, the aged Christian was interred in the adjoining Mission premises, amidst as disgraceful a tumult as could well be imagined.* An immense crowd had assembled, numbering many thousands, and amongst them was the Tahsildar. When the coffin was placed by the side of the grave, the vast assemblage gave a shout, or rather yell, of victory; and the Catechist, fearful lest the people should break out into some act of violence before the body could be lowered, read only a portion of the appointed service ordered by the Church to be performed at the burial of a Christian individual.

"We now come to the sad event which has created so painful a sensation. It seems that, after the Judge had given his decision, Mr. Ames wrote to him to say that he had forwarded the case under a misapprehension; that Mr. Sargent had not really appealed, and that therefore he should be glad of instructions for future action. The Judge replied, that as Mr. Sargent had not appealed, the decision of the Court went for nothing, and he must therefore recal it.

"Affairs were in this state, when another death brought matters to a crisis. On Monday, the 20th of December, just nine days after the shocking funeral of the Christian weaver, a poor Christian of the Pulla caste, who had come in from the country to attend as witness at the Cutchery, was attacked with cholera, and sent by Mr. Ames to the Civil Dispensary at Tinnevely. On Tuesday morning the poor fellow died, and his relations went to Mr. Sargent to arrange about his burial. Mr. Sargent gave them an official letter to the Acting Joint Magistrate, Mr. Ames, and directed them to lay their case before him. Mr. Levinge, however, had by this time taken charge of the district as Acting Collector, and he gave the party a hearing, and decided that they might bury the body in a grave-yard near Palamcottah, being the locality which the friends themselves selected. Accordingly, on the evening of the Tuesday, the friends made an effort to carry the corpse away, and had got over part of the ground, when the people collected in a riotous manner, and refused to let the body be carried up any of the streets.† We are told that the object of the rioters was to oblige the Christians to bury the deceased in the hospital ground, in the same way that they had compelled

street, and in March last a dead body was taken to the Dispensary for examination by that street, and taken away again the same way for interment."—Note to par. 26. Again: On a revision of his decision, the Sessions Judge says:—"The Acting Joint Magistrate in charge observes, that he has inspected the path through the paddy-fields, and had himself walked dryshod the whole way thereof. This is easy enough for a single individual, but not for persons carrying a bier. But, after all, this is not the point at issue; which is, Are or are not Her Majesty's public high roads open to all—living and dead? The Court never had any doubt on the subject; common sense and common equity, forbid the closing of them to any particular sect, in order to gratify the prejudices of another sect."—Par. 20.

* "In an unusual spot, amid uproar and shouts of triumph on the part of the Hindûs."—*Gov. Rep.* par. 22.

† "The Head of Police . . . reported that the people refused passage to the corpse by any street."—*Gov. Rep.* par. 26.

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the interment of the weaver in the Mission-school ground. The funeral party was forced back, and compelled to leave the body at or near the front of the police station. Next morning Mr. Levinge went to the spot and endeavoured to reason with the people, but in vain. The Tahsildar did the same; but our informant throws considerable doubt upon his good faith, and he was certainly as unsuccessful as the magistrate in his attempt to restore order. Every attempt to carry off the body was met by riotous threats and brickbats. At last the Tahsildar represented that the Treasury was in danger, and Mr. Levinge was obliged to call out the military. A requisition was sent for 100 Sepoys; but as many more followed as a reserve, and remained at the entrance of the town, the troops pressed forward to carry away the corpse, but were opposed by the people in the most determined manner. A shower of stones and brickbats was kept up from the tops of the houses as well as from the roof of the pagoda. At last the troops were ordered to fire; but as many fired in the air, few casualties followed the first round; and the shower of stones still continued. A second order was given to fire, and appears to have been attended with more effect, for, after a tremendous struggle, the soldiers succeeded in carrying away the body; and at four o'clock in the afternoon the interment took place at Palamcottah."

The official report states that the number of persons killed was ten, and of wounded nineteen. The Government have approved of the conduct of Mr. Levinge in this painful affair, but the minutes of their proceedings have only reached us at the moment of going to press. Our latest accounts intimate that the province has since been perfectly quiet.

The more recent disturbances in South Travancore have not affected the Missions of this Society. They appear to have arisen out of a question of *caste*, rather than of *religion*.

In the Tinnevely riots, it will be seen that, in the first instance, the Missionary, while protesting against what he regarded as the unjust decision of the magistrate, directed his people to yield obedience to it, and took the legitimate course of appealing to a higher tribunal. The Sessions Judge decided in his favour, though, owing to an informality, that decision was withdrawn. But it has since been formally confirmed.

In the second case, after the first application to the magistrate, the matter was simply one of police; and neither Missionaries nor native Christians took any steps in it, except so far as the relatives of the deceased acted under the immediate directions of the authorities. We are happy to observe, that, with scarcely an exception worth noticing, the public press in general, both in India and in this country, so far as the matter has been commented upon at home, entirely exonerates the native Christians of all blame.—They, as well as the Hindús and Mohammedans, come under the operations of that clause in the Royal Proclamation—"We declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, that none shall be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that ALL shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the Law." And we are glad to find that those who bear office in India are carrying out the spirit of the proclamation in behalf of all classes of the community, without suffering their religious belief or worship to interfere with their equal rights as subjects of the British Crown. We trust that the event, lamentable as it is, may yet be abundantly overruled for good by the Great Disposer of all hearts and all events.

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SOUTH INDIA—THE TINNEVELLY RIOTS.

THE annexed extract from the Minutes of Consultation of the Madras Government, under date the 23th of January 1859, has been published in India for general information—

“The Right Hon. the Governor in Council, deeply laments this unfortunate occurrence and melancholy loss of life, but, after the best consideration that he can give to the subject, he believes that the results were unavoidable. It appears clear, from all that has been stated, that a determined opposition had been organized, and that the people, encouraged by their success on the recent previous occasion, and, probably, covertly incited by some of the native officials, as well as emboldened by the belief that the magistrate would not proceed to extremities, had resolved that the body of the deceased Christian should not be carried through any of the town streets. The only way by which they would have allowed the corpse to be removed, was by the Tachanullúr road; and good reason has been shown by the magistrate why he would not have allowed the body to be carried by that way, even had he known it to be open to him. It has been stated, both by the Acting Joint Magistrate, the Sessions Judge and Mr. Sargent, that men of all castes, dying in the dispensary, had been carried out by the púdú terú; but this road was also closed by the people on the present occasion. Under these circumstances, the magistrate acted rightly in ordering that the corpse should be borne to the place of burial by the nearest public high road. Mohammedans and Christians have, it is stated by Mr. Levinge, been taken out of the town for interment through the street; and, in March last, a dead body was taken to the dispensary for examination by that street, and taken away again the same way for interment. The opposition encountered by the Tahsildar was evidently such as could not have been overcome but by a military force; and the consequence of calling out that force must rest on those whose violent resistance to the constituted authorities made the measure necessary.

“The Governor in Council, however, thinks it is to be regretted, that, in place of issuing his orders for the removal of the body by the public street through the Head of Police, the Acting Magistrate did not himself proceed to the spot on the morning of the 22nd, and by personal communication with the chief men of the Hindús; by assuring them of his resolution to vindicate the right of all to the public highway; by resort to military aid, if necessary; and by pointing out the folly and danger of resistance, endeavour to bring them into a better spirit. At the same time, the Government must admit that there is much force in the reasons alleged by Mr. Levinge in par. 2 of his letter of the 24th ultimo. There were good grounds for believing that the opposition was concerted, and of a most obstinate character: the Head of Police possessed influence in the town; he had the aid of all the civil force that the magistrate could give him; and had the magistrate made the attempt in

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person, and been beaten back, the consequences might have been most serious both to the life and property in the town. It appears, also, from his letter of the 16th instant, that when Mr. Levinge did proceed in advance of the troops, his endeavours to communicate with the Dalavoy Múdeliar, the most influential inhabitant of the town, were unsuccessful.

"In all other respects the Government consider that Mr. Levinge acted with firmness and judgment, and that but for his decided conduct, when the riot broke out, the most serious consequences might have ensued.

"The demonstration on the 11th of December, and, consequently, the more serious opposition afterwards manifested on the 22nd, was, Mr. Levinge is certain, got up solely because the deceased was a Christian; and he believes it to be only a part of an organized system of intimidation. The Sessions Judge, in the extract from his Proceedings of the 3rd instant, supports this view. Such may have been the case on this particular occasion; but the Government have not regarded it in that light. It is well known that, in many towns in this Presidency, similar disputes have prevailed between different Hindú castes, or between members of the right and left-hand castes, and that one party has endeavoured to exclude the other from the use of the public streets. Such exclusion cannot be tolerated. The public high streets, in all towns, are the property not of any particular caste, but of the whole community; and every man, be his caste or religion what it may, has a right to the full use of them, provided that he does not obstruct or molest others in the use of them, and must be supported in the exercise of that right.

"The ten rioters mentioned at the conclusion of the Acting Magistrate's letter of the 31st ultimo, should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour. The course that he is taking for holding to security the owners of houses whence stones were thrown, is approved; and the Government would desire to be informed of the result of his inquiry as to the behaviour of the pagoda servants and closing of the bazaar, as well as into the conduct of the village Múnsiff, both on the last and previous occasion. Meanwhile, the Head of Police will remain under suspension.

"A statement has appeared—although it receives no countenance from the reports of the magistrate—that the authorized Tamil translation of Her Majesty's Proclamation is erroneous, and that this, in some degree, tended to incite the rioters to offer opposition to the passage of the corpse. This subject will be considered by Government separately."

The following extract is from *The Friend of India*—

"The Government of Madras have furnished an account of the riot at Tinnevely, upon which, we presume, from the fact of publication, they intend the public to rely. The story is told with much minuteness, and with apparent candour, and will undoubtedly create a great sensation at home. The line of conduct adopted by the officials involves the question of the future position of Christianity in India more distinctly than any recent incident. But there is a question involved in this matter far more important than any conceivable riot. It is simply whether Christianity is to be tolerated in India. It is not a dispute about authority, or ascendancy, or even equality, but merely of toleration. If tolerated, however much they may be despised, or hated, or oppressed, the Christians have still a clear right to pass quietly along the Queen's highway. It was for asserting this right that they were hooted and stoned by the mob of

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pagans, who were encouraged by the native officials, till, by a natural transition, they turned their rage on the official Christian, the joint Magistrate. They were then, and not till then, made to leave the highway clear. That the compulsion involved a loss of human life may be regretted, but the mob brought it on themselves by their resistance to the law. By the simplest rule of citizenship, the Christians were entitled to the protection they found. If Government are unwilling to grant it, they will cease, not only to be Christian, but to be a Government at all. If they are unable, the quicker we give up Tinnevely to the Brahmins and their king the better. Our sole moral claim in India is, that we keep the peace and allow the Gospel a free path."

ANTI-MISSIONARY MEETINGS.

(From "*Allen's Indian Mail*.")

The "*Madras Times*" mentions a rumour current for some days in Madras, that certain of the leading Hindús and Mohammedans at the Presidency have arranged the preliminaries for a monster anti-Missionary meeting. Their Brahmins and molwis are to be summoned in large numbers from the Mofussil to lend the movement the sanction of their authority, and aid it with their counsel and rhetoric. The conduct of Mr. Levinge in reference to the recent tragedy at Palamcotta is the ostensible grievance, and the expulsion of Missionaries from India the real object of the promoters of the intended agitation. For the redress of their supposed wrongs, and the attainment of their remedy, a memorial is to be presented to the Secretary of State for India."

NORTH INDIA.

The Rev. T. Sandys communicates the fact that three natives have been ordained by the new Bishop of Calcutta—

"A very interesting ordination was held by the Bishop in the cathedral on the 25th of January, when three natives from the Upper Provinces and one Englishman were ordained deacons. The natives were, David Mohun, of Benares, Solomon Devi Deen, of Chunar, and Paul, for the native Christians at Dheyra Dhun. Such a circumstance as three natives of this country being ordained to be native pastors of native-Christian congregations has never, so far as I am aware, taken place in Northern India. May it prove the beginning of a new order of things, and, with the Divine blessing resting on its head, to the establishment of Christ's kingdom, and the salvation of multitudes of people!"

The following interesting communication is from the Rev. J. Long, of Calcutta, Jan. 24, 1859—

"I have just returned from a visit to Orissa and the temple of Juggernath. While there, I had much intercourse with civilians, natives, &c.; and I saw very much of pundits and priests connected with the temple. I am happy to tell you that the disconnexion of the Government from direct management of the temple is producing very good effects. The superintendency has been placed in the hands of the Rajah of Khurda; and he does not give the priests half the sums Government used to allow them. The priests therefore are grumbling very much, and wishing the Government would again take the management into their own hands. The Collector of Puri, or the town of Juggernath, mentioned to me a fact, which shows what firmness can do. He was apprehensive last year that many mutineers might come to Juggernath in the disguise of pilgrims: he therefore stationed policemen at certain

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localities along the road, and turned all the pilgrims back. The order was quietly obeyed, as the pilgrims themselves were afraid of disturbance.

"I visited a temple eighteen miles from Juggernath, called the Black Pagoda. It is now deserted, but was erected six centuries ago, when Hindúism was in its prime. What did my eyes behold? Beautifully sculptured figures, as large as life, covering the temple, representing men and women, but under an aspect it is impossible to describe. I saw the same in the town of Juggernath itself, on temple walls. How deceptive is Hindúism! while to intellectual votaries it presents a profound philosophical system, free from sensualism, to the common people it affords the means and incentives to all kinds of impurity.

"Our friends in England receive so many Missionary accounts from cities in India, and where Hindúism appears under a mild form, that people are apt to fancy Christianity is rapidly spreading through the country. Alas! all that I see of the country, more and more convinces me that we have as yet only tapped the surface. I heard much of Bible and Tract distribution in Orissa; but when I went there, almost all inquiries led to the conclusion that very, *very* few of the people could read—education is almost *nil*. I ask, as a matter of plain common sense, how can we expect Christianity to pervade the masses in this country, when they are utterly unable to read God's word, and when but few Missionaries have that competent knowledge of the language which would enable oral instruction to supply the want of a knowledge of the written word? Near the temple of Juggernath, I heard a pundit expounding the Shasters to an attentive body of hearers. With what force and fluency did he enlarge on the life of Krishna! his manner, intonation, were all so infinitely superior to what are used by Europeans.

"In Orissa, when I stood amid the splendid shrines of ancient days, amid their deserted cities and abandoned Buddhist caves—when I saw how the votaries of Hindúism pay, aye, and that liberally, for their religion—I felt that, after all, when we complain of the difficulty of getting native Christians to pay towards the support of their teachers and catechists, it just shows that it is not owing simply to the native character, for idolaters, as in Orissa, pay liberally;—it must be that Christianity has taken very little root in the soil of their hearts."

The report of the Rev. A. Medland, for the year ending December 1858, is here inserted at length, the connexion of his station, Mírut, with the mutiny, imparting to it an especial degree of interest—

"In consequence of the disturbance which unfortunately commenced in this station on the 10th of May 1857,* the operations of the Mírut branch of the Church Missionary Society were almost, if not entirely, suspended. The instruction in the Mission school was confined to a few native-Christian children only, whilst the Sunday and week-day services were performed in the schoolroom. At the commencement of the present year, an appeal having been made to the residents of the station, and liberally responded to, the Mission school was again opened, and divine service resumed in the Hindústani chapel. After some further delay, the school premises in the city, which had been destroyed during the outbreak, were put in thorough repair, and,

* Vide "Church Missionary Record," 1857, p. 205.

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with the concurrence of the Commissioner and Magistrate of the district, the school was re-opened. Notwithstanding the inconveniences arising from the want of books and maps, the whole of our former supply having been destroyed, the school has continued to increase very steadily, and now numbers ninety-nine on the books.

"Shortly after the commencement of the mutiny, an old native Christian left a few religious tracts at Mulliana, a village about two miles beyond the native cavalry lines. Two or three of the more intelligent villagers, into whose hands the tracts had fallen, commenced reading them, and became so much interested in their contents, that they came to the Mirut station for further information. They were encouraged, placed under regular Christian instruction, and the result is, that, up to the present time, thirteen men, heads of families, have been baptized, and four men and thirteen women are under instruction, and will (D.V.) be shortly baptized. These, together with their children, form a little congregation of about fifty-six, who observe the Sabbath, and assemble from day to day to worship the only true God, through the only Mediator, Jesus Christ. A catechist and his wife have been placed at Mulliana, who have laboured well to instruct the people, especially the women, whose progress in learning to read, knitting, and committing hymns and portions of Scripture to memory, has been very satisfactory. A neat gothic church, from designs by W. B. Harrington, Esq., of Rurkie, is well nigh completed, and will shortly be opened for divine service.

At Khunker Khara, a village beyond the European lines, a spirit of inquiry has for some time existed: several have come under regular Christian instruction, and, up to the present time, three men, one woman, and five children, have been baptized, and there is every probability of several more coming forward for admission into the Christian church. Through the kindness of the Collector of the district, a suitable spot of ground has been obtained, on which it is proposed to erect a school-house and a dwelling for a catechist, who will, it is hoped, be shortly located there.

"In addition to the baptisms already alluded to, seven adults, from different places, have also been admitted into the Christian church. Amongst them are two Mussulmans, the one a regimental múnshí from Bareilly, who had been for some years a student of the Holy Scriptures, and who, during the outbreak, had afforded assistance to a native Christian whilst in concealment: the other a respectable múnshí from Delhi, possessing a certificate from the late Mr. Jennings, the chaplain, testifying to his sincerity and consistency.

"The movement at Mulliana, and the erection of a church there, has been attended with the most beneficial result in a Missionary point of view. Intelligence of it has reached various places. From surrounding districts many have come in—in one instance from as far as Delhi—to see and make inquiries, and also to have intercourse with the Missionary. In two or three villages, besides those already named, a spirit of inquiry is beginning to manifest itself, which will be encouraged and promoted as far as it possibly can. The great drawback at the present time is the want of duly-qualified, sincere, and consistent native agents, who might be located in places where the people manifest a desire to hear and to receive instruction. During the year five deaths have occurred amongst the native-Christian community—one infant and four adults. Respecting the latter, whilst it would be difficult, from age and other circumstances, to form any very decided opinion concerning the state of two of them, yet of the others it may confidently be affirmed we had 'hope in their death.'

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

A short tour has recently been made in the district by the Missionary, during which twenty-two different towns and villages were visited, five only of which had been previously visited or preached in. The people, with scarcely an exception, manifested a most respectful bearing, and listened generally with much attention to the truths declared unto them. It is worthy of remark, that throughout the tour, the Mussulmans, who have been invariably the bitterest opponents to Christianity, did not manifest the slightest opposition.

"The distant branches at Landour and Bareilly have been disconnected from the Mírut Mission, both places having been found far too distant to allow of any thing like effective superintendence.

"In consequence of the disturbances, the annual sermons were not preached in the station last year, nor were any subscriptions paid to the Mission from May 1857 until January 1858; so that the small balance which was in hand at the commencement of the outbreak was more than expended in providing for the wants of the native Christians. The Missionary, however, desires to acknowledge the kind interest and very liberal support he has received from the residents in the station during the past year. Not only has a small balance which was due to the Treasurer been paid off, and the current expenses of the Mission met, but a balance of about 900 rupees remains in hand to commence another year's operations; in addition to which, aided by the liberality of friends in Rúrkie and Allahabad, the sum of 1700 rupees has been contributed towards the erection of the church at Mulliana, which will be quite, if not more than sufficient to complete it.

"In reviewing the efforts of the past year, we have every reason to thank God and take courage. Not only has the whole of the Mission machinery been again set in motion, but we have been encouraged by no small addition to our numbers. The expectations for the future are bright and full of promise, and in the strength which God alone supplies we desire to go forward, feeling assured that all that has recently taken place is being overruled for good, and will eventually be found to redound to God's glory, and the great increase of his church from amongst the inhabitants of this unhappy and idolatrous land."

The annexed extract is from a letter of the Rev. Robert Clark, dated Peshawur, February 8, 1859—

"We have many encouragements. I went to the house of one of the Christians, the Hají, and saw there a sight I had never seen before in Peshawur—seventeen men, Persians and Afghans, from both city and country, sitting round him, whilst he explained to them most beautifully, in Persian, 1 Cor. xv.; they listening with the deepest attention, and apparently assenting to every thing he said. Oh, if only God's Spirit were poured out, what might we not expect, even in a very short time! How much we need the prayers of our English friends! The number who pray for us here is greatly increasing. There are, in this station alone, more than 500 private soldiers who give to Missions sums varying from three to twenty-four shillings a year each, and many, or rather most of these, pray for us, as one of them said the other night, 'We never meet, sir, without praying for your work among the heathen,' and they meet every night for prayer."

Extract from a letter from Rev. C. F. Cobb, dated Benares, Feb. 19, 1859—

"We have some very promising lads—promising, I mean, from their seriousness and earnestness, as well as their wonderful Scripture knowledge. You know that — does not take a sanguine view of things, but even he told me

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

that it was to him, just as when Nehemiah first came to inquire, like waking up from a long dream to a delightful reality, when one day three or four of these boys came to speak to him in one of our chapels, they seemed so earnest and so spiritually-minded. I hope you and the Committee will specially pray that the Holy Spirit may indeed accomplish His work in these dear youths.

"Yesterday we had our annual prize-giving, and I am thankful to say it was a most gratifying day to myself, and I believe, from many kind expressions, that it was so to all present. General G. Campbell presided, and about thirty-five or forty Europeans were present, including some of the most influential people of the station. Among the native visitors were the sons of the Rajah of Cúrg, the native Judge, and a number of the students of the Government college.

"I think that the most interesting feature of the affair was a short address delivered in English by the native Judge, Babu Shama Churn. He was educated at the Hindú college, and till lately has been a native Judge at Azimgurh. There he took a great interest in our school. When Timothy had lost his all, and was in great distress in the mutiny, Babu Shama Churn stood his friend, and gave him considerable pecuniary relief.

"When he got to the college (on the prize-day) he requested a pen and paper, and he put down a few thoughts for an address. Had he had previous notice he had wished to have composed a long address, but the haste made the speech more genuine, and its brevity perhaps enhanced its effectiveness. He showed me the paper, and asked my permission to read it, which I cordially gave.

"After the distribution of prizes he stepped forward, and, with a loud voice and good delivery, spoke in English as follows—'Ladies and Gentlemen, Your presence in this meeting at once shows the good effects of the Christian religion. You are come here for the purpose of improving the welfare and happiness of a race that, only a short time ago, took up arms against you, and tried to eradicate you from this country; but in return for all that you are seeking their prosperity and happiness. I cannot ascribe this to any thing else but the influence of the Christian faith, and I hope that my countrymen will mark this most benevolent and charitable act on your part, and learn to be grateful and loyal to the British Government; and I sincerely hope that the moral principles inculcated in the Bible may be taught in all the Colleges in India. And to you, my dear boys, I beg to impress on your tender hearts that you can never expect a better Government than the British, and that, therefore, you ought to be thankful to the Almighty God for the preservation of the British authority in India.'"

YORUBA MISSION.

In reference to the remarkable openings in Africa, and the insufficient supply of labourers, Mr. Meakin says (Jan. 29), "Iwo seems to be a stronghold of Mohammedanism, but the people appeared friendly. The chief sent to me a few days ago, desiring me to come again, as I had forgotten him. I do hope that ere long these places will be taken possession of in the name of Jesus. Illorin is open to our visits, but there cannot any be spared even for that. 'COME OVER, AND HELP US,' is *our* cry: 'COME OVER, AND HELP US,' is *their* cry. Time, which is fast waning, and eternity, bid us call louder still for witnesses for truth—for Him, whose blood cleanseth from all sin, and whose righteousness will obtain us an entrance among the saints in light."

We are thankful to be able to add, that Mr. Hinderer's visit to Sierra

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

Leone, in search of suitable Mission Agents for the Yoruba Country, has been so far blessed, that he has returned to his station, taking with him "about six or eight" Scripture Readers, with their families. "Our prayers follow them," writes Mr. Ehemann, "that the angel of the Lord may follow them." The Bishop left Sierra Leone on Feb. 14, on a visit to the Yoruba Country.

EAST AFRICA.

In the absence of direct intelligence from Mombas, the following extract from a letter of the Rev. G. Deimler, dated Bombay, January 14, 1859, may possess some interest—

"If I shall say a word of my hopes and expectations, I have to remind you that I received my destination for the Presidency with a view of being made useful amongst the East Africans also. In accordance with this, I lately took two East Africans to my house. They are from the Wabaiaw country, east of the Niassa lake, who, having been captured by an English cruiser, were brought to Bombay, and here they remained under instruction at the Indo-British Institution for four and a-half years. They gave great satisfaction there, and are spoken of as loving the Bible and private prayer. My plan is, to have them for a while on trial whilst they attend the Money school: if they prove to have spiritual life and promise, well: in other respects I trust you will readily assist me in enabling them to receive such instruction as may tend to fit them as catechists, first for their many countrymen here, and eventually, in the providence of the Lord, perhaps for East Africa. My dear brother Rebmann would rejoice to get native help. Meanwhile, a zealous and much-esteemed friend has kindly undertaken to raise a subscription for them. May the Lord make them fit, both intellectually and spiritually, for his work of grace and mercy amongst the lost tribes of East Africa! May we soon be able to use the Gospel of St. Luke in Kisuaheli (which Mr. Rebmann promised to send me) to the eternal welfare of East Africans, who may be willing to hear it in their native tongue!"

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

On the 14th of March the Committee took leave of the Rev. R. Pargiter, returning to the Ceylon Mission; and, on the 11th of April, of the Rev. C. C. and Mrs. Fenn, returning to the same Mission; and of the Rev. T. E. Hallett, proceeding to join the North-India Mission. They were addressed by the Rev. J. Fenn, T. P. L. Hallett, Esq., and the Bishop of Carlisle, and afterwards commended in prayer to Almighty God by the Rev. C. F. S. Money.

ARRIVAL OF MISSIONARIES.

North-India Mission.—The Rev. C. B. Leupolt left Calcutta on February 8th, and arrived in London on March 31st. The Rev. T. V. French left Agra on the 25th of December 1858, and arrived in London on March 25th, 1859.

South-India Mission.—The Rev. R. R. Meadows left Madras on December 29, 1858, and arrived in London on March 28th, 1859.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

Ceylon Mission.—The Rev. R. and Mrs. Pargiter sailed from Southampton, for Galle, on March 19th; and the Rev. C. C. and Mrs. Fenn, from the same place, on April 20th.

DEATH OF A MISSIONARY'S WIFE.

We regret to record the death of Mrs. Foulkes, wife of the Rev. T. Foulkes, which occurred at Jaffna, Ceylon, on the 7th of February.

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SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY.

THE Annual Sermon was preached before the Society on Monday evening, the 2d of May, at the parish church of St. Bride, Fleet Street, by the Lord Bishop of London, V.P., from Psalm ii. 8. Collection, 141*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*

The Annual Meeting was held at Exeter Hall, Strand, on Tuesday, the 3d of May. The Right Hon. the President took the Chair at ten o'clock. Prayer having been offered, and a portion of Scripture read, the meeting was addressed by the Chairman. An abstract of the Report was then read by the Rev. John Venn, and Resolutions were adopted as follows—

Movers and Seconders.

The Duke of Marlborough, V. P., and the Rev. T. R. Birks—the Rev. T. V. French, Missionary from Agra, and the Lord Bishop of London, V. P.—the Rt. Rev. Bishop Payne, from Liberia, West Coast of Africa, and the Rev. C. B. Leupolt, Missionary from Benares—the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, V. P., and the Rev. W. Weldon Champneys.

Resolutions.

—That the Report, of which an abstract has now been read, be received and printed under the direction of the Committee; that the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Lord Bishop of London for his sermon before the Society last evening; to his Grace the Vice-Patron; to the Right Hon. the President and the Vice Presidents; and to all those friends who, during the past year, have exerted themselves in its behalf; and that the following gentlemen be appointed the Committee for the ensuing year, with power to fill up vacancies—

Major-Gen. Alexander.	James Farish, Esq.	Robert Prance, Esq.
George Arbuthnot, Esq.	Lt.-Col. Gabb.	Col. Smith.
John Ballance, Esq.	Russell Gurney, Esq.	John Sperling, Esq.
Lt.-Col. Caldwell.	John Gurney Hoare, Esq.	Hudleston Stokes, Esq.
Major-Gen. Clarke.	Lt.-Col. Hughes.	J. M. Strachan, Esq.
Col. Dawes.	Arthur Lang, Esq.	J. Fryer Thomas, Esq.
John Deacon, Esq.	William Lavie, Esq.	Rear Admiral Trotter.
William Dugmore, Esq.	P. F. O'Malley, Esq., Q.C.	H. Carre Tucker, Esq.

—That the remarkable events in India during the last two years, and the manifest blessing of God upon the inadequate efforts hitherto made for evangelizing that vast country, present the strongest grounds for renewed and enlarged efforts in that sacred cause.

—That while this Meeting recognises in our Indian dependencies the first claim upon our Missionary zeal, it deprecates all thought either of checking increased effort for Africa and China, or of overlooking the claims of Japan, and every other unevangelized country.

—That adverting to the need of an enlarged annual income, and of a greatly increased supply of Missionaries, before the Society can fulfil the obligations recognised in the preceding Resolutions, this Meeting would humble themselves before the Lord on account of national sins and shortcomings, and devoutly express their confidence, that as He has saved India to Great Britain, and opened to her Africa, China, and Japan, so He will pour out a spirit of more self-denying liberality, more fervent prayer, and more devoted zeal for the extension of his kingdom.

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The financial statement presented to the Meeting was as follows :—

<i>General Fund</i> —Total Ordinary Income	£122,088 17 10
Special Fund for India, up to March 31, 1859	24,287 11 3
Total received in the United Kingdom	£146,376 9 1
Total Expenditure on General Fund.	£120,342 3 5
<i>Special Indian Fund</i> —Total to March 1859	£49,005 8 2
Expenditure and Liabilities	7,908 0 0
Disposable balance	£41,097 8 2

The Local Funds raised in the Missions, and expended there upon the operations of the Society, are not included in the foregoing statement. They are estimated at 15,000*l.*; making a grand total from all sources of 161,976*l.*

The ordinary income is the highest which the Society has ever yet received, excepting that of last year, of which it falls short by 8698*l.* That year's income, however, contained an extraordinary donation of 10,000*l.* It is matter of great encouragement that the Associations have this year contributed a far larger amount than in any previous year; exceeding that of last year by 6080*l.*

There has also been raised, during the year, for the Special Fund, 24,287*l.*

In announcing this result, it becomes a grateful duty on the part of the Committee to acknowledge the valuable services of their fellow-labourers, the large body of collectors, male and female, adult and juvenile, to whose varied, gratuitous, and untiring efforts, through the Divine blessing, must be mainly attributed a total amount of contributions to the Society this year which surpasses all previous experience.

Amidst the devout and grateful feelings which arise upon a review of this large sum, the Committee must confess some feeling of regret that they have not to announce its complete expenditure; and that they have not to report such an increase of Missionaries sent out to India as to have exhausted the Special Indian Fund.

During the last year, so many Missionaries have been removed by sickness and death from the Missions, while the supply of new Missionaries has been so scanty, that the number of European Agents actually employed at this time is less than it was last year.

The scanty supply of men would fill the Committee with a sense of humiliation before God and this meeting, on this occasion, if they were not also able to announce that they have at this time so large a number of accepted candidates, who will be prepared to go out in the course of this and the following year, as will, under God's blessing, remove the reproach, and soon exhaust the funds in hand. There are at present under preparation for going forth fifteen young men of the University of Cambridge, while several others have declared their intention of offering themselves for the work; two have offered themselves from Trinity College, Dublin; and there are thirty-five other accepted candidates. So that this year has been signalized by the increase of Missionary candidates no less than by the largeness of the income.

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The Committee would render humble thanks to the Lord of the Harvest for these concurring blessings, of an increasing income, and an increasing supply of men. They receive them as answers to special prayer, and as encouragements to yet more abounding and earnest prayer, for the supply of all their wants, and for the extension of the kingdom of his dear Son.

CONCLUSION.

Your Committee on this occasion will make no concluding reflections, as in ordinary times. This is a day of speaking events, of startling facts. Your Committee have laid before you the recital of the great things which God has been pleased to do, throughout the Gentile world, by your agency. They have put their facts forward : they leave them amidst the great transactions of the world, and the events which are astounding the inhabitants of Europe, to speak for themselves.

All flesh may hear that voice, of which a prophet speaks—"The voice of the day of the Lord,"—a voice, which, while it teaches the inhabitants of the world wisdom, animates the heralds of mercy to make their proclamation—"We have a strong city ; salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks. Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter in." (Isaiah xxvi. 1, 2.)

<p>"While the nations are contending, And the tumult louder grows ; Through the earth our God is sending</p>	<p>News of peace to heal our woes : Sounds of mercy sweeter are, Heard amidst the din of war."</p>
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The Meeting was closed with singing a hymn. Collection, 176*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.*

A Meeting was also held in the evening, the Marquess of Cholmondeley, V.P., in the chair ; at which addresses were delivered by the Revs. J. Ridgeway, E. Sydney, and J. Bilderbeck. Collection, 19*l.* 2*s.*

YORUBA AND NIGER MISSIONS.

The Rev. S. Crowther has returned to Abeokuta, after his prolonged absence on the banks of the Niger. He had suffered much from exposure and unwholesome food, without medical assistance, during several weeks spent in travelling up the river in open canoes, and then by land from Rabba ; but at the time of writing he had been mercifully restored to his usual health, and expresses his readiness to return to the Niger immediately, if circumstances require it. Mr. Crowther writes, March 29, 1859—

"At Ilorin I was most favourably received and welcomed, both by the king, the head war-chief, and the chief mallam : there was a large meeting on the occasion of my interview with the king at court, when various subjects became topics of conversation, political, commercial, religious, and geographical, in all which they received much information, which they acknowledged they had never had so clearly stated to them before : in point of religion, the subject of Christ's being the Son of God was the most important. As I had the Scriptures to appeal to, there was no difficulty. I asked, 'Do you not believe that the angel Gabriel was a faithful messenger, whom God used to send to all the prophets, and who you believe was sent to Mohammed ? It was the same Gabriel, 600 years before Mohammed, whom God sent to announce to the Virgin Mary that she should conceive of the Holy Ghost, and bear a Son, and that Son should be called the Son of God.' Both the king, war-chief, and chief mallam, were struck by this undeniable proof, but, of course, did not confess, but wonder at my book knowledge, as I could refer to the Korán, as well as

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the Christian book, with such ease and readiness almost in every point. I left the court with kind expressions of peace and blessing. The king perfectly well knew, that, through Christian influence, Abbeokuta is becoming a market-place for prosperity in this part of the country: though our religion is not asked for, yet the inseparable advantages—peace, and prosperous commerce, which follow in its train—are most eagerly sought for, and they will not object to the introduction of our religion, for the sake of its worldly advantages.

“I was thankful to meet all the members of the Mission at Abbeokuta, in tolerable health, and the work of God prospering in their hands. Many new faces were among our old communicants and candidates, to welcome my arrival: these have, since my absence, been gathered from the scattered sheep, among the thousands who are yet wandering from the fold of God. I hope and trust many more yet will hear the call of Christ through his faithful servants, by the preaching of the Gospel.

“After our enlargement of the old Ake church, it was finally given up for a larger and more substantial one, which can afford room for twice as many more as the old church could contain. The sister church at Igbein is adopting the plan of the old Ake church, by an additional length of twenty feet; and that of Ikija is preparing to follow the same plan. These increases of congregations, and enlargements of churches, are very striking to me who have been absent for a short time from the Mission, though it may be imperceptible to those who are immediately occupied on the spot. My hearty prayer is, that, not only at Abbeokuta, but in all other places where we have been permitted to have a station, obstacles may be removed out of the way, that many who are at present ready to join the church, but kept back through the fear of man, or through the influence of sin, may be released from their bondage, hear the call of Christ, and join his Church.

“Another striking circumstance which regards the general population of Abbeokuta, is the increased attention to the cultivation of the soil. Many, who some time ago applied themselves mostly to war and kidnapping, and others to palm-oil trade, have, since the introduction of the other trade, turned their attention to the cultivation of the land as well, growing not only produce for home consumption, but cotton largely for exportation. A stimulus has been given to this, not only by the industrial establishment, but by the appearance of Mr. Scala in Abbeokuta, in whose cotton-cleaning factory twenty saw-gins are daily at work, Sunday excepted, either by hired labourers, or those who clean on their own account to sell to him, with his screw press; as well as by the appearance of four European Manchester merchants, who are known to have come here to buy as much cotton as Abbeokuta can produce. It cannot but be expected that such change will influence the people differently, some for good, some for evil. It is a time of trial and test of character, when the real and the mere outward professors of the Christian religion are shown out in their true colours. This cannot be avoided, though greatly to be lamented. Yet the general good influence which the introduction of lawful commerce has on the population at large cannot be denied.”

The Rev. J. C. Taylor of the Niger Mission has, at the request of the Parent Committee, come to England for conference as to his future proceedings. He arrived on the 9th of May.

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NORTH INDIA.

EXTRACTS from a letter of Mrs. C. Lamb, dated April 15, 1859—

"I have lately returned from a sojourn of three months in the Dhoon, at the new Christian colony, which commenced with seven families who were baptized by my late husband, so that I naturally took a lively interest in them, and every thing connected with the colony. It is twenty miles from Deyrah, and two miles from the Jumna, at the western end of the Dhoon, a valley which averages fourteen miles in breadth. The Christian settlement is beautifully situated in the centre, with the Himalayas stretching from east to west, and the Sewallic range on the south. You will be glad to hear that it is prospering: there are now eighty, including children, and independent of the schoolmaster's family, and I took down the names of one hundred more who will join us as soon as practicable.

Major and Mrs. R—, and myself, were rejoiced to welcome Paul as its pastor (*vide* p. 127); and already we find that his presence is having a very beneficial effect on the people. Although an elderly-looking man, he is still energetic: his heart is evidently in the work, and he is anxious for the welfare of the colony. He retains his former simple manners, and yet he commands respect from all: indeed, I am truly delighted with the spirit in which he is come amongst these people, so full of love to their souls, and "desiring to know nothing but Christ Jesus, and Him crucified." He preaches and explains Gospel truths most clearly and decidedly.

With respect to the schoolmaster, too, and his wife, who have acted as catechists, it was no little source of gratification to me to find how diligent they had been in preparing the candidates for baptism. Some had been under instruction for ten months, and the remainder for three months; and while we were there Paul baptized thirty-five adults, including the older children, and twenty-one young children and infants. It was exactly two years from the time my dear husband had baptized the first of their number, and they were most importunate that we would not leave the Dhoon before they were baptized, and particularly wished it should take place in my presence.

Paul gave an excellent sermon in the morning, impressing on them two things—first, to believe on Christ in the heart; and, secondly, never to forsake Him, but be ready at all times to confess Him before men. And in the afternoon he gave another affectionate address. I felt truly glad to witness the addition of so many to this native church. I had much conversation with them, and always felt pleased with their earnest remarks, and with their simplicity. The building which serves for church and school now is a very rude one, made of reeds, plastered with mud, and a thatched roof. We are trying to raise funds for a more durable one to be built before the rains. Paul's house is also to be built at once, in the centre of some land which will be cultivated for himself. It will be away from the noise and bustle of the villages, yet within five minutes' walk. But you must not suppose that Paul is going to settle down, and give up preaching wherever he finds openings and opportunity: this would make him most unhappy. He is now away for a fortnight, having been five days at the great Hurdwar mela, exactly at the other

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end of the Dhoon; and on his way back he is coming up to Landour for two or three days, to consult us regarding some matters connected with his charge.

I sent a trustworthy Christian servant with him, and both were greatly pleased at the deep attention of the multitudes, who listened with even more interest than formerly. A spirit of fear seems to pervade them in consequence of all the terrible doings that have taken place; and, far from being interrupted, numbers besought him, with joined hands, to go on telling them about the great God and salvation, saying, "It is all true! it is all true!" Paul is quite sanguine that, if his life be spared, he shall baptize hundreds in their own villages, if it is the Lord's will that the work should progress, and men's minds continue disposed, as they now seem in many places.

Paul says he considers his first and chief work to be at the Christian colony, of which he is pastor. The eyes of so many are on this, with so many different feelings towards it—some with great interest watching its temporal, others its spiritual success—that we feel most solicitous that no occasion should be given for the taunting remark, "Aha! aha! so would we have it."

I will not add more now than ask for the hearty prayers of all who take pleasure in the spreading of the Gospel, entreating them earnestly to remember this little church gathered from among the heathen, with its native pastor.

SEPOY CONVERTS.

(From "Allen's Indian Mail," June 20, 1859.)

"We (*Lahore Chronicle*) hear from Amritsar as follows—'On Tuesday last six souls were brought to the faith, one of whom was a female, whose husband had been brought into the Christian fold about two years ago, and a youth, the son of a *mūlwī*, a Mohammedan teacher and expounder of the Korān. As usual in the Punjab, all the civil authorities attended the ceremony of the baptism of these natives—Mr. Cust, the Commissioner, Mr. F. Cooper, the Deputy-Commissioner, Mr. Cordery, and Lieutenant John Chalmers, from whose regiment two of these converts came. In days gone by, no servants of Government dared to attend on such occasions, because of an indirect prohibition existing; but a new era has dawned over the Punjab, and our officials take heart, and act the good part. All this, you will see, has taken place, too, in the great seat of the Sikh religion, and the converts have come from the ranks of the Sikh soldiery.'

SOUTH INDIA.

THE TINNEVELLY RIOTS *

The Tinnevelly riot has been disposed of in the following extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated the 12th March.—"In extract Minutes Consultation, No. 123, dated 28th January last, the Government, after reviewing the circumstances of the late serious riot in the town of Tinnevelly, desired the acting Magistrate (para. 36) to inform them of the result of his inquiry as to the behaviour of the pagoda servants and closing of the bazaar, as well as into the conduct of the village *mūniff*, both on the last and previous occasions.' They further directed that the head of police should remain under suspension pending full inquiry into his conduct. Mr. Levinge now reports that the warden of the pagoda is a highly-respectable person, and quite incapable of taking part with a mob of rioters against the authorities; but that there is reason to believe that many of the pagoda ser-

* Vide pp. 94 and 122.

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vants, over whom the warden possesses very little actual authority, were very active on the occasion, and that these he has required to furnish security. The village munsiff has also been held to bail, and has further very properly been dismissed from office, it appearing that it was by his order that the shops were closed on the first occasion. On the second he was absent from the town. It remains to notice the conduct of the head of police. The Government concur in the opinion of the acting magis rate that the tenor of this officer's proceedings leads to the conclusion that he 'was determined not to use any influence or authority to disperse the mob, or to persuade them of the folly and risk of resistance.' He will consequently be dismissed the service on receipt of these orders. The Government, in conclusion, remark with satisfaction that the town of Tinnevely is now perfectly quiet, and that, not only in its precincts, but throughout the whole district, the question of the right of all classes to a common use of the high streets and roads is considered finally settled."

TINNEVELLY SCHOOLS.

In reference to the village schools of Tinnevely, of the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the last Report of the Director of Public Instruction for the Madras Presidency states, that the Inspector examined many of the schools, and records his opinion in the same words, and on the same grounds, as the late Inspector, that "this is the most successful effort for the improvement of indigenous education . . . which has yet been made in India."

TELUGU MISSION.

The want of labourers in South India is still most urgent. The Committee have little hope of being able to meet the requirements of Mr. Noble, as expressed in the annexed extract from a letter recently received; yet they make it public, in order to show how the destitution of the land is estimated on the spot, and, if it may be, to stir up some to say, "Here am I: send me."

"I wrote to you, to tell you of our destitution, and to implore your aid. It is large aid we want. You know, I think, that, on an average, it takes two years before a new comer from the west is fitted to work efficiently and fully, either in our schools or among the people. No man is more than half efficient till he knows the language well, and at least two years are required for this, during which, if he attends school, it can only be for a few hours a day, otherwise his progress in the language will be sadly impeded. What we want are two educated men at Bezware, beside Mr. Darling. Two years after they arrive must pass, before they can be of much use. One is wanted to itinerate with Mr. Darling, the other to manage the school. Two are required at Ellore—one to itinerate with Mr. Alexander, the other to work with Mr. Howley—to raise up, if the Lord have mercy on us, a native agency: at least four are required at Masulipatam, two to itinerate with Mr. Sharkey—one to manage his school, and two in our school of near 200 youths, out of which my humble hope is that the Lord may, by His Spirit, call forth teachers and preachers to extend our work among the people, in His own time. Five dear youths comfort my heart, and have set their hearts, not on Government employ, for which they are very competent, but on the grand work of saving souls. Men we want of very decided piety, willing to be nothing, and to have nothing, if only Jesus may, through them, be glorified; yet withal, men of a thoroughly good education, men like Henry Fox, apt to learn, apt to teach, of firm purpose, and a single eye to God's glory in Christ."

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NORTH-WEST AMERICA.

CREE TRANSLATIONS.

At a Meeting of the Committee, May 31st, the Secretaries presented a copy of the Cree New Testament in the Syllabic character, carried through the press by the Rev. W. Mason, at the expense of the Bible Society, 2000 copies of which go by the present ships to Rupert's Land. They presented, also, copies of the Prayer-book in Cree (excepting the Psalms,) published at the expense of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and also a copy transferred to the Moose dialect, printed at the expense of this Society.

The Secretaries also, represented to the Committee the desirableness of presenting, at the earliest period possible, the whole Bible to the Cree Indians, and the Rev. W. Mason stated that he was prepared to send the translation of the Old Testament at once to press, and to superintend the printing of it.

Mr. Mason also gave many instances of the facility with which the Indians acquire, in two or three days, the power of reading Syllabic characters; and also of their readiness in communicating that knowledge to all other Indians whom they may meet with, independently of any European agency.

The Committee, while putting on record its praise to God for the success which has already attended Mr Mason's labours in carrying through the press in Syllabic characters the Cree New Testament, and Common-Prayer Book, and regarding the presentation of the whole word of God to any people as an inestimable benefit, cordially sanctioned Mr. Mason's further stay in England until the Cree Old Testament is completed.

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

A special meeting was held at the Missionaries' Children's Home, Islington, June 7, to take leave of Missionaries proceeding to their several stations—

Western India—The Rev. C. C. and Mrs. Mengé, returning to Nasik.

orth India—The Rev. B. and Mrs. Davis, the Rev. W. B. and Mrs. Cole, and the Rev. A. and Mrs. Lockwood.

South India—The Rev. J. and Mrs. Buncher, Mr. W. and Mrs. Oxley, and Miss Richards.

China—The Rev. T. S. and Mrs. Fleming.

North-West America—Mr. H. Budd (p. 144).

The instructions were read by the Rev. Henry Venn, and, having been replied to, the Missionaries were addressed by the Right Hon. the President, the Rev. Francis Cunningham, and the Rev. J. Patteson; and commended, in prayer, to God's protection, by the Rev. J. Ridgeway.

DEPARTURE AND RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

The Rev. T. E. Hallett embarked at Gravesend, May 30, on board the "Alnwick Castle," for Calcutta; and the Rev. A. and Mrs. Lockwood, June 16, on board the "Nile," also for Calcutta: and Mr. and Mrs. Oxley and Miss Richards at the same time for Madras.

The Rev. G. and Mrs. Parsons, of the Ceylon Mission, arrived at Penzance on the 9th of June.

ORDINATION OF MISSIONARIES.

At the ordination of the Lord Bishop of London, held at St. Paul's Cathedral on June 19, the Rev. J. C. Taylor, of the Niger Mission, was ordained Priest (p. 160), and the Rev. J. Wycliffe Gedge, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Deacon.

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ADDRESS TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN LAWRENCE, BART., G.C.B.

A CROWDED and very influential Meeting, the Lord Bishop of London in the chair, was held at Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's, on June 24th last, for the purpose of presenting an Address to Sir John Lawrence, not merely expressive of the sense of the subscribers, of his distinguished administration of the Punjab during the Indian mutiny, but also of the high value of his recent despatch on the introduction of a voluntary Bible-class into the Government Schools and Colleges in India. The Address had been signed by between 7000 and 8000 persons of education and position, fully capable of forming an intelligent opinion on the subject. The signatures included the names of 8 Archbishops, 20 Bishops, 28 Temporal Peers, 71 M.P.s, and nearly 200 Mayors and Provosts of Cities and Boroughs in England and Scotland. Among those on the platform were—The Bishop of Durham, the Marquis of Westminster, the Earls of Bandon and Shaftesbury, Earl Ducie, Lords Kinnaid, Lytton, and Sandon, Lord Duncan, M.P., Hon. A. Kinnaid, M.P., Sir A. Agnew, Bart., M.P., Sir J. Ogilvy, Bart., M.P., Messrs. Joseph Hanbury, Hoare, Lefroy, A. Mills, Milnes, Abel Smith, M.P.s, Sir J. Kennaway, Bart., Sir C. E. Cardley, Bart., Sir J. Login, General Alexander, Admirals Harcourt and Trotter, the Secretaries of several Religious Societies, &c. &c.

We subjoin the Bishop of London's speech, together with the Address then presented, and also Sir John Lawrence's reply.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON, addressing himself to Sir John Lawrence, said,—“I believe I shall best consult your feelings, Sir, and my own, by stating as briefly as possible that which I have to say upon this occasion. I am, as you have just heard, deputed by 7000 of your fellow-countrymen to express to you our happiness at your safe return to your native land, and our thanks for the services which you have been enabled to perform in that crisis of your country's history which, with the blessing of Providence, we may now hope is at end. It would ill become me to enter into any enumeration of the great things which you have achieved. What you have done is matter of history. Your services have already been brought before the British public, in the two most august assemblies of the civilized world, by those whose privilege it is to award the praise and honours which are sanctioned by the Sovereign and the nation. To attempt to enumerate the services which you have performed would simply be to fail. But if I do glance back for a moment on those duties which it was your privilege so ably to discharge, I shall, I am sure, be best fulfilling the part which has been allotted to me, and acting most in accordance with your feelings; if I say that we are anxious to express our thanks on this occasion not to you, but to the Supreme Ruler of all events, who placed you in the position you occupied in India during the late momentous crisis in its affairs, and who used you as the instrument by which the ascendancy of a Christian Power was maintained in a large portion of the continent of Asia.

“Casting our eyes back some ten years, we find that the district in which you were located was the battle-field of India; that prodigious armaments were assembled by its rulers, which seemed to threaten the very existence of the British name; and that the Sikh Power seemed, as it were, destined to subvert the ascendancy of England in the East. When we call these facts to mind, and recollect that at the commencement of the recent mutiny it was not uncommonly said that one cause of our weakness in other parts of India was the necessity which existed for

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concentrating our forces for the purpose of occupying the Sikh territory ; and when we remember, upon the other hand, that through your instrumentality that province which had been our terror became one of the sources of our strength,—that, instead of concentrating the British forces in the Punjab, you were able to dispense altogether with English troops in that quarter, and to send men to aid in the recapture of Delhi, so that the weapon which seemed so formidable to our power was by you wielded so as to be our best defence ; when, I say, we reflect that those very soldiers who but a few years ago were engaged in mortal conflict with our own, under your superintendence became our faithful allies, there appears to be in the whole history of that which you have accomplished in the Punjab for the maintenance of English rule in India, something so marvellous, that it is but right we should return thanks, not to the human instrument, but to God, by whom that instrument was employed. We are happy to be able to greet you, Sir, on your safe return to your native land ; but while we express our sincere congratulations to you on that event, our hearts cannot fail to turn to those who have not been vouchsafed the privilege which you enjoy of revisiting your home. We all feel that it is one of the saddest pages in the history of the recent mutiny that so many of those whose names had in connection with that awful struggle become illustrious, and who seemed to give the brightest promise that for years to come they would constitute the strength as well as the ornament of their country, should have been, by the mysterious decrees of Providence, cut off in the midst of their career.

“ In congratulating you then, Sir, on being spared to come again among us we deplore the fact that you should be one of but a very few to whom that privilege has been accorded. And, dwelling upon this point, our attention cannot fail to be specially directed to him who was most near and dear to you, and in whose case, I doubt not, you are most anxious the acknowledgment should be made that the security of the Sikh territory was in no slight degree due to his administration at a former period. He has not, unhappily, lived to return to his native land to receive the honours which would naturally be awarded to him, but his name will for ever remain embalmed in the annals of his country, not only for the part he took in that bloody strife, amid which his career unfortunately closed, but still more for that which he achieved in the hour of his health and strength in the cause of peace. He will long be remembered, not only for his great and chivalrous qualities, by which, in a military point of view, he was distinguished, but also for his noble and loving heart. His name will long live enshrined in the heart of the soldier, whose friend he pre-eminently was, while it will not soon be forgotten that it was his privilege to do much of that Missionary work which proves that we take a lively Christian interest in the humblest man in the service, and his children, as well as in that heathen population whom the Almighty has committed to our charge. The foundation of the “Lawrence Institution” will not soon be obliterated from our memories.

“ And now, Sir, I have congratulated you on being enabled to return to your friends. It is not an unnatural question to ask—doubtless it is one which has occurred to yourself—Why is it that you have been thus spared ? We are anxious to associate your name to-day even more intimately than it has hitherto been connected with the spread of real Christian principles in the government of India ; but you would much mistake, I think, the feeling which animates this Meeting, and those who have signed this Address, if you were for a moment to suppose that we are anxious you should pledge yourself to a greater extent than you deem desirable in the presence of the country to any particular line of policy in reference to the Administration of Indian affairs. We have come here on this occasion, not to exact from you any pledge of that nature, but simply to express our trust in your manly and straightforward Christian sentiments, and to say to you that we are perfectly satisfied with the declaration which you have already made on this subject, leaving it

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to you as a Christian statesman to carry out and apply, as may seem good to you, the general principles which you have enunciated. We are not of those who would make this question of the Christian Government of India a party question. Far from it. We believe it to be a question in which the whole country is deeply interested. We deem it to be a question which lays claim to the consideration of one party not more than to that of another; and if we deplore that from time to time, amid the difficulties which beset the Government of this great empire, expression should be given to sentiments which seem to be open to objection with reference to the neutrality to be observed as to Christianity on the one hand and heathenism on the other, we feel confident that such sentiments do not find an echo in the heart of the country. We believe they will never be carried dangerously into effect in practice, and we are assured that the more the merits of this subject are examined into, the more calmly they are weighed, the more will every good man and patriotic Englishman be convinced that upon Christian principles our stand must be taken, both in the general government of the State, and in the promotion of education throughout the country.

"Now, as to the question of the introduction of the Bible into our Government schools, I can only say that, anxious as we are to make a solemn appeal to the nation in favour of that which we believe to be right, we do not think we should be aiding the cause of which we are the advocates by overlooking the difficulties which stand in the way of carrying our purpose into execution. For my own part, Sir, I hailed with gladness those documents to which your name was attached, because they seemed to me to answer fully the only objections which can be urged against that system of education which we earnestly desire to see introduced. We have been told from time to time that it would be well indeed to think of Christianizing India, but that we must first secure possession of it; and that the result of any mistaken step in the direction which we have at heart might lead to fresh outbreaks, to our troops being swept into the sea, and an end, in all human probability, thus put to the progress of Christianity in that country. When I heard this argument advanced, I was naturally anxious to hear what would be said on the subject by one whose knowledge on the point might be supposed to be of a sound and practical character. I was glad, therefore, Sir, to find from your testimony that no such danger as that which they who thus reasoned seemed to apprehend was to be feared, and I felt, so far as my own mind was concerned, that the point was completely settled. And I believe that that is the feeling of the whole country.

"There is, I will undertake to say, not one man in England who does not wish to see this question of the spread of Christianity in India set at rest, if that object could only be effected without failing in the attempt, and without the introduction of any of those elements of discord which would be an obstacle to the attainment of the end which we have in view. Your testimony, Sir, is therefore most valuable, inasmuch as it seems to me clearly to point out that that may be accomplished which we all concur in thinking ought to be done, without any of those consequences which some persons are disposed to apprehend. I am quite aware that in the documents to which I have referred, you speak with the caution which becomes one holding your position, and dwell upon the expediency of first finding competent teachers before introducing the Bible into the schools in India. In that view I, for one, entirely coincide. I do not imagine any great good could arise from the lectures of a heathen or a Deist on the New Testament. I look to China, and I see among the rebels there a strangely mutilated form of Christianity, which is but a mockery of the name. We must deal with this great question upon the statesman-like, as well as Christian, principles which you have enunciated. When we take it in hand we will endeavour to make the instruction which we give in the Scriptures, real instruction, so that those who receive it will not only be acquainted

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with the dates and geography of the history of our Lord, but, through the agency of such teachers as we should employ, imbued with true Christian principles; a real Christian morality being made the basis of their future lives. And I cannot help indulging the hope, that in the position which is assigned to you, Sir, in this country—and on the manner in which you fill this position so much of the future prosperity of India depends—you will devote your best efforts in the Indian Council, having already been the happy instrument in maintaining our dominion in the East, to settle this great question in such a way as to carry every party in this country along with you in the work. The day is, I trust, gone by when it is necessary to have agitation on the subject renewed. All that we now want is, that it should be calmly examined by those who hold the great trust from the Almighty, of Christian administrators of this Christian empire. I confidently hope that, aided by your counsel, Sir, our statesmen of all parties will ere long come to the conclusion that it is our duty to make an effort to have the knowledge of the Scriptures spread throughout the length and breadth of India. It now only remains for me to read to you the Address, with the presentation of which I have been honoured." The Right Rev. Prelate then read the Address as follows:—

"Sir John Lawrence,—We, the undersigned, taking a deep interest in the moral and religious welfare of the people of India, beg to approach you, on the occasion of your happy return to your native country, with our most respectful and hearty congratulations. It has pleased Divine Providence to relieve our nation from the solicitude into which it was lately plunged by the state of our Indian empire, and to fill us with thankfulness for the restoration of tranquillity and the complete establishment of the Royal authority in every part of the country.

"In you, Sir John, we, in common with the great body of your fellow-countrymen, gratefully recognise the instrument raised up by an all-wise Providence, to bear a part equal, if not superior, to that of any living man in this never-to-be-forgotten service to the British nation. Placed as ruler in a country where you were isolated by rebellion from the three Presidents of India, and by nature from the sea—the ordinary reserve of a British Governor—having a dangerous frontier on one side, the chief seats of rebellion on the other, and a turbulent population immediately around you, it was your singular happiness, in conjunction with the illustrious band of men trained in your own school, not merely to hold the recently-occupied Punjab, but in a spirit of the noblest self-devotion to strip it of a large portion of its European garrison, and bring all its resources and its old Khalsa soldiery to bear upon the conquest of Delhi, and the recovery of our Indian Empire.

"We rejoice that your valuable life has been preserved, while so many who shared with you the burdens and merits of the conflict have fallen before its close. Among the very foremost of these, your countrymen will bear in memory the great qualities, the inestimable services, and the patriotic end of your illustrious brother, Sir Henry Lawrence.

"With especial gratification we call to mind how, in the very midst of the struggle, and of greater dangers than others have deemed sufficient grounds for shrinking from every avowal of Christianity, you advised its frank profession. You laid down the principle that, 'Having endeavoured solely to ascertain what is our Christian duty, we should follow it out to the uttermost, undeterred by any consideration.' You knew that the tolerant spirit and benign precepts of our religion provided a permanent guarantee for the rights of all, especially in matters of conscience which could not be furnished by temporizing policy. You knew that 'If anything like compulsion enters into our system of diffusing Christianity, the rules of that religion itself are disobeyed, and we shall never be permitted to profit by our disobedience.' You have recorded your conviction that 'Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen. About such things

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there are qualities which do not provoke nor excite distrust, nor barden to resistance. It is when unchristian things are done in the name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in an unchristian way, that mischief and danger are occasioned.' These words are memorable. Their effect will be happy not only on your own age, but on ages to come. Your proposal that the Holy Bible should be relieved from the interdict under which it is placed in Government schools and colleges was true to the British principle of religious liberty, and faithful to your Christian conscience. We fully concur in your statement that 'anything like abnegation of our own principles does not generate confidence in us with the people. They only suspect us of some hidden ulterior design.'

"In such public acts you were enabled, amid extraordinary cares of State, to honour Him who reigns over all potentates. And in the pre-eminent place which the esteem of your countrymen assigns to you, we recognise another proof of the principle, 'Them that honour Me I will honour.'

"We offer our fervent prayer, in which we know we shall be joined by tens of thousands, that God may long preserve your life, and still continue to employ you as a great instrument of the public good."

Sir J. LAWRENCE then proceeded to reply, as follows:—"My Lord Bishop, Ladies and Gentlemen—I heartily thank your Lordship, and the many noblemen and gentlemen who have signed the Address, for the high honour which they have done me. You have been good enough to attribute to me a large share of the credit which is considered due to those who fought to maintain the supremacy of England, and secure the safety of her people, so sorely jeopardized in the late dreadful struggle in India. I am grateful for the good opinion of my countrymen, and deem their suffrages the highest honour I could gain. There were, however, in that crisis many men by my side who are fairly entitled to participate in this distinction, and whose services I have endeavoured to bring to notice. All, however, which we did was no more than our duty, and even our immediate interest. It was no more than the necessities of our position impelled us to attempt. Our sole chance of escape was to resist to the last. The path of honour, of duty, and of safety was clearly marked out for us. The desperation of our circumstances nerved us to the uttermost. There never, perhaps, was an occasion when it was more truly necessary to win or die. To use the words of my heroic brother at Lucknow, it was incumbent on us 'never to give in.' We had no retreat, no scope for compromise. That we were eventually successful against the fearful odds which beset us was alone the work of the great God, who so mercifully vouchsafed his protection. Nothing but a series of miracles saved us. To Him, therefore, alone is the glory due.

"I see no valid reason for changing the opinion which I expressed on the expediency of allowing the Bible to be read in all our schools and colleges in India, by those who desire to do so. Far from apprehending evil from this liberty, I believe that the results, for some years, would be scarcely perceptible. In progress of time, no doubt, however, the seed which was sown would bring forth fruit. It is not possible to introduce western learning and science into India without leading its people to throw off their own faith. If this position be correct, surely we are bound to give them facilities for acquiring a knowledge of the true faith. This is our true policy, not only as Christians, but as statesmen. In doing our duty towards them we should neither infringe the rights of conscience, nor interfere with the free will of man, while we should be working in the true way to maintain our hold on India. Had the mutineers of the Bengal army possessed some insight into the principles of the Christian religion, they would never have been misled in the manner they were—they would never have banded themselves together to resist and to avenge imaginary wrongs. Ignorance, in all ages, has been productive of error and delusion. India has formed no exception to this rule. I pray that the misfortunes entailed by this mutiny may teach England true wisdom, without which her tenure of India can never prove prosperous and enduring."

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THE LATE BISHOP BOWEN.

MOST of our English readers have already received the sad tidings of the very heavy blow that has befallen the Society's West-Africa Missions in the recent death of Bishop Bowen, which took place at Sierra Leone on May 28th last.

Of a noble, generous, and manly nature, he became, under the power of Divine grace, one of the most efficient and zealous soldiers of the Cross in Mohammedan and heathen countries that these latter days have witnessed. His early manhood was spent in Upper Canada, where he passed upwards of seven years as a settler, serving in the militia during the rebellion there. A desire for a higher vocation led him to return to England in 1842; and, after graduating at Trinity College, Dublin, he was admitted to Holy Orders by the present Bishop of Durham. Having soon afterwards inherited considerable property in Wales—a circumstance which many would have regarded as justifying them in a life of ease and retirement—he made it the opportunity of offering himself to the Church Missionary Society, to proceed to whatever part of the world they might think fit, at his own charges, but in all other respects under the usual control and direction of the Committee. On these terms, he twice visited the Palestine Mission and the regions further east, between the years 1847-1851 and 1854-1856; obtaining a thorough command of colloquial Arabic, and a great insight into the characters and prospects of Mohammedanism, and furnishing the Committee with much valuable counsel and information for the prosecution of Missionary work amongst the Arabs.

In 1857 he was called from the Rectory of Orton Longueville, Hunts, to undertake the spiritual oversight of the See of Sierra Leone, and arrived in his diocese on December 13th in that year. In February last, after a commencement of his labours, in which he displayed those qualities which had before won for him the hearts of all with whom he had to do, and had laid out many plans for the progress of the Gospel, and the elevation of the African race, he visited the Yoruba Mission, furnishing the Committee with a valuable report as to its state and prospects.

We give the details of the closing weeks of his eminent career, in the words of one of the local journals, *The African and Sierra-Leone Weekly Advertiser*—

"We can hardly describe the universal pleasure that pervaded our community when tidings of the Bishop's safe return became known. There was joy and gladness in every eye that beheld, and from many a heart were sent up fervent thanksgivings for his safe return. The health of the town had in the mean time been exciting anxiety and alarm. The small-pox had been long and fatally prevalent throughout the colony—the season had been irregular and unusual—the late continuance of the harmattan, and the extreme drought, seemed to forbode a sickly time. Fever of a most malignant type broke out, and several cases of fatality occurred.

"In this state of things, in order to allay the general feeling of alarm that was arising, the Bishop, in one of his discourses, expressed his opinion that the cases of fever were exceptional, and that he thought there was no epidemic. In this, however, he was mistaken, and he himself was soon to feel the virulence of the prevailing malady. On the 15th May he held an Ordination in the Cathedral, and felt so unwell as to request a friend to be ready to proceed with certain parts of the service in case he should observe signs of weakness in him. He, however, seemed to acquire fresh strength as he proceeded, and was able to conclude the whole service with comfort to himself. The next week was one of what we must really say was undue exposure, considering all things. Though not absolutely ill, he was ailing; yet in this state he went to Wellington on the 16th, where he spent the day in investigating some church matters in that village. On Friday, the 20th, he visited Kissey where he held a Confirmation, and also visited a sick servant in the small-pox hospital. On Saturday he came to town, and made several visits to the sick; and on Sunday

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morning, the 22d, he walked in from Fourah Bay, and preached that remarkable sermon, which those who heard will not soon forget, exhorting all to 'set their affections on things above,' and alluding most affectionately to the loss of the 'Heron,' with nearly all hands, which had gone down in a tornado.

"In the afternoon of that day he felt so unwell that he took to his bed, and was unable to return to Fourah Bay. For the first two days there was full consciousness. Early on the morning of the 23d he signed his will, which had been some time before drawn out; but he spoke little, and seemed deep in thought. On the third day of his attack the power of speech left him, and soon his consciousness failed. From Thursday to the hour of his death all hope of his recovery forsook us, and he lingered till the morning of Saturday, the 2d, when, about half-past eight, he breathed his last. His remains were taken to the cathedral and the funeral service read, and thence to the burial-ground, with every demonstration of respect and regard.

"He was a man of great energy, and strong physical powers, but unhappily did not always keep in mind that an African climate was something very different from the healthy bracing climate of our Canadian possessions. His death has left a void in our circles that will not soon be filled up. The bereaved diocese we can only commend to the great Head of the church."

The lively sense entertained by the Missionary body of their loss is best expressed in their own Minute on the subject—

"This Meeting would humbly bow under the Almighty Hand of our heavenly Father, and pray that in judgment He may remember mercy, who in his infinite wisdom thought it good again to deprive our infant churches at Sierra Leone, the Yoruba Country, and Niger Mission, of their chief pastor, by removing Bishop Bowen from us by death, after one year and five months' indefatigable and self-denying labours in Sierra Leone and the Yoruba country.

"Humanly speaking, a better qualified man, physically and mentally, for the post the Lord had appointed him to in his church, could not be found. With great bodily strength, which, perhaps, proved sometimes a temptation to tax it more than was good, there was united in him a large heart, much practical common sense, deep humility, and much love, and an almost unlimited hospitality. It was therefore a cause of general rejoicing when he safely passed through his first fever, and when he returned in improved health from a visit to the Yoruba country. His plans for the material and spiritual improvement of the west coast of Africa were many and large, and, had he lived to carry them out, under the blessing of Almighty God much good might have resulted from them. Bishop Bowen was permitted to build upon the foundation of a native ministry, which his predecessor, Bishop Weeks, was privileged to lay. Two natives received deacons', and two priests' orders during his episcopate in the colony.

"While this Meeting acknowledges that we have much cause for humiliation and prayer, on account of the loss our native churches have now for the third time been afflicted with, they do trust that our covenant God may overrule even this also for the good of His church in Africa."

The successive deaths of three Bishops of Sierra Leone, after very short incumbencies, being calculated to produce an unfavourable impression of the climate, the following facts are submitted for consideration.

Bishop Bowen went out to Sierra Leone, December 1857. He found five European Missionaries in Sierra Leone, who had been labouring there for the following periods—20, 17, 15, 5, and 2 years, respectively.

Six Europeans went out at the same time with the Bishop. He is the only one who has fallen of the whole body of 12 Europeans, during a season of unprecedented sickness and mortality.

During the last 30 years, the Society has sent out, from year to year, 58 Europeans as Missionaries, catechists, or schoolmasters, of whom—

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14 have died in Africa, or after their return home, of the effects of the climate—

	1	after 28 years' service,
	1	„ 19 do.,
	2	„ 16 do.,
	1	„ 8 do.,

the other 9 at earlier periods, chiefly through acclimating fever before the introduction of quinine treatment. For the last 10 years not one such early death has occurred.

7 have retired after length of service, from 21 to 15 years.

17 are still labouring in Africa.

2 are labouring as Missionaries elsewhere.

13 have retired from various causes, after 2 or 3 years in Africa.

These results will bear a favourable comparison with any other tropical climate.

Bishop Bowen married, shortly before leaving for his diocese, a daughter of the late Dean of Peterborough, who died, after child-birth, on August 14th, 1858.

JAPAN.

The Committee having considered the important question urged upon them by many of their friends as to the commencement of a Mission to Japan, have recently come to the following resolution respecting it—

“That adverting to the large excess of the estimates for the present year above the probable income, as also to the obligations of the Society to put its India and China Missions upon a more effective footing, this Committee cannot contemplate a new Mission to Japan until the annual income of the Society shall be raised to a higher amount than at present; but in the mean time it is most desirable to make known to the supporters of Missions this state of things, and the willingness of the Committee to commence a Mission in Japan as soon as an increase of its income, and of the supply of Missionary candidates, shall authorise the undertaking. They trust, also, that the visit of the Bishop of Victoria to Japan may tend, under the Divine blessing, to give an additional stimulus to the Missionary spirit in the church at home in behalf of that newly-opened and interesting country.”

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

West-Africa Mission.—The Rev. S. Black, and the Rev. H. and Mrs. Rhodes, left Sierra Leone on June 19th, and arrived at Liverpool on the 10th of July.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

South-India Mission.—The Rev. J. and Mrs. Buncher, (p. 200) embarked at Gravesend June 25th, on board the “Clarence,” for Madras.

China Mission.—The Rev. T. S. and Mrs. Fleming (p. 200) sailed in the “Runnymede” from Gravesend, on July 5, for Hong Kong.

We regret to announce the decease of Mrs. Dibb, wife of the Rev. A. Dibb, who died at Palamcottah on the 3d of June; and also of Mrs. Jones, the wife of the Rev. Edward Jones, who died at Sierra Leone, after child-birth, on the 11th of June.

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BIBLE EDUCATION COMMITTEE FOR INDIA.—DEPUTATION TO LORD PALMERSTON AND SIR CHARLES WOOD.

THE following Circular and Report has been drawn up by the Bible Education Committee—

August 5, 1859.

The Bible Education Committee for India was formed on the 19th of May, 1859, for taking measures to obtain “the removal of the authoritative exclusion of the word of God from the system of education in Government schools in India, so that none who may be so disposed, be interdicted from the hearing or reading of the Bible.”

In consequence of the circulars issued by this Committee, a large number of petitions were sent up to Parliament, from all parts of the country, praying for the removal of the Interdict.

Upon the change of the Ministry, which ensued shortly afterwards, it was thought right to ascertain the views of Her Majesty’s Government upon the question, before a resolution was moved in Parliament.

The pressure of public business and other circumstances delayed a formal Deputation to Her Majesty’s Ministers, till the 30th July.

On that day a numerous and influential Deputation of parties interested in this question met Lord Palmerston and Sir Charles Wood, to urge the importance of removing the Interdict, if possible, without further agitation of the question at home and in India, which might raise undefined expectations or apprehensions in the minds of the natives of India, and in other ways create new difficulties.

The Deputation comprised the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and several Peers and Members of Parliament, representing all political parties—the officers of the great Missionary Societies of different denominations—the Lord Mayor, and several leading commercial men—a numerous body of the Ministers of Religion, and a large number of other gentlemen, including many of the civil and military officers of the Indian Government.

The Deputation was introduced by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Shaftesbury.

The following Memorandum was read, as embodying the views of the Deputation:—

“The single object of the Deputation is defined by the words of the printed notice, viz. —

“To request a removal of the authoritative exclusion of the word of God from the system of education in Government schools in India; so that none who may be so disposed be interdicted from the hearing or the reading of the Bible in school hours, provided always that such safeguards be adopted against undue interference with the religions of the natives, as may appear just and proper to the chief local authorities in the several Governments of India.”

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"This object is selected because it involves a great national principle, and because the Imperial Government has taken the matter out of the hands of the local Governments by laying an Interdict upon the Bible in Government schools in school hours.

"This interposition of the Home Government was exercised in the case of the Marquis of Tweeddale's proposal in 1847, when Governor of Madras.

"Lord Tweeddale and the Council of Education in Madras, comprising nine high officers of Government and two natives of highest position—one a Mohammedan and one a Hindû—all concurred in proposing the introduction of a voluntary Bible-class in a Government school about to be established at Madras. The reasonableness and importance of such a measure were stated in an elaborate despatch of Lord Tweeddale.

"The institution of such a voluntary Bible-class was forbidden by the Court of Directors at home.

"In the year 1858, the chief authorities in the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence, Mr. M'Leod, Sir Robert Montgomery, Colonel Edwardes, and others, stated officially their conviction that a voluntary Bible-class was proper and expedient, and might be safely introduced in that Government; and they stated their reasons with great power and perspicuity.

"Again, the Home Government, in a late Despatch of the Secretary for India (April 7th), interdicted such voluntary Bible-classes. While properly allowing a great latitude of discretion to local Governments on many other points, and on some points calling for further information, in respect of a voluntary Bible-class, the prohibition is peremptory.

"When the Home Government thus interposes to interdict experienced and enlightened Governors of important provinces from adopting measures which they deem to be right and proper, such Interdict becomes a national act, and the people of this country are constitutionally bound to inquire into the principles on which such Interdict rests, and to lift up their voice against principles which they believe to be unsound in reason, and contrary to the principles of the Christian religion.

"The Deputation desire it to be distinctly understood that they do not urge upon Her Majesty's Government the compulsory teaching of the Bible in any Government schools. They are aware that in very few schools suitable teachers can be found, and that the circumstances of some localities may, in the judgment of some local authorities, render the immediate introduction even of voluntary Bible-classes inexpedient. They plead only that the absolute and universal Interdict of the Bible in school hours, even though questions may be asked by the pupils, should be removed; so that the local authorities, as in the case of the Governors of Madras and of the Punjab, may be at liberty to introduce such voluntary Bible-classes where they may judge that it can be done with propriety and safety.

"The Deputation desire it also to be understood that they do not plead for the removal of the Interdict on the ground that the Government should attempt to proselytize. They repudiate the notion that a voluntary Bible-class can be considered, or would be considered, a proselytizing act. It is less so than Grants-in-Aid to Mission schools. It has been universally introduced into all Government schools in the colony of Ceylon without a whisper of the charge of proselytism. That it is not so regarded by Native Governments is clear also from facts stated in the Minute of the Council of Education in

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Madras, in 1847, that in two Native Governments the measure had been adopted, namely, by the Rajah of Travancore and by the Rajah of Mysore, both Hindús.

"The Deputation are persuaded that they need not further urge the reasonableness of a removal of the Interdict to the extent for which they plead. But they must beg leave respectfully to point out several unhappy results which flow from the maintenance of this Interdict:—

"1. The Interdict of the Bible in Government teaching is regarded by the natives generally as antagonistic to Christianity. Hence a general impression has prevailed that the rulers of India desire their native subjects to remain ignorant of the sacred books of the Christian religion. Innumerable instances might be cited in which the exclusion of the Bible from school teaching has been publicly alleged as a proof of this. Thus the continuance of the Interdict cannot be characterized even by the term "neutrality." It is a positive disadvantage to Christianity.

"2. The exclusion of the Bible necessitates the employment of a variety of secondary modes of inculcating moral truth. Smith's *Moral Sentiments* was long a standard work. Whewell's *Moral Philosophy* and other works are taught in the Government schools. But the Bible is withheld, which is the standard of moral truth for all mankind, and which has been universally found to carry with it an authority and power to which no human composition can pretend.

"The exclusion of the Bible is equally disadvantageous in respect of a correct knowledge of Christian truth; for Milton's *Paradise Lost* and various other works are taught, which, without the Bible, tend only to confuse the native mind in respect of Christian truth.

"The effect of an education without the true standard of moral and religious truth has been pronounced by many of the most intelligent observers of native character to tend to the formation of a dangerous class of society more hopelessly opposed to the Christian religion and to the British rule than all other classes.

"3 It is an injustice to India to withhold the Bible from the system of education which the Government provides for its native subjects. The British Government has taken upon itself the well-ordering of populations ignorant of the true principles of right and wrong. Its tribunals of justice have superseded native tribunals; its legislation has made many things criminal which native codes of law enjoin, and which native religions sanction. The people have, therefore, a just claim to have the true standard of right and wrong set before them in the moral instruction which the Government system of education provides, before they are judged and punished as wrong-doers.

"4. The exclusion of the Bible from the national system of education lays the Government open to the unfair suspicion of an intention to proselytize by underhand and indirect means. That such a suspicion is widely spread the late mutiny testifies. The only valid argument against such suspicions is, that the Christian religious books repudiate all such means, however sanctioned by the Korán and other religious books with which the natives are familiar. But the British Government cannot urge this argument without an obvious retort against its fidelity to its own principles.

"The Deputation would only further venture to observe, that, to the apprehension of danger which affects the minds of some Indian officials—especially of those who resided in India before the mutiny—the memorable words of Sir John Lawrence may be opposed—

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“ ‘ Sir J. Lawrence has been led, in common with others, since the occurrence of the awful events of 1857, to ponder deeply on what may be the faults and shortcomings of the British as a Christian nation in India.’ In considering, such topics, ‘ he would solely endeavour to ascertain what is our Christian duty. Having ascertained that, according to our erring lights and conscience, he would follow it out to the uttermost, undeterred by any consideration. If we address ourselves to this task, it may, with the blessing of Providence, not prove too difficult for us.’ Sir John Lawrence entertains ‘ the earnest belief that all those measures which are really and truly Christian can be carried out in India, not only without danger to British rule, but, on the contrary, with every advantage to its stability. Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen. About such things there are qualities which do not provoke nor excite distrust, nor harden to resistance.’ ”

Lord Palmerston having asked for a copy of the above document, said that he thought it would be best for Sir Charles Wood to explain what was the system in operation at present. In the course of his explanation, Sir Charles Wood observed—“ No persons can be more anxious to promote the spread of Christianity in India than we are. Independently of Christian considerations, I believe that every additional Christian in India is an additional bond of union with this country, and an additional source of strength to the empire.” In respect of the alleged Interdict upon the Bible, Sir Charles observed—“ I do not understand that at this moment, supposing there are Christian schoolmasters willing to do it, there is any objection to their assembling pupils—pupils meeting voluntarily—half-an-hour before or half-an-hour after school hours, and teaching them the Christian religion to any extent that they may wish to receive instruction.” He also stated, “ Long ago there was no impediment to the reading of the Bible in school hours, as an historical book, provided the doctrines were not taught.”

Lord Palmerston remarked—“ We seem to be all agreed as to the end. It is not only our duty, but it is our interest, to promote the diffusion of Christianity as far as possible throughout the whole length and breadth of India.” “ The only question is, whether a particular arrangement is calculated to promote the spread of Christianity, or whether it would, in spite of the intention of those who propose it, have a contrary effect.” “ The principle appears to be agreed upon, and the only difference is as to the hours of the day on which that principle ought to be carried out. If it is assumed that the Christian schoolmaster who is capable of teaching Christianity is to be allowed to assemble, for half-an-hour before the Government school opens, that portion of his pupils who are willing to receive Christian instruction, why, that is authoritative instruction in Christianity.”

The Deputation expressed their grateful acknowledgments to Lord Palmerston and Sir C. Wood for the very courteous and candid spirit in which the Deputation had been received.

The Committee would have greatly preferred the adoption of the simple and cautious proposition suggested by the Deputation, or the course which has been pursued, with so much success, by her Majesty's Government in the case of Ceylon, where Bible instruction was authoritatively made a part of the school system.

Nevertheless, the Committee resolve that they are thankful for the explana-

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tion of the existing law, as given by Government on this occasion, trusting that the Secretary for India will be pleased to send out an explanatory despatch to the Government of India, to the effect that every schoolmaster is at liberty to have a voluntary Bible-class in the Government Schools, conducted either by himself, or by some other competent person, either before or after the school hours, for all scholars who may be disposed to attend such class, and also, that during school hours the Bible may be taught historically, avoiding only religious doctrines.

JAMES FARISH, *Chairman of the Committee.*

"August 15th, 1859.

"The Committee regret to state that no official explanation of the despatch of 1854, in conformity with the sentiments expressed by the Government to the Deputation, has, up to this time, been made to the authorities in India."

SIERRA LEONE.

It has not for many years fallen to our lot to record so painful a list of deaths as that which must now appear upon our pages in reference to this stricken colony. For some months fever of a virulent type has been raging among the Europeans, and the days of many were cut short by its fatal attacks. But the members of the Mission had been spared. The mail which reached us in July brought tidings of the deaths of the lamented Bishop Bowen and of Mrs. Jones. We have now to add, from the intelligence which arrived in August, the names of Mr. and Mrs. Milward, Miss Jones, and Mrs. Harrison, who have fallen victims to the pestilence. Others were left on a bed of sickness, and in imminent danger, when our letters came away. The Rev. J. C. Taylor, (1st), has also been taken to his rest, but by a different malady. Thus has it pleased our God to awaken once more the sympathies and prayers of his people, as in the earlier days of the Mission, by a succession of calamities, which would be overwhelming but for the thought, "It is the Lord." In announcing the above heavy deprivations, Mr. Caiger concludes thus—"I could have wished it otherwise, but am sure there is no mistake. 'Himself hath done it,' and He is too wise to err."

TINNEVELLY RIOTS.

The Government of Madras, by a graceful act of leniency, which we trust will be rightly appreciated throughout India, has determined to remit a portion of the punishments inflicted upon the rioters in Tinnevely. The remission will take effect from the first anniversary of Her Majesty's assumption of the direct government of India. After a full review of the circumstances of the case the minute of Council proceeds—

"The Governor in Council is of opinion that the law has been sufficiently vindicated by the punishments inflicted as above in addition to the military execution done upon thirty of those engaged in the riot, and killed or wounded by the troops, and that the time has arrived when Government may extend their clemency to those still in confinement, without fear of their motives being misconstrued, or of encouragement being thereby afforded to the commission of such outrages for the future. Resolved, therefore, that the petitioners in No. 1883 of 1859 be informed, through the magistrate, that the Government will consider the propriety of remitting the remainder of their

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imprisonment, whether under sentence or on default of bail, from the 1st of November next, at the anniversary of Her Majesty's assumption of the direct government of India. These orders do not extend to those persons who have absconded from justice. They must return and submit themselves to the law before any orders can be passed in their case. Neither can the Government permit the restoration to office of the Tahsildar and Moonsif: even if they took no part in instigating the riot, the fact that they did not give cordial support to the authorities for the preservation of the public peace would be conclusive against their re-admission to the service of the Government."

NEW-ZEALAND MISSION.

The Ven. Archdeacon W. Williams was consecrated to the bishopric of the Maori district of Waiaapu on April 3d last. There are now, in the two islands, five New-Zealand bishoprics in connexion with the Church of England.

On the following day, on certain Resolutions being proposed in the Synod, bearing upon Missionary operations, he made the following observations—

"It might be naturally expected that I should have some remarks to make upon that part of the Resolutions which referred to Home Missions among the natives. And here I may venture upon a statement in which I know that I shall be borne out by those members of the Synod who were among the older settlers in this country. It is this—that upon the first settlement of the New-Zealand Company at Wellington, the difficulties which were anticipated were much diminished by the fact that the natives of this place had, for the most part, made a profession of Christianity. Instead of being met by a hostile array of savages, ready to commit outrages on every occasion, the settlers found a people under the influence of religion, clothed, and in their right minds. Soon after this event it was felt by the English Government to be necessary to establish British authority in the country; and when it was proposed to the native chiefs to cede the sovereignty of the country to the Queen, by signing the treaty of Waitangi, and there was an attempt to raise an opposition to this measure, it was found that the influence of the Christian natives bore down this opposition, and this important end was secured without difficulty. Then again, a few years later, when the unhappy collision broke out in the north, it was owing to the influence of Christianity that the termination of this outbreak was so favourable. I will only here allude to one little incident to show how different was the manner in which the natives then carried on their warfare from what it would have been at an earlier period. It was witnessed by our Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Burrows. The troops were quartered at the time at Waimate, having to receive their supplies from the ships lying at anchor at Kororarika: these were conveyed by water to Kerikeri, and from thence by land carriage, a distance of ten miles, to Waimate. Mr. Burrows was on his way from that place to Kerikeri, and met two drays, one laden with ammunition, the other with provisions, and accompanied only by two soldiers and the drivers of the drays. Proceeding a little further, a party of about a dozen natives suddenly jumped out of the fern, and asked Mr. Burrows if he had met the drays which had just passed, adding, that they had seen them, and could have killed the people without difficulty, and have taken possession of all the drays contained, but that they would not act treacherously—they liked open fighting. The fact, then, that Christianity was in some measure established before the country became

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colonized has been of incalculable benefit to the colonists, and a duty is thus laid upon us to requite this obligation as much as may be to the natives, by securing to them a continuance of that Christian instruction which has been productive of such good results to ourselves. It is through the agency of the Church Missionary Society, for the most part, that Christianity has been established among the natives, though I would not omit to mention the Wesleyan Mission, which has also done a large portion of this work. But the Church Missionary Society wishes now gradually to withdraw its Mission. Since the country has become a British colony, and a regular church system is being established, it considers that the more proper sphere for its labours is in those countries which are still in a state of heathenism. In pursuance of this intention, while they do not propose to withdraw any of their Missionaries who are in active employment, they decline to fill up any vacancies which may occur through sickness or death. The consequence is, that there are many interesting tribes who are left unprovided for: they are as sheep without a shepherd. Our lay representative from Taranaki has told us of the condition of the natives there; how that, within his observation, they had gone back in every way. Those natives some years ago were living at Waikanae, under the charge of Archdeacon Hadfield, but when peace between the tribes was established, they returned to their homes at Taranaki, and now they have no teachers. There are many other tribes in a like condition. There is another body of people still nearer to us, in the valley of the Hutt: they are much scattered; but three Sundays ago there were 200 of these assembled on the occasion of the opening of a weather-board church which they had built at their own expense at the Upper Hutt, when the Rev. S. Williams administered the Lord's supper to forty communicants, on which occasion the Offertory collection amounted to upwards of four pounds; and on the Sunday following I had a congregation of forty at the Lower Hutt, when that venerable old chief, Te Puni, whose portrait is hanging before us, was present, and after service, according to custom, attended school, and repeated in his place the Catechism of our church: but all these natives, since the removal of Mr. Hutton, are without instruction. It has been proposed, that in the districts where the population consists of a mixture of the races, the clergyman who has charge of our own countrymen shall be also held responsible for the native race, but experience tells us in most cases the system will not work. A clergyman whose special care is the white population, having withal a new language to learn, finds that the charge is difficult; and while the English settlers will have seven-eighths of his attention, the natives will scarcely receive the remaining portion. The only remedy for this state of things is to raise up a native pastorate, and I am thankful to be able to state, for the information of the Synod, that there is every prospect that this provision will be made. There is already the Rev. Rotu Waitou at the East Cape, who has now been several years a native clergyman, much respected by his countrymen, over whom he exercises a most beneficial influence. Then, again, there is the Rev. Riwai Te Ahu, who was with us at St. Peter's Church yesterday. He, too, is a most satisfactory instance to show how well the plan of a native pastorate is likely to succeed. There are many other natives also preparing for ordination at the central schools at Turanga, Auckland, and elsewhere. One great difficulty must be the means of support for a native ministry; but the subject of endowment has been already before the natives, and there are many who enter into it with

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spirit. Among the natives of East Cape many contributions have been brought together, and more than 100*l.* now forms the basis of a fund to which those members of our church who are able to do so will do well to add. I trust, therefore, it will be recognised as a duty resting upon the church in general to promote the establishment of a native pastorate, and that this subject will be recommended by the Synod to the consideration of the several Diocesan Synods."

After considerable discussion, a series of important resolutions were agreed to, acknowledging with gratitude the great services rendered, under God, to the Island by the Church Missionary Society, urging the continuation of the efforts of the Society, and calling forth at the same time the exertions of the newly-planted church, both to complete its own internal organization, and to diffuse among the surrounding heathen the blessings of Christianity. The resolutions are as follows—

"1. This Synod wishes to avow its sense of the responsibility resting upon the church in these islands to extend, as far as in it lies, the knowledge of our blessed Lord and Saviour, and the enjoyment of his means of grace, to every creature within this ecclesiastical province, and to the heathen beyond.

"2. The Synod desires to record its conviction that it is the duty of every member of the church to give, according as God has prospered him, to the furtherance of these objects, and that it is the duty of every clergyman to bring these obligations periodically before his flock, with the view of stimulating their bounty.

"3. This Synod commends to the several Diocesan Synods the early consideration of measures for securing a regular contribution from the congregations of the several dioceses, and for apportioning the same to the several objects—

"I. Of Missions to the settlers of thinly-peopled districts.

"II. Of Missions to the natives within each diocese.

"III. And of the existing Missionary endeavours amongst the heathen of the Pacific Islands which have hitherto been carried on by the Bishop of New Zealand.

"4. That, with a view to the spiritual wants of the natives of New Zealand the time has now arrived, in the opinion of the Synod, when the natives should themselves be stimulated to further efforts for the support of the church in New Zealand.

"5. That it is due to the Church Missionary Society to communicate to them the Resolutions which have been passed by the Synod with reference to measures for drawing out the contributions of this church in support of Home and Foreign Missions, and to accompany the communication with a grateful recognition of their labours for the evangelization of the aborigines of these islands, and with the expression of the opinion of the Synod, that, since the colonization of New Zealand, there has never been a period when the native race more urgently required the undiminished efforts of the Church Missionary Society than at the present moment."

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SIERRA LEONE.

It is with deep thankfulness we announce the very decided improvement which, in the tender mercy of our Lord, has taken place in the health of our afflicted Missionaries in Sierra Leone. Up to August 20, the date of the last mail, no more deaths had taken place; and though many, who had been stricken by the fever, were brought nigh unto death, the Lord has, in mercy, spared them to his church, for future labours in his service. The rainy season had fully set in, and the state of Freetown had greatly improved. Nor is this all. There is every reason to believe that this sad outbreak of disease might, humanly speaking, have been greatly mitigated, if not altogether prevented, had due attention been paid to ordinary sanitary precautions on the part of the inhabitants. This is most important, as bearing upon the average salubrity of the town, and will serve to abate the feelings of alarm, which cannot fail to have taken possession of many hearts in reference to the welfare of beloved friends resident in this place, and to reassure the minds of those who may be looking forward to future personal labours there in the service of Christ.

"We sincerely hope," says Mr. Ehemann, "that this visitation will not retard the work of the Lord by deterring young men to offer themselves for this part of the Lord's vineyard. There is, indeed, no necessity for it. For let me assure you, whatever you may have heard to the contrary, the epidemic was altogether local, *i.e.* confined to Freetown, and, in Freetown, to certain localities; and it is very much to be questioned whether there were not local causes that created it. For instance, one of the first deaths was in the house of a merchant, which, a few days afterwards, I happened to pass: they were just taking out from the store a large number of hides, to dry them in the sun, as they had got damp. These were quite sufficient to cause malignant fever in the house. In another house, where several died, their horses' stables were right under their dwelling-rooms—a very unaccountable thing in a climate like ours. I am sure if we had sanitary-officers here, as you have them in London, many things would be found out that are injurious to public health. By this, however, I do not mean to say that the Lord had not his hand in it."

The following affecting letter is from the pen of one raised up from the very brink of the grave, reviewing the solemn scenes of the past, and looking forward into a world just, as it were, re-entered, with all its anxieties crowded on a diminished and enfeebled staff of labourers, yet struggling cheerfully in the confidence of a living faith. Recruits are called for to fill up gaps in high as well as in humbler positions. May these few lines be the instrument in the hand of God to stir up many to say, "Here am I, send me."

"August 19, 1859.

"I fear my last letter will have caused you much anxiety, as well as much sorrow, on account of the sad news we again had to communicate. I was very ill, and on my bed, when I wrote it, and did not know what turn the fever might take; but it has pleased the Lord not to bring upon you, and my dear

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friends out here, sorrow upon sorrow. He has raised me up from that bed of sickness, and, though not yet very strong, I am able to go about the house and attend to many little things. May the life thus spared, when others of far more value and use have been suddenly snatched away, be devoted more entirely to the good and merciful Giver ! I could tell you much of Mr. and Mrs. Millward, and of Miss Jones's illness and death ; but no doubt you have heard all last mail from one or other of our friends here. I was with the former two on Sunday, July 17th. On the night of the 18th, at eleven o'clock, dear valuable Mrs. Millward breathed her last : calmly she fell asleep in Jesus. Two hours after, at midnight, that faithful, earnest friend of youth, dear Mr. Millward struggled into life eternal. From there I went to poor Miss Jones, and was permitted to soothe her last hours ; and she, too, found rest at last, after many hours of fearful struggling. I miss her very much in my house and work : she was becoming very useful, and had improved much, in many ways ; but 'He doeth all things well.' She is better off, and is saved much bitterness in this life, though, poor girl, she was happy with me.

"I have indeed been highly honoured in being permitted to attend both our beloved friends, the Bishop and Mrs. Bowen.

"God will, in mercy, raise up one shortly, who will say, 'Here am I, send me to supply his place ;' but however excellent a man he may be, however earnest, there can scarcely be one so calculated for extensive usefulness as our lately-departed friend and Bishop. His knowledge of men and manners made him at once a wise and just man. He could, in a peculiar manner, bear with the infirmities of others, making excuses for the ignorance of some, and the disrespect of others. His was the charity that covereth many things ; not easily provoked, but willing to hope all things. I never saw a more meek and humble spirit, and, at the same time, he must have been fully aware of his own powers of mind and extensive knowledge on all subjects : but he made himself, after the example of St. Paul, all things to all men, and he was beloved and respected by every one. The day he died, as well as many days after, every face, black and white, rich and poor, wore a look of sadness and mourning.

"I cannot at all agree with those who think, that because this coast is generally very trying to the health, and because it may sometimes be visited with severe epidemics, as is the case this year, that, for these causes, others will be deterred from coming over to help us ; but in full faith I look for others to come and offer themselves to you to supply the places of those who, having finished their course with joy, have entered into rest and peace. May God grant this, and also put it into the heart of some earnest, pious woman, to come out here for this Institution also !"

VERNACULAR EDUCATION IN INDIA.

The following proposals are the result of a small meeting of village teachers and others, held in July last, and have been printed and circulated by the Rev. J. Long, with the view of collecting opinions as to their practicability—

"Calcutta, July 15.

"Government having lately issued a circular to make inquiries as to 'the practicability of promoting really cheap schools for the masses in Bengal' a meeting of village teachers and others was held in the Thakurpuker district on the 10th and 12th of July to discuss this subject.

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"The meeting was attended by two pundits, four school teachers, four *guru mahashays*, and the Rev. J. Long. After viewing the question in its various bearings, the following statements embodied the sense of the meeting—

"1. That no aid in educating the rural population has been, or is likely to be, given by the zemindars, who do not wish the people to learn to read or write, as they think they would not then pay their rents and dues the same as before, and would become impertinent.

"2. That while the villagers pay the *guru mahashays*, or village teachers, in money or presents, salaries of from three to seven rupees monthly for teaching them writing, arithmetic, and to read a few Hindú books about religion, they do not value, and will not pay for, a higher education which would teach them to read intelligently, and to have some knowledge of history and geography.*

"3. That when sahibs† aid schools, and take the entire management of them, the people will not pay as before, as they say 'the school is no longer their's, but the sahibs, and the sahib therefore should pay the expenses.'‡

"4. That more would be done at present by improving *some* of the existing *guru mahashays*, of whom there are in Bengal more than 30,000, by giving them an opportunity of attending a normal school every year, from the middle of December to the end of January, when village schools are often thin, owing to farming operations; and by giving, for their private instruction, a few hours every week, the services of the teacher who attends their schools, as also supplying them with books and pecuniary rewards for proficiency: not two per cent. of those village teachers can now read intelligently.

"5. That the schools be in circles. Three schools, each containing thirty or forty boys, to be about three or four miles distant from each other; each school under its village teacher, but taught two days in the week by a superior teacher in mensuration, geography, history of Bengal, simple lessons on agriculture, as taught in the North-west Provinces by manuals: much of the latter instruction to be given orally.

"6. That books be printed for these schools at a cheap rate, on common paper, so that they might be sold, as the native spelling-book *Shishubodh* is, at fifty pages for one anna. Almanacs are furnished at this rate.

"7. The monthly expenses would be thus—

"3 rupees grant-in-aid to the village teacher.

"5 rupees one-third the salary of a superior teacher, or fifteen rupees monthly for three schools.

"2 rupees for contingencies, school materials, &c.

—
Total 10 rupees monthly for a village school.

"But in certain cases, small scholarships, to allow promising boys to remain longer at school, may be required. Allowing for these and other expenses, we put the maximum at ten rupees monthly."

* "In some of my own schools the boys say, 'What is the use of the sahib teaching us geography? we are not to be merchants or captains: we do not need grammar, as we are not to be pundits.'"

† "Englishmen.

‡ "I have found in the district this is a painful truth, and my interference with village schools has, on several occasions, resulted, not in aiding, but in *superseding*, native exertion. The problem to be solved is to call forth native exertions, not to crush them.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NORTH-WEST AMERICA.

We insert the following extract of a letter from the Rev. A. Cowley, dated July 11th, 1859, for the information of those who have kindly contributed to the support of his Mission—

“I give you no detailed accounts of the expenditure of funds placed at my disposal by private friends. They are mostly for the support of several orphans whom, for the individuals making the payments, we are rearing. I may add, however, that one grant from Chelsea has conferred a great boon on our poor people, in the shape of a scow (flat-bottom boat) for crossing to and fro from church. Yesterday I was told upwards of seventy crossed at one time in it, and truly it is pleasant to see such crowds so crossing for such a purpose. I do not know any thing more pleasing to the sight than the heavily-burthened scow, first with its live cargo for the Sunday-school, and then, later in the forenoon, with the congregation. Sunday is with us a busy day, so very many coming and going; but it is a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable, and we bless Him for it, and all its wonted privileges. May we be enabled to prize it more and more, and to profit by so great mercies.

“There is little in our every-day duties worth writing in a journal, and I am afraid mine this year will be very barren of interest, and very scanty in detail of labour; but reviewing from time to time what God has wrought, we derive pleasure and satisfaction in beholding the increase of devout worshippers in God’s house; a widening of the dear Redeemer’s kingdom; a breaking-down of the superstitions of the heathen; and a spoiling of the kingdom of Satan. The trial is, the slowness of the process, and the very great admixture of secular with spiritual duty. My prayer is for indulgence, mercy for the past, help for the future; and so we labour on, hoping for better times, when the Spirit from on high shall be abundantly poured out on all.”

NEW ZEALAND.

We have much pleasure in inserting the annexed extract from a letter of Archdeacon Hadfield’s, dated April 23, 1859—

“I am thankful to say that, by the kind care of our Heavenly Father, we have been brought in safety to this place.

“We reached Wellington on the 11th instant, and arrived here on the 20th.

“My flock seemed delighted to see me. It appears that I was thought so ill when I left this, that few people ever expected me back in New Zealand. I did not benefit so much by the voyage as I expected; but I am much stronger than I was before my visit to England.”

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa—Mr. T. Harrison and Mrs. Ehemann left Sierra Leone on July 20th, and arrived at Liverpool on the 8th of August.

Mediterranean—Dr. C. Sandreczki arrived in London from Jerusalem early in August.

North-West America—Mr. C. Mayhew left the Red River on June 10th, and arrived at Southampton on the 4th of August.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

Rev. B. and Mrs. Davis embarked at Gravesend August 2d, on board the “Blenheim,” and the Rev. W. B. and Mrs. Cole at the same place August 24th, on board the “Agamemnon,” for Calcutta.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

SIERRA LEONE.

WE are most thankful to say that the recent accounts from this Mission are favourable. In reference to the recent season of trial, Mr. Ehemann says—

“Sept. 21—I believe that the judgments of God have been upon our colony and Mission for good. In many of our stations weekly prayer-meetings have lately been established for the purpose of asking for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit; for this it is our Mission stands in need of, in common with all the rest of our fellow-men. This, I think, is a move in the right direction, for I have repeatedly observed, that from the time our monthly general prayer-meetings were abolished the spiritual tone and brotherly love gradually declined. At that time Satan got an advantage over our Mission, the consequences of which can only be effaced by taking up the same weapon which we then allowed him to take out of our hands.”

YORUBA MISSION.

Messrs. Townsend, Gollmer, and Hinderer have been on extensive tours in different directions. Mr. Hinderer is still travelling in the Ijesha country; Mr. Townsend returned from Ilorin Sept 3d. Mr. Gollmer's visit was to Ketu, westward of Abeokuta. He writes thus—

“You will be glad to hear, that, by the goodness of our heavenly Father, I have, to-day a week, safely returned from my Missionary tour in the Ketu country, and that we have had a most successful journey, being not only well received by the king, chiefs, elders, and people at Ketu and the various towns we passed through, but find everywhere many attentive hearers of God's word. The Lord has done great things for us, whereof we are glad. In the name of the Lord we have taken possession of the province of Ketu, numbering about a hundred towns, and proclaimed our King Jesus before the alaketu, the princes, and the people, and the response was unanimous and hearty, ‘We receive you,’ ‘Come over and help us.’ The field is white for the harvest, but where are the labourers? This important field, which should be occupied without delay, we desire to lay on the heart of the Committee, and to commend it to their best consideration and prayer. Two European brethren, one at least somewhat experienced, should be sent to the capital Ketu, with a staff of native agents, for the work is great. We were absent about a month (from July 29 to August 26). By the help and strength of the Lord, we were enabled to travel 180 miles there and back, to visit twenty-three towns, and to preach and speak many times to many people. Our little Missionary force consisted this time of eight Scripture-readers, Mr. Smith, and myself. The alaketu, or king, seems a nice, mild, and well-disposed man. He was very friendly and intimate with us. He has now been, so to say, sixteen months probationary king, according to custom, and in six months more he will be crowned, and have full power. I am happy to add, his government is not hampered, as at other places, by either the Oboni system (secret society), or by the government superstition, Oro, &c., which is of great importance. It seems to us most providential that this man has been placed on the throne of Ketu.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"The king and people are also most anxious for merchants. I took a kind message from Mr. Hughes (merchant) and the king sent messengers to see me safely home and salute Mr. Hughes, and to make his acquaintance, which may lead to something. In one of our private interviews with the king, he said he would order the gongou, or bell, to be sounded, that all farmers should plant cotton. The market, for political reasons, is held outside the fortification: it was attended by thousands of people, and we saw a good quantity of cotton exposed for sale. We spent ten days at Ketu, and the king and people, as well as ourselves, felt sorry we could not remain longer. Meko is the next town in size and importance in the Ketu country. It is about twenty-five miles north-east from Ketu towards Abbeokuta: that route led us through the heart of Ketu also. We had to pass by many towns on our right and left on the road. Olumeko is the title of the king or chief—the head or lord of the town of Meko. He was to be crowned, or receive full power, and enter the king's residence the day we intended to leave; but finding it to be so large and important a town, and that many people willingly listen to the word of God, we were glad when the chief Olumeko begged us to remain and witness his coronation. Saturday and the Lord's-day approaching, we decided to remain, and Sunday was a blessed day. Thousands gladly heard the Gospel for the first time, no messenger of peace or any other white men having ever reached this place. This chief also became very friendly, and begged earnestly to send for some one to sit down with them. As regards cotton, he said that it should not be wanting for the merchants to buy.

"At Ketu and Meko I met with respectable men who knew me at Badagry, which was not without advantage, as my journal will show."

These happy indications of progress are followed up at Oyo, the capital of the Yoruba country. Mr. Meakin says, August 24—"The new king has behaved very kindly to us as yet. The people appear to be pretty well satisfied with him, as he has abolished several disagreeable taxes, &c., which they were unwilling to submit to, and which caused a great many people to leave for Ibadan, Ijaye, and other places, which, in addition to other grievances, has caused this town to retrograde instead of increasing in numbers, as other towns are now doing around us."

"Mr. Meakin also refers to a disposition on the part of the refugees in Oyo, who form a majority of its inhabitants, to return and rebuild their own towns—a fresh proof of the settled state of the country. "Now is the time for teachers," says Mr. Meakin, "ere they forget their punishment, and their work of vanity in trusting to themselves and false gods."

Mr. Townsend recently visited Oyo, and had a public interview with the King. He says (Sept. 6)—"He expressed very warmly his thanks that Mr. Meakin was sent to reside in his town, and that he regarded him as a true friend."

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

A meeting of the Committee took place on the 14th October at the Children's Home, Islington, to take leave of the following Missionaries—

North India—Rev. J. B. Archer, Rev. Roger E. Clark, and Rev. Simmonds Attlee and Mrs. Attlee.—*South India*—Rev. Reginald C. Macdonald.

The instructions of the Committee were delivered by the Rev. H. Venn, and the Missionaries were addressed by the Rev. J. Hambleton and the Rev. E. K. Maddock, and commended in prayer by the Rev. C. F. Childe. The proceedings of the day will be printed for general circulation at an early period.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

THE whole number of ordained or unordained Missionaries sent forth by the Committee during the last year to various spheres of foreign labour, amounted to eleven. The whole number sent forth this year amounts to twenty-one, an increase over any previous year, calling for devout gratitude to the Lord of the harvest. Of these, eight clergymen, four of whom had had some experience in parochial work at home, have been assigned to the lately-disturbed districts of India; and while the Committee are still anxious to enlarge their Missions there, they are thankful to have been able thus to employ further portions of the *Special Fund for India*.

The Rev. J. C. Reichardt took leave of the Committee on October 18th, on his return to the West-Africa Mission.

A Special General Meeting of the Committee was held on Friday, November 4th, at the Church Missionaries' Children's Home, Islington, to take leave of the following Missionaries and schoolmasters—

N. India—The Rev. George Yeates.

N. Zealand—The Rev. Basil K. Taylor.

Yoruba—Messrs. G. Jefferies, E. Roper, Lieb, and Flad.

Niger—Messrs. C. H. Brierly, J. Ashcroft, T. Oldham, and J. Coombes.

North-West America—Mr. T. T. Smith.

The instructions were delivered by the Rev. W. Knight; and having been responded to, the Missionaries were addressed by the Rev. T. R. Redwar, and commended in prayer to God's gracious protection by the Rev. J. Lees.

INVITATION FOR SPECIAL PRAYER.

The earnest prayers of the friends of Christian Missions are desired, on behalf of a large body of candidates, European and native, who are looking forward to ordination on Sunday, the 18th instant.

London: Mr. Walter J. Edmonds, Mr. William Ellington, Mr. Arthur E. Moule, Mr. Robert H. Weakley—By the BISHOP OF LONDON.

Pancivilei, Tinnevely: Joseph Cornelius, Vedhanáyagam Devanáyagam, and William Thomas Sattianáadhan, of North Tinnevely; Perianáyagam, of Palamcotta, Michael, Devanáyagam, and Perianáyagam, of Mengnánapuram, Nallathambi, of Pannikulam, Isaac, of Pancivilei—By the BISHOP OF MADRAS.

The following deacons will, on the same occasion, be presented to the Bishop of Madras to be ordained priests—The Revs. A. B. Valpy, S. Madhuranáyagam, Paul Daniel, and M. Devaprasáadhan.

SOUTH INDIA.

The Rev. T. Spratt, writing August 23, says—

"You will be glad to hear that the first stone of the Sarah Tucker Institution was laid this morning. We assembled all the students of both Institutions, together with the girls belonging to Mrs. Sargent's and Mrs. Scamell's schools. After the reading of a Psalm and the offering of prayer by myself, Mr. Sargent addressed all present on the subject of the proposed Institution, briefly noticing the zealous and pious efforts of Miss Tucker for the promotion of female education in the East. The stone was then laid by Mr. Sargent, and after earnestly entreating God's blessing on the new undertaking, we concluded with the doxology."

The Rev. J. Hawsworth writes, August 19—

"On the 4th instant fifty-seven new souls were admitted into the visible church of Christ, at the out-station of Kumaram. Since the opening of the school there by the Rev. H. Andrews, students from the college have regularly attended every Sunday to read and explain the word of God. It is therefore deeply interesting as a connecting link between the college and the Mission. The candidates, after being upwards of twelve months under instruction, were carefully examined, and the result, together with their consistent conduct and earnest desire for baptism, very satisfactory. The demeanour of the candidates seemed to prove them alive to the fact, that they were about to enter into covenant with God, henceforth to be his people, and He to be their God. They had all renounced idolatry, abandoned their outward sins, and declared their trust in the atonement of Christ, and in that alone. Many of them have already suffered for his sake. Some made painful sacrifices by breaking away from the bonds by which polygamy had bound them. Thus they had given all the evidence of which man can judge, that they had truly turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God, and now come forward to receive the sign of baptism, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which they had yet being unbaptized. It was a solemn and impressive scene, and the effect was increased by the hearty Amen pronounced by all, as each one was baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. A late painful case, with which all were acquainted, seemed to give peculiar emphasis to the invitation—Let us give thanks to the Almighty God for these benefits, and, with one accord, make our prayer unto Him, that they may lead the rest of their life according to this beginning. That this prayer may, in this case, be abundantly fulfilled, I trust we shall have the united petitions of many who are interested in the progress of the Gospel amongst the slaves. After the baptism, twelve couples were married. Subsequently, at the same place, four other candidates, who were unable to be present on the above occasion, have been baptized, so that the total number of baptisms within a fortnight, at Kumaram, is sixty-one."

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa—The Rev. J. C. Reichardt embarked at Liverpool, Oct. 23, for Sierra Leone, accompanied by Mr. Bailey, African schoolmaster.

Palestine—Dr. Sandreczki left London Oct. 24, for Jerusalem, *via* Germany.

North India—The Rev. J. B. Archer embarked at Southampton, Oct. 20, and the Rev. R. E. Clark, Nov. 4, for Calcutta.

South India—The Rev. R. C. Macdonald embarked at Southampton, Oct. 20, for Madras.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

Yoruba—The Rev. J. G. Bühler, from Lagos, arrived in London Nov. 11.

Palestine—The Rev. Dr. Koelle and Mrs. Koelle arrived in London Oct. 23, *via* Germany, having left Khaiifa on June 30th.

North India—The Rev. C. F. and Mrs. Cobb arrived at Southampton Oct. 24, and the Rev. J. L. and Mrs. Knight Nov. 3.

South India—Miss Meredith arrived in England Oct. 24.